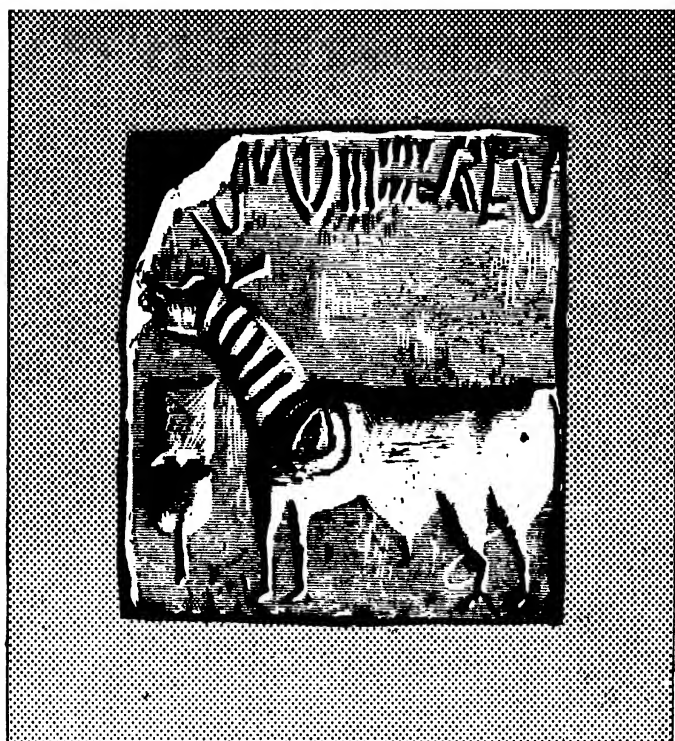


THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW



THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

IN 39 VOLUMES

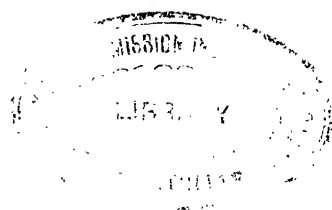
The establishment of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century, the product of the early Europeans in India, to acquire and disseminate knowledge of Indian history, customs and manners of the Indian people left a blazing trail through its journals and proceedings. The coming centuries witnessed several savants delving deep in the subject and as a result, besides many books, several articles were published in the ever increasing journals and periodicals. To wit the untiring efforts of Cunningham, Max Muller, Stein, Princep and others can be cited.

Thus by the early twentieth century books, journals and periodicals had become so vast that it became a Herculean task for the scholars and researchers to find in one place all relevant materials required for their subject of research, particularly about Indian history and culture. They had to wade through an ocean of publications.

To alleviate the distress of these knowledge craving scholars Dr. Narendra Nath Law started a Quarterly *The Indian Historical Quarterly*. The principal aim of this quarterly was to publish articles, notices, etc dealing with Indian history and civilization.

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NARENDRA NATH LAW

Vol. XV



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Religious Toleration under the Imperial Guptas*

The period of the Imperial Guptas has often been regarded as the golden epoch of Hindu history. It comprised the reigns of a number of long-lived and versatile sovereigns, who brought about the political unification of Northern India and ushered in an era of orderly government and progress. Both inland and foreign trade flourished under their vigorous rule, and the wealth of the country increased to a considerable extent. In consequence of this material prosperity and internal security, there followed a vast development and promotion of religion, literature, art, and science. The object of this paper, however, is not to discuss the various aspects and manifestations of this all-round activity but just to show that the religious policy of the Imperial Guptas allowed people complete liberty in the choice of faith and outward forms of worship, although the monarchs themselves were staunch in their personal beliefs and practices.

The first noteworthy feature of the Gupta age is that Brahmanism gradually rose into ascendancy. This was largely because it now occupied the position of the religion of the Royalty, but its wonderful elasticity and powers of assimilation and recuperation were no less important factors in its ultimate triumph. Whatever be

* A paper read at the Second Indian History Congress, Allahabad.

Religious Toleration under the Imperial Guptas

the causes, the revival of Brahmanism appears to have begun under the Bhāraśiva or Nāga rulers, and Samudragupta gave it a further fillip when he solemnly performed the *Aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice), described in the epigraphs of his successors as '*cirotsanna*'.

The Allahabad *prāśasti*, which records his military exploits and attainments in the softer arts of music and poetry, calls him 'the master of the real truth of the scriptures'² and 'the building of the pale of religion'³. Personally he seems to have been a devotee of the god Viṣṇu, whose consort Lakṣmī figures on his coins. Support for this conclusion may also be found in the fact that Samudragupta had a marked attachment towards the emblem of Garuḍa, the *vāhana* (vehicle) of Viṣṇu, as is evident from the 'Garuḍadhvaja' on the standard type of his coins and the representation of the bird in relief on the Gayā copper-plate.⁴ Indeed, the term 'garuṭmad-aṅka', occurring in the Allahabad pillar inscription,⁵ would even indicate that the symbol of Garuḍa was adopted by Samudragupta on his official seal. His allegiance to a particular deity did not, however, mean any lack of broad-minded sympathies. We learn, for instance, from a Chinese source⁶ that during the reign of his Ceylonese contemporary, Siri Meghavanna (A.D. 352-79), a few Buddhist *bhikṣus* came on a pilgrimage to Bodhgayā, where they met with little courtesy, and were hard put to in securing convenient lodging-place. On return

1 The expression '*cirotsanna*' is generally taken to mean 'long in abeyance.' *Aśvamedhas* were, no doubt, celebrated by the Bhāraśivas, Vākātaka Pravaraśena I, and other kings not very long before the time of Samudragupta, but the authors of the inscriptions may not have been aware of them. See, however, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*Studies in Gupta History*, pp. 44-45) for a different interpretation of the word.

2 Cf. '*Śāstra-tattv-ārthta-bhartuḥ*'; *CH*, III, No. 1, l. 5, pp. 6, 11.

3 Cf. '*Dharma-prācīna-bandhaḥ*'; *Ibid.* l. 15, pp. 6, 12.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 254 f. The genuineness of this document is sometimes doubted.

5 *Ibid.*, l. 24, pp. 8, 14.

6 Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 406, 411; V. A. Smith, 1902, pp. 192-97.

home, they reported the matter to their king. Accordingly, he despatched a mission with costly presents to Samudragupta, seeking his permission to construct a *Vihāra* and a rest-house, near the famous Bodhi Tree, for the accommodation of monks and visitors from the island kingdom. The latter readily complied with the request, and thus showed his solicitude for the comforts or welfare of the votaries of other faiths.⁷

This benevolent attitude was maintained by his son, Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who is the hero of many a popular song and legend as a doughty warrior and a patron of learning. Himself a *Paramabhāgavata* i.e., a profound worshipper of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) according to the uniform testimony of inscriptions and coins, Candragupta II afforded full freedom and protection to his subjects of all creeds in their religious pursuits and benefactions. That this policy was actually followed is also borne out by the recorded instances of the dedications of the images of the various gods. To begin with the Mathurā pillar inscription,⁸ which yields us the earliest date for him, viz., G.E. 61 = A.D. 380-81, it mentions the installation of a couple of Śiva *lingas*, styled Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara after the names of two previous teachers, by an individual Uditācārya in a hall containing other statues. Secondly, the Udayagiri cave inscription⁹ of G.E. 82 = A.D. 401-02, referring to the religious gift (deyadharmā) of a Sanakānika Chief Mahārāja.....dhala (?), a vassal of Candragupta II, appears to have been engraved in honour of two groups of figures—a four-armed Viṣṇu and a twelve-armed goddess (perhaps a variant form of Lakṣmī). The third document¹⁰ from the same place (Udayagiri), without date, records the excavation of a cave to serve as a sanctuary of the deity Śiva, here called Śambhu, under the

7 Politically, this exchange of communications led to the establishment of friendly relations between the Gupta Empire and Ceylon.

8 *El.*, XXI, pp. 1-9.

9 *Ch.*, III, No. 3, pp. 21-25.

10 *Ib.*, No. 6, pp. 34-36.

orders of one Sāba, otherwise named Virasena, belonging to the Kautsa gotra. He hailed from Pāṭaliputra, and was Candragupta II's Minister of peace and war by virtue of his hereditary right (cf. *anvaya-prāpta-sācivyo vyāpṛta-sandhi-vigrahaḥ*). This is, no doubt, an important information, and we ought to consider it along with another epigraph discovered at Sāñcī and bearing the Gupta date 93 = A.D. 412-13.¹¹ It tells us of the grant of twenty-five *dināras* and the village (or allotment) of Īśvaravāsaka by Āmrakārdava, the son of Undāna, to the *Ārya-saṃgha* i.e., the community of the *bhikṣus* of the great *vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa (Sāñcī). The object was to provide means for the feeding of a number of Buddhist monks and the burning of a lamp in the jewel-house (*ratnagrha*) for the increase of his own merit and that of Candragupta II. In the concluding line, this Buddhist record says that anybody, who disturbs the endowment, will be invested with the guilt of 'the slaughter of a cow or of a Brāhmaṇa' besides incurring other sins. Does not such an imprecation imply that the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas had now come closer together in mutual esteem and concord? Next, it is significant that, despite his Buddhist predilections, Āmrakārdava enjoyed an exalted military rank under Candragupta II, since the former is said to have 'acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles' (cf. *aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yāśas-patākah*). Thus, if the cases of Virasena Sāba, the Śaiva minister, and of Āmrakārdava, the Buddhist general, furnish two typical examples, we may reasonably suppose that Candragupta II did not make the profession of any particular religion the passport for state service, but one could aspire for, and hold, the highest offices in the realm without subscribing to the king's faith.

With regard to the position of Buddhism during the time of Candragupta II, Fa-hian's account¹² also throws some welcome light.

¹¹ *CII.*, III, No. 5, pp. 29-34.

¹² Beal, *The Travels of Fa-hian (Fo-kwo-ki)*, pp. lv. f.

Unfortunately, the pilgrim saw everything through Buddhist glasses, and his version may, therefore, be here and there coloured or exaggerated. Indeed, he was so engrossed in his studies and visits to Buddhist holy sites that he had even omitted to mention the name of the great Gupta potentate, in whose dominions he travelled for about six years (c. 405-411 A.D.). Fa-hian speaks enthusiastically about Buddhism and the ramifications of the *Samgha*. His narrative leaves the impression that the faith was 'flourishing in the Punjab and Bengal, both Candragupta II's possessions; and it was gradually gaining ground in Mathurā, where the pilgrim noticed twenty establishments. But in the *Madhyadeśa* it did not widely prevail owing to the renaissance of Brahmanism. He observed just one or two monasteries only in each of its principal towns, and sometimes even none. In Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Candragupta II, there existed two *Samghārāmas*—one of Hinayāna and the other of Mahāyāna, tenanted by six or seven hundred monks, whose learned expositions of the law attracted seekers after knowledge from all parts of India. Fa-hian further gives a vivid description of the magnificent processions of the decorated images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas organised every year in the metropolis on the eighth day of the second moon. On the whole, the pilgrim adds with admiration, the inhabitants of Magadha 'vied with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness.' The picture we get is generally pleasing, for all traces of any kind of persecution are absent, and the Buddhists confidently lived their own lives under the rule of a Vaisnava emperor. His treatment of the Jains must have been equally liberal, although no definite evidence for this assumption is yet forthcoming. At any rate, subsequent inscriptions testify to their prosperous existence.

Candragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya in or about the year 414 A.D., the earliest known date of the latter being G.E. 96 = A.D. 415-16. His object of adora-

tion appears to have been Kārtikeya rather than Viṣṇu. This view may be supported by the fact that Kumāragupta issued certain gold coins with an effigy of himself feeding a peacock on the obverse and Kārtikeya riding on his *Vāhana* (peacock) on the reverse. Again, it is noteworthy that on the new silver coinage, which Kumāragupta I introduced into the central parts of his empire, the usual Garuḍa of the reverse is replaced by a peacock. That the worship of Kārtikeya was then current is also attested by the Bilsad (Eta district, U.P.) stone pillar inscription of G.E. 96=415-16 A.D.¹³ It states that in the 'augmenting victorious reign' of Kumāragupta I, a person named Dhruvaśarman constructed at the shrine of Kārtikeya, here called Svāmī Mahāśena, a gateway with a flight of steps (*pratoli*) and established a *sattra* or hall for the distribution of charity. But Kumāragupta I did not seek to impose his religious convictions on the people. He continued the tolerant policy of his predecessors, and dedications or gifts were freely made during his reign to the different deities. This can be substantiated by a number of epigraphic documents. First, the Gaṅgādhar (Jhālāvāḍ State) stone inscription¹⁴ records that in the year 480 of the *Kṛta* (*Mālava*) era = 423-24 A.D. Mayūrākṣaka, the *Mantrin* (counsellor) of Viśvavarman, who was probably a feudatory of Kumāragupta I, caused to be built by his sons, Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and Haribhaṭṭa a lofty temple of the god Viṣṇu. The reference to the divine Mothers later in the same inscription suggests that there were also adherents of Tantrikism or Śāktism. Another Vaiṣṇava inscription is the newly discovered copper-plate at Baigram (Bogra district, Bengal), dated G.E. 128=447-48 A.D., which mentions certain transactions by two brothers, Bhoyila and Bhāskara, for giving a donation to meet the expenses of worship in the temple of Govindasvāmin, evidently a name of Viṣṇu.¹⁵ Passing on to the Mandasor (Dasor, Western Malwa)

13 *CII.*, III, No. 10, pp. 42-45.

14 *Ibid.*, No. 17, pp. 72-78.

15 *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 53 etc. It may be added that the

stone inscription,¹⁶ we learn that in the Mālava year 493 = 437-38 A.D., while Kumāragupta I 'was reigning over the earth' (cf. *Kumāragupte pṛthivīm praśāsati*) and Bandhuvvarman was governor at Daśapura, a guild of silk-weavers erected a noble edifice of the Sun-god. Originally they belonged to Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat), and had migrated to Daśapura in the interests of their business. The next important epigraph, found at Karamdanda in the Fyzabad district, U.P., is incised on a stone *liṅga* and contains the date G.E. 117 = 436-37 A.D.¹⁷ It represents that Pṛthvisena, son of the Brāhmaṇa Śikharasvāmin, who was a *mantrin* (minister) and *Kumārāmātya* of Candragupta II, enjoyed the same titles under Kumāragupta I, and was subsequently promoted by his master to the position of *Mahābalādhikṛta* (commander-in-chief), made gifts to some Brāhmaṇas of Ayodhyā for the worship of the god Mahādeva, here known as Pṛthviśvara after the name of the donor. This rather long list of inscriptions surely reveals to us the popularity of certain forms of Brahmanism; let us now take up the evidence for other faiths like Jainism and Buddhism. The earliest Jain inscription of the Gupta period seems to be the one incised at Udayagiri.¹⁸ It is dated G.E. 106 = 425-26 A.D. in 'the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Gupta lineage (Cf. *Guptānvayānām nṛpa-sattamānām rājye*), who is doubtless identical with Kumāragupta I. We are told that a person named Śaṅkara, born in the region of the north and a disciple of Ācārya Gośarman, set up at the mouth of a cave the image of the Jina Pārśva, the penultimate *Tirthaṅkara* of the Jinas. He lived, according to tradition, about two and a half centuries before Vardhamāna Mahāvira. Similarly, another document¹⁹ registers that in the

Dāmodarapur copper plates of Kumāragupta I's time refer to the performance of Agnihotras and pañca-mahāyajñas by the Brāhmaṇas.

¹⁶ *CII.*, III, No. 18, pp. 79-88.

¹⁷ *El.*, X, pp. 70 f.

¹⁸ *CII.*, III, No. 61, pp. 258-60.

¹⁹ *El.*, II, p. 210.

Gupta year 113 = 432-33 A.D. Sāmādhya, a lady, installed a Jain statue at Mathurā, which was once a centre of Jainism in the Kuṣāṇa times. These epigraphs as well as the following two prove that both Jainism and Buddhism were still living factors, and their followers did not suffer from any hindrance in their religious activities. Thus, the Mankuwar (Allahabad district, U.P.) inscription,²⁰ engraved on a stone pedestal, records the dedication, in order to ward off all evil, of an image of the Buddha, the enlightened one, by the *bhikṣu* Buddhāmītra in the Gupta year 129 = 448-49 A.D. The second inscription from Sāñcī, dated G.E. 131 = 450-51 A.D.,²¹ informs us that an Upāsikā, Harisvāminī, wife of the Upāsaka Sanasiddha, gave twelve *dināras* as a permanent endowment (*akṣaya-nīvi*) to the *Ārya-saṃgha* of the great *vihāra* of *Kākanādabōṭa* (Sāñcī) for daily feeding one *bhikṣu*, new to the order, out of the interest of investment. It further mentions minor gifts for keeping the lamps lit in the *ratna-grha* and the *Catur-Buddha-āsanas* (seats of the four Buddhas).²²

After Kumāragupta I's death, his son Skandagupta Kramāditya acceded to the throne, and he also wisely conformed to the established line of religious policy. As usual, the inscriptions of his time belong to diverse creeds, thereby indicating that a spirit of catholicity and amity was then abroad. Personally Skandagupta was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu, whose image, according to the Bhitari (Ghazipur district, U.P.) stone pillar inscription,²³ he installed under the name Śārṅgin and allotted to it a village 'in order to increase the religious merit of (his father)'. The Junagadh (Kāthiāwād) rock inscription²⁴ is likewise a Vaiṣṇava record. Beginning with an invo-

²⁰ *CII.*, III, No. 11, pp. 45-47.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 62, pp. 260-62.

²² It is significant that Nālandā, the great centre of Buddhist learning, was founded about the middle of the fifth century A.D. by *Sakrāditya*, probably Kumāragupta I, who endowed a monastery there. Additional grants to the establishment were made by Budhagupta, Tāthāgatagupta, Bālāditya, and other Gupta monarchs.

²³ *CII.*, III, No. 13, pp. 52-56.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 14, pp. 56-65.

cation to Viṣṇu, it says that in the Gupta year 138 = 457-58 A.D. Cakrapālita, the Governor of Girinagara, restored the embankments of the Sudarśana lake and erected a temple of the same god under the name Cakrabhrt. We get two other appellations of Viṣṇu—Anantasvāmin and Citrakūṭasvāmin—from the Gaḍhwa inscription of G.E. 148 = 467-68 A.D.²⁵ Next, the Bihar stone pillar inscription²⁶ alludes to the worship of Skanda²⁷ or Kārtikeya and the divine Mothers. Besides the Gaṅgādhar record, this document, too, bears testimony to the development and prevalence of Śāktism or Tāntrikism. Another Brahmanical epigraph of Skandagupta's reign was found at Indrapura or Indor (Bulandshahr district, U.P.)²⁸ It is dated G.E. 146 = 465-66 A.D., and its purpose is to commemorate a perpetual endowment made with the guild of oilmen (tailika-śreṇī) by a Brāhmaṇa named Devaviṣṇu to maintain daily out of its interest a lamp for the shrine of the Sun. But what is most striking is that Madra, who, according to the Kahaum (Gorakhpur district, U.P.) stone pillar inscription,²⁹ set up five images—apparently those on the niches of the column—of the *Ādikartīs* or Jain *Tirthaṅkaras*, representing Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvira, but describes himself as 'full of affection for Brāhmaṇas and ascetics (cf. dvija-guru-yatiṣu prāyasah pritimān yah). The respect, that Madra bore towards Brāhmaṇas and others, notwithstanding his Jainism, furnishes an excellent illustration of the liberal outlook of the age, and how even ordinary folk were animated by it.

Not much is known of the successors of Skandagupta, but the few extant epigraphs fairly prove that toleration of all sects continued to be their guiding principle. The Bhitari seal inscription of

25 *CII.*, III, No. 66, pp. 267-69.

26 *Ibid.*, No. 12, pp. 47-52.

27 It is curious that the first component of each of the names, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, is synonymous with Kārtikeya.

28 *Ibid.*, No. 16, pp. 68-72.

29 *Ibid.*, No. 15, pp. 65-68.

Kumāragupta II,³⁰ which mentions between him and Kumāragupta I only two other rulers, Puragupta and Narasiṃhagupta, dropping out Skandagupta altogether, has the figure of Garuḍa on its upper portion, and it may, therefore, be safely presumed that they were inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism. However, the Mandasor inscription³¹ refers to the worship of the Sun-god. We have already noted that his temple was first constructed at Daśapura (Dasor, Gwalior State) in the time of Kumāragupta I; it fell into disrepair afterwards and was then renovated in Mālava era 529 = 473-74 A.D. by the old guild of silk-weavers. Next, a Buddhist record, unearthed at Sarnāth,³² of Kumāragupta II's reign registers that 'after the lapse of 154 years of the Guptas' the ascetic (*yati*) Abhayamitra erected an image of the Lord Śāstā (*Buddha*). Three years after this date, in G.E. 157 = 476-77 A.D., when Budhagupta was king, the same monk Abhayamitra installed at Sarnāth the image of the Buddha, 'to whom the gods were like sons' (*devaputravato*).³³ But another inscription of Budhagupta's time, incised on a stone pillar at Eran (Sagar district, C.P.),³⁴ is a Vaiṣṇava record. For, it says that in the Gupta year 165 = 484-85 A.D., when Suraśmicandra was governing the land between Kālindī (Jumnā) and the Narmadā as a vassal of Budhagupta, a Mahārāja Mātrviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu raised the 'dhvajastambha' (flagstaff) of Viṣṇu under the name of Janārdana. This god is also called Śveta-varāhasvāmin in the Dāmodarpur, copper-plates of G.E. 224 = 543-44 A.D. Lastly, we may take note of the Pāhārpur (Rajshahi district, Bengal) inscription,³⁵ dated G.E. 159 = 478-79 A.D. It refers to the gift, of some land by a Brāhmaṇa couple for carrying on the daily worship in a *vihāra* of Nirgrantha (Jain) ascetics, presided over by Guhanan-

30 *JASB.*, 1889, pp. 84 f.

31 *CII.*, III, No. 18, pp. 79-88

32 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1914-15, pp. 124-25.

33 *Ibid.*

34 *CII.*, III, No. 19, pp. 88-90.

35 *El.*, XX, pp. 59 f.

din, at the village of Vata-Gohali. The Kahaum inscription, mentioned above, speaks of a Jain worthy entertaining great respect for the Brāhmaṇas, and now we find from the Pāhārpur epigraph that the latter, too, did not lag behind in demonstrating their goodwill towards the Jains. All this sympathy and understanding among the various sects must have indeed contributed substantially to the material and spiritual growth and happiness of the people.

It will be clear from our survey of the epigraphic evidence that the Gupta age was essentially one of religious harmony and toleration. Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism were the three principal religions, which flourished side by side, though the popularity of each might have varied. Brahmanism was predominant, and its popular phase was Vaiṣṇavism. Barring one or perhaps two exceptions, the Gupta monarchs themselves were devotees of Viṣṇu, who is called, apart from the names already given, Vāsudeva (Fleet's No. 25), Nārāyaṇa (No. 36), Govinda (No. 14), Gadādhara (No. 17) etc. Other forms of Brahmanism were the worship of Śiva (or Śambhu, Bhūtapati, Śūlapāṇi, Mahādeva, Pinākin, Hara, etc.); Sun (Sūrya); Kārtikeya (or Skanda, Svāmī-Mahāsenā); the divine Mothers (Bhagavati etc.); goddess Lakṣmī; and a host of other deities, both male and female. Brahmanism was also marked by sacrifices, such as Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Puṇḍarika, and Pañca-mahāyajña. Kings and pious men gave gifts to Brāhmaṇas in the shape of *agrahāra* (land or village) for their subsistence, and as measures of charity free boarding houses, *satthas*, were also established.³⁶ Other benefactions included the building of temples, upkeep of lamps therein, and the installation of images. Similarly, the Buddhists and the Jains erected images of the Buddha and the *Tirthaṅkaras* respectively. The Buddhists further made endowments for the maintenance of *bhikṣus* in monasteries (*vihāras*),

and the Jains provided for their *yatis*. All these systems of faith, no doubt, differed considerably from one another in philosophy and practice, but their divergence was not so great as exists—say between modern Hinduism and Christianity or Islam. The Gupta conception of toleration was thus a limited one; nevertheless, the fundamental moral it points out is that the votaries of the different creeds, princes, priests and peasants alike, owe an obligation towards one another to live in peace and concord.

RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI

Raja Ramnarain*

IV

The death of Aliwardi was followed by stirring events in Bengal, which culminated in the overthrow of his dynasty and in the tragic death of his beloved grandson, after a brief regime of 14 months and 21 days, on 2nd of July, 1757. We need not consider the sins of omission and commission of the young,¹⁶⁶ inexperienced, feeble and erratic Nawab, nor are we primarily concerned with what Clive called the "nice and important game that was played"—a game in which natives and foreigners, Hindus and Mussalmans, military

* Continued from p. 778, vol. XIV.

166 According to *Seyar* (472) Siraj was born "a few days before Aliwardi's appointment as Governor of Patna which happened in 1734, and not as Stewart and others say, in 1729 (*W.M.*). Karam Ali, an equally reliable authority gives 1140/1727 as the year of Aliwardi's appointment as the Foudar of Akbarnagar, Rajmahal, which, according to him coincided with the auspicious birth of Siraj. European writers are also not unanimous. Stewart gives the unacceptable age of 20, (531) but Watts' *Memoirs* (116) and Hill's *Bengal* (1) describe Siraj as 25 or 26 years old at the hour of his death in 1757. All opinions agree however that Siraj was a spoilt child. "Rash and headstrong" and at times violent and quarrelsome he did prove himself to be. "The variableness of his nature and the continual fluctuation of his mind" may also be accepted as a trait of his character. Nevertheless, the young ruler deserves a much more sympathetic consideration than that based on the observations of the prejudiced writers. Even Watts, one of those chiefly responsible for his overthrow, finds an excuse for him in that "he had a view of sovereignty from his infancy;" also he had had little, and that but bad education in his youth; and finally and "after all, he lived not long enough to attain any great experience," which possibly might have made him better....." (*Watts' Memoirs*, 117). Watts' observation, however, that throughout the fourteen months of his reign Siraj "never excited duty or acquired a single friend, whose sane advice might have prevented his sad catastrophe" needs a little modification for who can doubt the loyalty of men like Mir Madan and Mohan Lal in Bengal and Raja Ram Narain and Sunder Singh and others in Bihar? The Nawab's orders for guns of Monghyr and for astrolabe has already been referred to and we also know of books written under his patronage and dedicated to him.

officers, financiers, bankers and astute traders and even women¹⁶⁷ had their parts. We know that "coming events cast their shadows before." The death of the worthier relations¹⁶⁸ of Aliwardi, his prediction about the progress of 'Hat-wearers'¹⁶⁹ in India, his refusal to expel or to reduce their power, despite his differences with¹⁷⁰ them,

167 E.g. Mehrunnisa, alias Ghasiti Begam, the eldest daughter of Aliwardi, and the childless wife of Nawazish Mohammad Khan, Shahamat Jung, Governor of Dacca. Her questionable character and senseless opposition to Siraj-ud-dowla, the son of her sister, and the beloved of her father, first caused the loss of many valuable lives, including those of Hussain Quli Khan and his nephew and brother, and then resulted not only in her own imprisonment and murder, but also in the collapse of the fortunes of her whole family. Even before the death of Aliwardi she was taken to be "a leader of one of the two considerable parties which pretended to the Subedari" to the exclusion of the claims of the heir-designate, Siraj. We read in the records of Hill's *Bengal* (III, 163-64, 217-19) that "the English gave Siraj-ud-dowla reason for complaints against them" for "they carried on correspondence with the Begam and withdrew to Calcutta the treasure which she wished to put in a place of safety and also those of Raj Ballav, her chief Diwan. Siraj was informed at Rajmahal from the envoys of Shaukat Jung that "the English were in league with the Begam and his cousin to assassinate him and put another Nawab in his place". Whatever the basis of these charges against the English, they were sufficient to arouse the Nawab's anger and he easily disposed of his aunt and his cousin. The Begam was deprived of her stronghold, Motijheel, with all that it contained.

She made her appearance again on the political stage when the great Bengal conspiracy was fully hatched and she actually leagued herself with Mir Jafar and Durlabh Ram and the Seths, assisting the former by whatever gold she had managed to save and also by secret exhortations to the protégé of her father and husband to join the enemies of one whom she wanted to displace in favour of the infant son of his younger brother. But the short-sighted, bad woman "who contributed materially to the Revolution" which placed Mir Jafar on the "Musnad of Bengal," received her retribution at the hands of the ungrateful and brutal son of the new Nawab by being imprisoned at Dacca and then condemned to death by drowning in 1758 (*S.M.*). The Motijheel affair and the murder of Hussain Quli and his relation have been noticed in the letters of the Dastūr, though there is nothing new in them.

168 Zainuddin, the only one of the family worthy to succeed Aliwardi" (*Orme*, II, 42). See also *Seyar* (559, 604) about the "three nephews of Aliwardi being best qualified for commanding men and governing kingdoms," at any rate, "being far superior in these respect to his grandsons," including Siraj. All the three had predeceased Aliwardi.

169 *S.M.*, 611; Hill's *Bengal*, III, 161.

170 Hill, I, XXXII.

certain complaints, however much exaggerated, of the heir-designate, 15 days before¹⁷¹ the death of the old Nawab, against those contemplating his subversion by aiding and abetting his relations and subjects, showed which way the wind was bound to blow. Would it be believed that even after the "treacherous seizure of Qasimbazar Fort," on the 1st of June, 1756, followed about 20 days later by the "expulsion of the British from Calcutta," and the so-called Black Hole massacre, the great Colonel, 'despite his threat, held out on 6th February 1757¹⁷² that "the king of England.....will certainly send forces sufficient to destroy the whole province," would write to the contemptible Nawab on the 13th of June 1757,¹⁷³ that is barely 10 days before the final crash at Plassey, that "it was in consideration of the fame of your great character as being the greatest prince, the greatest Nawab, the greatest soldier in Hindustan Empire" that he was "induced to enter into a treaty of peace.....and passed by the loss of many crores taken in the plunder of Calcutta", when we know that "the treasury of the richest of the European settlements "yielded" only the miserable amount of 50,000 rupees, or about¹⁷⁴ £6,250" and that in a letter as early as the 30th April,¹⁷⁵ Clive, the keen judge of men, had waxed eloquent on the "tyranny, cowardice and suspicion" of a universally hated and despised "Monster" "who was the compound of everything that is bad;" that already, in the night of the 5th of June, 1757, the noble chief of the Qasimbazar factory had had the necessity to "proceed¹⁷⁶ in a close and covered dooley, such as is used only by a woman;" in order to secure the

171 Hill, I, XLVI; II, 7, 65, 66, Siraj is said to have told his grandfather "I am well informed, the English are going to assist the Begam" (Ghasiti). This charge was vehemently repudiated by Surgeon Forth, then by the bed-side of the dying Aliwardi. "It arose probably from the frequent intercourse of one Bailey, with Aga Baba, a son of Sarfaraz Khan and the favourite nominee of Ghasiti Begam." (Hill, III, 66).

172 Hill, II, 213.

175 Hill, 383.

173 Hill, II, 405.

176 Hill, II, 399, III, 366.

174 Hill, I, XCI.

signature of the future usurper to the Treaty, drafted by the Hon'ble Select Committee on the 17th of May, 1757? Verily, the founder of the British Empire in India was quite correct when he wrote to Orme, the first British historian of Bengal and India, that there was no dearth of "fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues and politics and Lord knows what" to serve as materials for his intended work.

It is not our business, however, to trace the course of the events leading to the revolution or to unravel the tangled web of the great Bengal conspiracy which did much to decide the fate of modern India. At the same time we cannot ignore or pass it over altogether, for Durlabh Ram, the Agent General of Raja Ram Narain,¹⁷⁷ and the latter's friends, the Seths,¹⁷⁸ were at the bottom of the whole show and "to them," as Law has it, "the Revolution was ascribed entirely"¹⁷⁹ It is necessary for us to throw some light on the relation between the Patna Naib and the Bengal Nawab and discuss the possibility or actuality of Raja Ram Narain's connection with the conspiracy, or the extent of his fidelity to his benefactor's grandson, during the brief tenure of his regime, and immediately after his overthrow.

Robert Orme writes that "Aliwardi had recommended the policy of his own preference (of the Hindus) to his successor but he did not foresee that the great inferiority of abilities in Siraj-ud-Dowla might turn to dangers the very means from which his own security was derived."¹⁸⁰ Much has been written about "the recklessness and folly and tyrannical caprices" of Siraj which soon drove the friends and lieutenants of his grandfather into a state of veiled hostility. We may explain why, as Law affirms¹⁸¹ Jagat Seth, Mahtab Rai

177 S.M., 593.

179 Hill, III, 185-86.

181 Hill, II, 185, Hill; *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

178 Dastūr, 267a.

180 Orme, II, 53.

The Imperial title of Jagat Seth or world banker was borne by Fateh Chand, the adopted son of Manik Chand, who was the most famous of the seven sons of Hiranand, a Marwari and a Jain of Rajputana, who made Patna his home in 1652 and died there in 1711. The

and Maharaja Sarup Chand, were the originators of the revolution that overthrew Siraj," and why, after the death of the latter, the same people, according to the same contemporary authority, "averted a combination of the" Hindu Rajahs of Bihar who would have risen to establish a Hindu Government from which the English would

family was transplanted, first to Dacca, and then to Murshidabad, by Manickchand who was the first to get the title of "Seth from Emperor Farrukh Seyar." But the house became great in Bengal, powerful at Delhi, and celebrated throughout Hindusthan under Jagat Seth and his two grandsons, Mahtab Rai and Sarupchand. The former died in 1744 after 30 years' control of the wealthiest banking house in the empire "in the most parts of which," says Orme, he had agents supplied with money for remittance from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled. "In Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer of administration; for being answerable to the treasury, as security for most parts of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one the details of the revenue; while the great concentration of wealth which he commanded rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expense" (Orme). According to Scrafton "About two-third of the revenues were paid into his house and the government gave their draft on him in the same manner as a merchant on the bank"....."they made every year by this business about 40 lakhs" (Hill, I, XXV). It was the house of Jagat Seth "which had conducted almost all the business of Aliwardi and had long been the main movers in all the revolutions in Bengal" (Hill, III, 175). We are however much more concerned with the two cousins, the grandsons of Jagat Seth, for "they contributed mighty sums to Aliwardi at critical junctures," specially in 1748, (S.M.) befriended Raja Ram Narain (Dastūr), were reputed "so rich as to be able to block up the heads of the Bhagirathi at Suti with rupees," "placed the feet of the English more than any one else on the path which led to Plassey," "thwarted M. Law in every way," first set up Khodayar Khan Latif, then gave him up, accepted and joined Mir Jafar for whom and the English they procured farmans from Delhi, "soon began to feel the enhancement of the power of the English in Bengal," and found "that when their interests clashed with those of the English they had to give way," quarrelled with Mir Jafar, secretly leagued with the Shahzada and were involved in disputes between the English and their new protégé, Mir Qasim, for which they were imprisoned and executed by the latter in Monghyr in 1763. Scrafton wrote 3 years after "During the power of the Mughals, Jagat Seth used to mediate between the Subah and the Court of Delhi and remit the revenues; he was also a mediator between many of the Rajahs and the Subah..... his assistance and support was necessary to the strength and reputation of the Government and our protection was necessary to him, a protection solemnly promised by Clive" (See *Bengal Past and Present*, vols. LXX, XXII).

not have obtained all the advantages they did from the Mahommedans." But we must remember that revolutions in which the Seths played a principal part were not a new thing for Bengal, and that, as Mr. Hill has pointed out, "it was not surprizing to find English and Hindus united in the same political action for their joint interests in the commerce of the country made them natural allies."¹⁸² At the same time it is significant that no one has labelled Siraj as a religious bigot and "his misconduct," to quote Dodwell, "had in general alienated both classes."

Whatever may be said about Bengal, the Hindu Rajah of Bihar and specially the Hindu Naib of Patna, can never be charged with having borne the least ill-will to the beloved grandson of Aliwardi. We have got the testimony of Orme.¹⁸³ "Of all the gentoos (Hindus) whom Aliwardi had raised to high appointments, Raja Ram Narain seems to have been the only one whose gratitude had not been estranged by the 'despotic caprices of Sirajuddowla.'" Broome¹⁸⁴ accounts for and explains this by referring to the "continual absence of the Rajah from the Darbar owing to which he was comparatively little subject to the caprices and insolence of the Nawab." But we know that the Naib was not unaware of the uncertain temper and the natural limitations of the Nawab and yet he never failed to do his duty by him and was certainly not a traitor to the salt that he had eaten. He wrote about "the false step or absurd"¹⁸⁵ action of Siraj" at the instance of Mahdi

182 Quoted in Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 138.

183 Orme, II, 186.

184 Broome, *History of Bengal Army*, 163.

185 Dastūr, 214a, 286b, 269a, etc. In a letter to Gholam Hussain Khan dated about the end of Rabi II, year 4th i.e. Nov. 1757, Raja Ram Narain writes about something not found elsewhere. "These days Raja Ram Hazari (chief of Sirajudowla's spies) came with 6 horsemen and 100 foot soldiers, followed 2 days later by Girdhar Singh Hazari who was accompanied by 50 horsemen and 100 foot-soldiers. Two or three days after Mohammad Qutab, Jemadar, arrived with 200 horsemen. Each of these people soon after their arrival created commotion and

Nisar Khan in 1751, enquired about "the state of his 'displeasure'¹⁸⁶ in 1753, sent bills of exchange worth Rs. 25,000 for the estate of the young Nawab through Gholam Hussian Khan but entreated him to "observe every care and caution in this matter" so that¹⁸⁷ the request for receipt might not cause annoyance to the old and offend the young Nawab." Even after the accession of Siraj, the elevation of Mohan Lal might have caused some trouble, for, the three letters,¹⁸⁸ addressed to the latter, one from Bhagalpore while on his way to Purneah, and the others after returning from Rajmahal, show how the new chief Minister of the Nawab felt a grievance against the Naib of Patna in the matter of certain assignments of revenue and Jagirs. But Raja Ramnarain seems to have smoothed the differences and given full assurances of his attachment to his master and his supporters by a personal interview on the occasion of the Purneah expedition.

The Purneah expedition provides a positive proof of Raja Ramnarain's fidelity to Siraj-ud-Dowla. The Nawab set out for Murshidabad on the 16th of May, 1756, to punish¹⁸⁹ his first cousin, Shaukat Jang, the Governor of Purneah, for his failure to recognise his accession. But his anger was diverted on this occasion towards an attack on the British factory at Qasimbazar because of the qualified submission of his cousin and of the alleged disclosure of corres-

disturbance at the eastern gate of the city. On enquiry being made, they claimed to be servant of Nawab Munsurul Mulk (Siraj) and said that they had come for a certain affair. As they had no Parwanah from his Excellency and his grandson nor did they possess your letter addressed either to the deceased Maharaja, (Janki Ram) or to myself their oral statement was not accepted and they were not given access within the fort. Now they have proceeded towards Naubatpore. My friend! If the Nawab has got something to do here, why does he not write to me who are his slave so that I might have the fortune to carry it out. Be kind to convey this in a manner you deem proper and inform me about the orders (Dastūr, 268-69).

¹⁸⁶ Dastūr, 248a, 236b.

¹⁸⁸ Dastūr, 137ab, 132b.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 268a.

¹⁸⁹ Hill, I, XLVII.

pondence showing that "the British"¹⁹⁰ had been the instigator of Shaukat Jang's resistance." The latter resumed his rebellious attitude and even said that he had obtained a Farman from the Imperial Vazir appointing him Nawab of Bengal.¹⁹¹ Siraj again collected his army towards the beginning of October, 1756. But we are told by Mr. Hill¹⁹² that the Nawab's violence had driven Mir Jafar and Jagat Seth "to a state of 'disaffection,'" "the army was in a dangerous temper, popular opinion was growing in favour of Shaukat Jang, and a revolution which might have swept away Siraj's authority was impending." To protect himself against a possible outbreak, Siraj had summoned his Bihar Deputy to his assistance. Hill writes¹⁹³ that "the malcontents hoped that Ramnarain would not come but he obeyed the Nawab's summons." According to Gholam Hussain,¹⁹⁴ "he set out with Raja Sunder Singh, Pahalwan

190 Hill, I, xlvii. Hill doubts or denies the evidence of such a correspondence and remarks "Possibly the assertion that the British had corresponded with Shaukat Jang" was simply a part of general plot to bring the Nawab into conflict with that nation of foreigners which seemed most likely in a position to oppose him successfully (I, ii) Now who were at the bottom of that plot? The author of the *Seyar* who advised Shaukat Jang to wait till the end of rainy season "and make an alliance with the English who were reported to intend marching against Sirajuddowla" says that "Mir Jafar (whose treasonable intrigues earlier with the Marhatta against Aliwardi may be read elsewhere in the same book *S.M.*) had written a letter to the Nawab of Purneah to put himself at the head of the proposed revolution for the overthrow of Sirajuddowla" (*S.M.*, 624).

191 *S.M.*, 624; Hill, I, cvi.

192 Hill, I, cvii.

193 *Ibid.*, M. Law's observations are interesting in this connection. "Before the departure of the army from Murshidabad, a plot was already formed, in which, it is pretended that Mir Jafar, the Bukhshi, was engaged and some of the chief Jemadars. It had been decided that during the battle with the Nawab of Purneah, part of the army should remain inactive. Unfortunately Ram Narain, Governor of Patna, had taken no part in the plot. It was known that Sirajuddowla had written to him to come and join him, but it had been taken for granted that this Rajah would make some excuse for not coming, so that they were surprised to see him arrive with all his troops which formed a second army. The conspirators were disconcerted. They might, however, have provided a remedy for this mishap if Shaukat Jang had not himself sought his destruction." Hill, III, 174.

194 *S.M.*, 627.

Singh, and his brother Suther Singh, at the head of a force of Azimabad which alone could not be less than the double of the forces of Shaukat Jang, but which, at any rate, might have been a great deal more than equal"

This powerful army had probably very little opportunity to exert itself though it had reached the field of battle at Manihari and joined the contingent of Raja Mohan Lal before the main army of Siraj could advance beyond Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and encamp at Nawab Jang. "The campaign was short and decisive." The rash valour of Shaukat Jang cost him his life and the whole of Purneah submitted without resistance.¹⁹⁵ But the opportune arrival of the formidable force of Patna just at a time when Mir Jafar and the leaders of the Nawab's army were about to declare in favour of Shaukat Jang nipped¹⁹⁶ the danger in the bud. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the victory, the Patna Deputy, according to Karam Ali,¹⁹⁷ was recipient of the Nawab's special favours and he was secretly ordered to watch over or put under surveillance Omar Khan, Mirza Gholam Ali Beg, and others, who had been suspected of criminal friendship with Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan and dismissed from his service by the Nawab. The Raja, on his return to Patna, via the sacred Baijnath,¹⁹⁸ carried out the orders of his master "confining Mirza Gholam Beg, Mirza Hakim Beg, Ahmad Ali Khan, Hussain Ali, Mir Moalla etc. within the city and confiscat-

195 Hill, cvii.

196 Hill, III, 174.

197 *M.N.* 120b. According to Hill "two officers, Din Mohammad and Gholam Shah who claimed rewards on the ground that it was their men who had killed Shaukat Jang, were banished by Sirajuddowla. The latter asserted that he had ordered his cousin to be taken alive, that he might pardon him and make him his friend." "We are reminded here of the generous hearted Emperor, Bahadur Shah, who had turned away from Rustam Dil Khan when the latter had approached him after cutting the head of his rival brother, Azam Shah, at the battle of Jajau 1707

198 *S.M.*, 632. That Raja Ram Narain was an extremely religious man is shown by numerous references in his own letters, found in the Dastūr, and to be dealt with later.

ing their property.' As for Omar Khan, he along with his two sons, Dalil (Diler) Khan and Asalat Khan and 500 horsemen was confined within the garden of Jafar Khan and they got their release only after the death of Siraj, with the exception of Omar Khan who expired during this very period.¹⁹⁹

Smaller men were thus kept under restraint but the principal opponents were left to pursue their dangerous games. The cowardly conduct and the changing moods of the Nawab and the cunning course and the political manoeuvres adopted by his enemies, both hidden and open, serve as disgusting readings to a modern Indian. Fortunately we are spared the sad spectacle presented by the gloomy picture of Bengal politics for the subject of this essay has very little to do with it. Be it said to the credit of Raja Ramnarain, however, that his attachment to the house of Aliwardi was too deep rooted and sincere to permit the Bengal conspirators to attempt taking him into their confidence. Robert Orme²⁰⁰ a contemporary writer and Arthur Broome,²⁰¹ a mid-nineteenth century writer, suggest that "a strong feeling of personal enmity towards Mir Jafar Khan, kept constantly alive by his collision with Mohammad Ahmi (Amin) Khan, a brother (?), and Mir Mohammad Qassim (?) Khan a brother-in-law (?) of that Chief, doubtless aided materially in binding him to the interests of his own sovereign. A knowledge of these circumstances had induced Jagat Seth and Raja Durlabh Ram, (although connected with Ramnarain by religion as well as business) to avoid giving him any hint of the measures in contemplation or attempting to enlist him in the confederacy." It is significant that even Watson knew

199. *M.N.*, 120b. These details are not found in *Seyar*, but mention has been made in it of the "Nawab's order for the arrest of Mir Moalla Khan, Aga Mir, Mir Abdul Hai etc. (632)." Elsewhere we hear of Mir Jafar's order to Raja Ram Narain for the release of Mirza Gholam Ali Beg, son of Hakim Beg (*S.M.*, 642). *Dastūr* also contains valuable references to which we shall revert later on.

200 Orme, II, 186.

201 Broome, 163.

nothing of the plot at first (till 26th April 1757)²⁰² probably because he was known to be a man of conscience. As for the Patna Naib, be the reasons what they might, his faithfulness was above question. If providence had ordained otherwise, even after Plassey, the fugitive Nawab with the help of the Bihar veterans might yet have regained his lost ground. A few letters in the Dastūr will bear out our contention.

The suppressed tone and the restrained language of one or two letters,²⁰³ and also certain references therein to Plassey, Munshi Hasnō, Hushyar Jang, the "big saheb, (chief of the factory), etc. at first produce in our mind the impression of some deep conspiracy in which the writer was involved in one way or the other. But a closer study of them leads us to the irresistible conclusion that they refer to something else, quite unconnected, both in point of time and matter, with the events of Bengal in 1757. The letters were very probably addressed by Dhiraj Narain, a brother of Raja Ram Narain, to the latter's son-in-law Basant Ram, after he had become a Rajah, and this did not happen before 1760.²⁰⁴ But the letters, relevant to the subject under consideration, are also not wanting, specially the one addressed to Jagat Seth by name²⁰⁵ is very important and deserves literal translation:—It is long since that I have received none of your kind letters of welfare, which is causing great anxiety. As for myself, the condition in which I have spent the *last four months in the Zila (country) of Mai* is simply indescribable. The details might have reached you. The *Parwanah*, dated 6th Shawal year 4th of accession i.e. 1170 or June 24th 1757 (the day following the battle of Plassey) is just to hand. Having ascertained the *unmethodical and spiritless struggle* and the *superiority or pre-*

202 Hill, II, 360. That Watson refused to share in the deception of Omichand is quite well known.

203 Dastūr, 14b, 15a, 281b, 287b.

204 Dastūr, 110b, 103b.

205 *Ibid.*, 26b, 27a.

dominance of the Firangis (Europeans), I am not in my senses. I am also greatly perturbed on account of you, refuge of hopes. There is none more desirous of the happiness and prosperity of *this family* than yourselves. Whatever might be advisable for the state, you must have already suggested that to His Highness. The condition of my poor self is a long story whose substance will be conveyed by Lala Baiju Mal”.

If some comment on this letter, which speaks for itself be necessary, another may be quoted because, though earlier in point of time it serves as a corroboration and further elucidation of the emerging points. It is addressed to one whom the writer calls his²⁰⁶ “appreciator” and refers to the “*four months*” during which *Abdali’s*²⁰⁷ *advance was imminent*, the writer was not keeping well and *Kamgar Khan having learnt the “commotions at Calcutta”*²⁰⁸ was, owing to his inherent wickedness, again bent on war and violence. “Having got together a force of 10,000, and won over the Zamindars of the whole province, the Rajah had proceeded against Kamgar Khan who, however, managed to evade an open encounter but say his troops melting away and his lands laid waste.” “At the time of writing, the poor man (the Rajah) was staying at the same place (Kamgar’s country) with a view to settling the question or crushing the rebel

206 Dastūr, 36a, b.

207 Clive writes to the Secret Committee London, on 22nd. February, 1757, about Siraj’s anxiety to form an alliance with the Nawab of Oudh owing to the news of Abdali’s pressure (Hill, II, 739). But Siraj got “letters of peace from the Abdali” by the middle of March and altered, for the time being, his resolution to march to Patna (Hill, II, 286). He again wrote to Clive on the 17th of May, 1757, that “the Abdali was returning by continued marches to his own Country” (Hill II, 385). According to Burgess the Abdali returned to his dominion in Shawal, 1170 i.e. June 1757 (*Chronology of India*, p. 203).

208 This probably refers to the re-occupation of Calcutta and Hugli by the English (January, 1757) and the defeat of the Nawab on the occasion of his second attempt to capture Calcutta (February, 1757).

completely when he received the *distracting*²⁰⁹ and *maddening news*." His first impulse was to "let the whole province go to the hell" and betake himself, in any manner possible, to His Excellency so as to prove himself true to the salt he had eaten and the cherishing he owed.²¹⁰ "Indeed, he had a vehement desire for a long time to arrive near His Excellency but had been prevented by all sorts of orders." However, "he was immediately sending Raja Pahalwan Singh Bahadur to Kamgar Khan and after settling the question in two or three days he would forthwith proceed towards and join His Excellency." The letter concludes with the usual platitudes about "the stoppage of collection from the country for some time" and "the great expenses and indebtedness" of the writer, who however, assures the addressee that "his whole life and property belonged to the Sarkar" and that "he would not fail in effecting his release and in raising and recruiting the soldier." "A petition had already been sent to the Nawab²¹¹ and the addressee might convey to him what he deemed proper and also promptly inform the writer about it."

"This important letter which proves the Raja's pre-occupation with the suppression of the refractory chief of Mai in the district of

209 The language is too strong for any minor mishap which may have been reported to have befallen the Nawab. "This sense-taking (distracting) news" therefore, may be taken to refer to events immediately on the eve of Plassey. We are told by Law about certain rumours current at Patna. But it must be only a vague information of a plot which reached the Patna Rajah and upset his mind, otherwise it is difficult to explain his continued stay in Kamgar's country. At any rate, he failed to realise the magnitude of the danger surrounding poor Siraj.

210 This reminds us of a letter found in the Dastūr which Raja Ram Narain wrote to Aliwardi on the latter addressing him as a "Maharaja." We read "My humble self is the same Moharrir of rupees five. My elevation to this high and envied position, so ardently desired by worldly people, is entirely due to the favour of your Excellency and your Excellency's sons (nephews and son-in-law). I cannot repay all that I have been receiving more than my deserts except by sacrificing my life one day for the Sarkar.....To glorify an insignificant atom is the work of the resplendent sun." 209b, 210.

211 Dastūr, 37a, b.

Gaya at a critical stage in the history of his benefactor's successor is immediately followed in the collection by two others, addressed probably to Dhiraj Narain, who was in charge of Patna during the temporary absence of the Raja. In the first, the writer begins by acknowledging the addressee's envelope, dated the 16th instant, containing three SHUKKAS (Royal orders) and informing him of the orders to Mohammad Amin Khan²¹² not to enlist the soldiery any further and then speaks of a painful letter, received through attendants from Mirza²¹³ Ghulam Hussain Khan, and also of a note from Mansa, the Postal Daroga. Mention is made also of the Parwanah, addressed to certain Rajas, and with the same contents as to the poor man" (Rajah²¹⁴). Then occur the rather important words: "It is most likely that a reconciliation may have been effected with the Feringis (European or English). As regards the news of the west, it appears from what Babu Chhotu had written to his

212 Mahammad Amin Khan was that step-brother of Aliwardi, Mahabat Jang, whose own sister had been married to Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan (S.M., 503). From the letters in the *Dastūr*, 244, 253b, 260, 266a, etc. he appears to have left Murshidabad for Purneah on 17th Rabi I, year 4 (1752) and then after staying with Saulat Jang till Holi, he proceeded to Patna where he arrived on the 26th Rabi II of the same year. There is some reference to the settlement of the accounts of the newcomer (260). We do not know what happened between 1752 and 1757 about this gentleman. He played a prominent part in the rescue of Saulat Jang in 1741. Ive and Orme mention him in connection with Mir Jafar's differences with Raja Ram Narain.

213 There is another manuscript collection of letters also bearing the name of *Dastūr-ul-Insha*, in P.O.L. no. 842, which was compiled by Yar Mohammad Qalander who describes himself as a dependant of Mirza Ghulam Hussain Khan. The latter appears from this contemporary work to have been a nobleman of Delhi who was invited by, and stayed with Aliwardi's eldest nephew, Shahamat Jang, the governor of Dacca. He was highly respected by the Nawab and his whole family but his letter reveals the hatred that he felt for Sirajuddowla owing largely to the severities that the latter practised upon his widowed aunt and others. Gholam Hussain resided at Hugli, specially after 1756 and his sympathy for the English and their nominee, Mir Jafar, is quite evident from his letter.

214 These Parwanahs must have emanated from the victors and the overthrowers of Siraj.

superior that the affair is languid.....I feel distressed on beholding my own condition and the ways of the world. Would that I had died so that I might not have witnessed this calamity. (Let see) what becomes of both life and property. I pray to God to see you at least once." The fourth²¹⁵ letter, probably written when all was over and poor Siraj was no more, (though the Raja might not still have been all informed of facts²¹⁶ refers to the hasty march of the writer from Raipur towards the pass of Chandoo and contains the following expression of astonishment. "It is strange that the Feringis, too are now present in Murshidabad, let us see what they bring into being."

The points that emerge out of the letters and can also be gathered from certain other evidences may be summarized as follows:—(i) Raja Ram Narain was absolutely in the dark as to the real nature of the impending revolution in Bengal and he had never been taken into their confidence by the chief conspirators, including his friends and patrons, Durlabh Ram and the Seths. That the Seths, even after the battle of Plassey, were described as the best friends of Siraj²¹⁷ and his family, is significant. (ii) The rebellious activities of Kamgar Khan, the Zamindar of Mai, possibly encouraged by interested parties in Bengal and the threatened pressure from the west,²¹⁸ also a factor to be reckoned with, tied the Naib of Patna to his own

215 Dastūr, 27b, 38a.

216 Two other letters in the Dastūr (22a and 24ab) prove conclusively that the Raja was not quite sure till the morning of Monday, the 16th Shawal, year 4th, "about the Nawab's murder. We read". In all probability the Nawab is not alive, otherwise he would have written something (to me) by some means or other "..... I am not in my senses.....If God brings him (Siraj) out alive it is incumbent upon us to take all possible care of him."

217 Dastūr, 27a; Orme, Broome, etc.

218 That Clive was confident of forming an alliance with the Marhatta, the Rajah of Birbhum, and even Wazir of Delhi, is not without its significance. We know the correspondence that passed between Clive and Asaduz-Zamman Khan, the Raja of Birbhum, and a nephew of Kamgar Khan of Mai (Hill, I, cxcvii—II). Letter addressed to Kamgar Khan, too, after Plassy, are not wanting. We have

province at a critical juncture of Sirajuddowla's life. In fact, he appears to have been absent from his capital and engaged in Mai country during the four months, from April to June,²¹⁹ 1757. (iii) The Nawab's false sense of security or his failure to grasp the reality of the situation prevented him from utilizing the services of his faithful Naib, who with his 10,000 veterans might certainly have strengthened the hands of Mohan Lal and Mir Maḍan, so as possibly to change the course of events. Kamgar had already been put to flight²²⁰ and might have been finally disposed of after the triumph over more dangerous foes. (iv) Perhaps the events moved so quickly and also unexpectedly that the Raja, misinformed as²²¹ he was, and much as he might have wished to the contrary, could not extricate himself from the frontier difficulty until he heard the maddening news of Plassey, obviously referred to in the first two letters, quoted above. (v) Even after this and before the capture and death of the fugitive Nawab, though he was courted by the supporters of the new Nawab²²² promptly, he felt not only grieved

already referred to Gholam Hussain's statement about the old friendship between Mirjafar and Kamgar Khan.

219 The solitary reference to the 4 months is found in the letters of the Dastūr, quoted above. But we have got other evidences also. Reference in Watts' *Memoirs* (67) to "the retreat of the Patans who had shown an intention to invade his (Siraj's) territories....., and the trouble occasioned by the Mai Rajputs between March and May 1757," are very important in this connection. The mention of illness during these four months may, however, indicate that the Rajah made only a general statement which does not preclude the possibility of his absence from his capital sometime during the same period.

220 Dastūr, see *ante*.

221 Without denying the efficiency of the intelligence department under Raja Ram Narain, we cannot but come to the above conclusion, for, we know how the Bengal friends of the Patna Naib were interested in keeping him in the dark regarding the true nature of the plot.

222 Dastūr, 24, a, b, 40, a, b, Hill—*Clive's Country Correspondence* (Imperial Records); Hill, II. 439, 445—Clive wrote to Admiral Watson on the 30th of June, 1757:—"Siraj-ud-dowla was taken by one of the Nabob's Jemadars and suffered to escape for a bribe of 30,000 gold Mohars. As

but also so very confused and perplexed as to fail to apprehend the worst, for he expected till, as the third letter shows, some sort of reconciliation between the victor and the vanquished. He must, however, have been soon disillusioned and regretted why he did not hasten to the rescue of the unfortunate Nawab even without express orders to that effect.²²³

Let us hear from Mir Hasan,²²¹ the great Urdu poet and biographer of the poets of the 18th century, how the Naib of Patna received the "awful news of the Nawab's tragic end. He writes that when the news of the martyrdom of Siraj-ud-dowla was noised abroad in the city, Raja Ramnarain composed off-hand the following verse in Urdu²²⁵ (Rekhta), which he continued to repeat and weep while he was making enquiries from the messenger of the important news:—

*"Ghezālān tum to wāqif ho, kaho Majnoom ke marne ki
Divānā mārgayā ākhir ko virane pa keyā guzri."*

"Oh Gazelles! You being in the know can tell us all about Majnun's 'death. The distracted one is dead at last; but how has the deserted, desolate region fared?"

all his treasures have been taken from him, I don't think he can do much harm. Ram Narain, the 'Nabob' of Patna, is confirmed and will scarcely resque (risk) his place for a man who has not wherewith to bribe him." The best comment on this view of the noble Colonel is furnished by his own letters to Col. Coote, dated, 1st. of Aug. ordering him to seize and "demolish" Raja Ram Narain, and another which he wrote to Mir Jafar on 12th of Aug. protesting against the latter's sudden change of attitude—towards the Patna Naib suggesting:—"Ram Narain's conduct must nevertheless deserve your resentment."

223 The Raja ought to have taken the first opportunity to hasten to the aid of his master. We shall see that he failed to summon sufficient courage in response to the appeal for retaliation by other devoted chieftains of Bihar even after he had heard the worst. "Slowness of motion which is now-a-days the fashion" is the pertinent remark of Gholam Hussain.

224 *Tazkira-i-Mir Hasan* published by Aurangabad Press, p. 172.

225 Modern Hindustani was called by various names, including Rekhta. It is interesting to find Raja Ram Narain quoting freely from the Urdu poem of a contemporary in one of his letters. See Dastūr, p. 91a.

The very pathetic tone of the extempore verse indicates the genuine grief of its author. It is difficult, therefore, to take very seriously the hint found in certain contemporary works that Raja Ram Narain made some conscious contributions to the pathetic calamity that overtook the beloved of his two benefactors. But let us examine the position by going back a little to the ground already covered. We know from certain records in Hill's *Bengal*²²⁶ and also indirectly from *Seyār*²²⁷ that the English, seeing that the continued sojourn of M. Law at Qasimbazar was a great obstacle to the success of the project which they had formed against the Nawab, as "he with his force of 150 Europeans and 100 disciplined sepoy was able, if he joined the Moors, to cause the failure of their enterprises, forced the Nawab to send them out of this territory." When the weak and vacillating Nawab made the mistake of his life on the 13th of April²²⁸ by compelling M. Law to leave for Azimabad (Patna), assuring him, in reply to the words of warning against the English and the English party that "if anything new should happen he would send for him again," the celebrated French adventurer uttered the prophetic words:—"Send for me again! Rest assured, my Lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other. Remember my words: we shall never meet again. It is nearly impossible."²²⁹ M. Law left Murshidabad on the 16th of April, and moved on leisurely till he arrived at Bhagalpore on the 2nd of May, and at Patna on the 3rd of June. There, as he himself writes, the French were received with every appearance of friendship by Ram Narain, Governor of the Province, and given very agreeable sites to build their barracks."²³⁰ We shall leave out what we read in Law's *Memoirs* above "the succession of contradictory"²³¹ orders" and its cause, about "the English boats in which instead of the merchandise there were munitions of all kinds, all well hidden under sacks

226 Hill's *Bengal*, III, 237;

229 *S.M.*, 636.

227 *S.M.*, 636.

230 Hill, III, 209.

228 Hill, III, 203-206.

231 *Ibid.*

of pepper and other seeds,"²³² about "the extravagant demands on the Nawab," "the duplicity of the Seths"²³² and the disbandment²³² of the army which had been encamped at Plassey by the Nawab." More relevant and important for our subject are the letters that Law received, one at Monghyr, "ordering"²³³ him to Patna" and "allowing him to draw some 20,000 rupees on Rajmahal and Bhagalpore and the other, dated 10th June, which he received five days later, on the 19th and which ordered him to remain at Patna and not to be disquieted in any way." This letter, Hill says, was suspected to be a forgery. Let us know what Law himself writes on this occasion²³⁴:—"I complained of this delay in the strongest terms to Ram Narain who received the packet from the Nawab but it was quite useless. The Nawab was betrayed by those whom he thought most attached to him; the Foujdar of Rajmahal (Mir Daud Khan, a brother of the notorious Mir Jafar) used to stop all his PATTAMAMAS (letter carriers) and detain them as long as he thought fit." 143/63

Apparently we get here a very strong indictment of the Patna Naib, specially when we couple it with the remarks of the authors of *Tārīkh-i-Mozaffari* and of *Seyar* about Raja Ram Narain's responsibility for delaying the march of M. Law towards Murshidabad. According to Ghulam Hussain "on the first movement of the English (from Calcutta) and his own advance towards Plassey the Nawab had written a pressing letter to M. Law requiring him to come to him immediately, without losing a moment."²³⁵ Law's observations are much more interesting and important:—"the Nawab"²³⁶ had the stupidity to confide in his most implacable enemies. At the time he wrote me letters after letters to come down as quickly as possible; the bearers, he said, were angels. But these angels were traitors who travelled as slowly as they could

²³² Hill, III, 207-208.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

²³⁵ *S.M.*, 639-40.

²³⁶ Hill, III, 212.

The first who started on the 12th did not reach me till the 22nd, and the other on the 24th. We were already on the way." In fact, "on the 20th upon certain rumours which were current in Patna that the English were preparing to march upon Murshidabad, M. Law had written to M. Sinfray his opinion as to what he should do. On the 22nd he replied to the Nawab and requested him to wait for him, as he feared he would engage the enemy at an unsuitable²³⁷ time. Now there is no mention here about "an order upon the treasury of Raja Ramnarain for the expenses of M. Law,"²³⁸ as we get in *Seyar*, though M. Law writes elsewhere about an order given him on the 7th of April.....to go to a Jāgir named Phulbari in the neighbourhood of Patna where he should be provided with what he needed.²³⁹ Most probably the author of the *Seyar* and *Tārikh-i-Mozaffari* refer to this when they write that "the Raja took up so much time in disbursing and providing the allotted amount that when M. Law and Mohammad Ali, a military commander of Azimabad, arrived in their boats at Rajmahal, they heard Sirajuddowla's arrest and turned back towards Patna." M. A. Ansari goes so far as to suggest that "Raja Ram Narain, seeing the sun of Siraj's fortunes on the wane, deliberately neglected payment of the authorized money and gave it to M. Law after it was too late."²⁴⁰

The condemnation is clear. But we must not lose sight of certain very important circumstances:—(i) We get authentic proofs in the letters of the Dastūr about Raja Ram Narain's absence from Patna for about 4 months, till the end of the fatal month of June, 1757. The 4 letters sent from Mai country have already been considered. There are two more²⁴¹ such letters in the collection, both addressed to Rai Saheb, "better than my own life" (i.e. Dhiraj Narain) and dated respectively March. 1757, and Tuesday,

²³⁷ Hill, III, 212.

²³⁸ S.M., 640; T.M., 336.

²³⁹ Hill, III, 202.

²⁴⁰ T.M., 336; S.M., 640.

²⁴¹ Dastūr, 26b, 27a, 36a, b, 37a, b, 38a.

the 29th of Ramzan i.e. 17th of June 1757. The first²⁴² speaks of the "information received through *barkarās* about the return of the English from Hugli to Calcutta" and of "the friendly letter received by the Nawab from Moosi Bhoosey (Mons. Bussy), the French General, from the environs of Cuttack for which the *crossids* were rewarded with Rs. 100," and which "gave peace of mind to His Excellency." The second²⁴³ contains these important lines:— "No news received from Kamgar nor any from Sunder Singh..... Raja Pahalwan Singh is desirous of taking leave with his troops. I, the poor man, do not consider the matter very pressing but am compelled by the order of Huzur (Nawab) to keep them attached till the western disturbances (are over),²⁴⁴ Dhoosi Ram also wants to take his departure.....the sending of Murshidabad force has been put off....."²⁴⁵ Raham Khan has also received a Parwana, sum-

242 Hughli was plundered and retaken on January 10th or 11th and on the 19th the British embarked and returned to Calcutta (Hill, I, cxli). Nawab's letter to M. Bussy, dated February and March, are quoted in Hill's *Records* (II, 264, 313, 314, 355 etc.)

243 *Ibid.*, 286-529b.

244 Dhusi Ram, an officer in the service of Raja Ram Narain, played a very prominent part in the battles that were fought against the Shahzada on the occasion of the latter's invasion of Bihar. He is particularly mentioned in connection with a detachment of Meeran's army which prevented 'Ali Bux Khan, Zamindar of Sarkar Saran and the Bhojpura Rajputs from creating a diversion in favour of Shah Alam in 1760. He was recommended for the title of a "Raja" by Raja Ram Narain and is said to have got it at the hands of Mir Jafar. Besides the frequent mention of his name in the *Dastūr*, we find him occasionally noticed in *Seyar*, *Ibrat Nāma*, *Shah Alam Nāma* of Munna Lal etc.

245 Raham Khan, described in *Seyar*, as a good Jemadar of Aliwardi had not only refused to join the detection of Mustafa Khan but fought valiantly against his fellow Afghan in the battle of Jagdishpore in 1745 and was consequently left by Aliwardi at Patna to help his nephew, Zainuddin Haibat Jang, against his enemies (*S.M.*, 542-543). His fidelity was again tested during the trying times of three month's sway of the Afghan over Bihar. He fought shoulder to shoulder with other veterans of Aliwardi as a result of which the murder of Zainuddin was avenged in 1748. He figured prominently, again, on the occasion of the Shahzada's invasion of Bihar. Though an officer in the army of Raja Ram Narain, his sympathies really lay on the side of the fugitive Prince-

moning him and he is, therefore, anxious for leave but the poor man is not letting him go till he gets news of the west." We know from certain other sources also about the Nawab's anxiety on account of the movement of the Abdali and the Wazir. Watts' *Memoirs of the Revolution of Bengal* (p. 67) tells us of the threatened invasion of the Abdali and the trouble occasioned by the Raja of Moy (Kamgar). Orme and Broome also inform us that Raja Ram Narain wrote to Colonel Coote about his having been away from Patna for some time, being engaged in an expedition against the petty Rajas of Moy and Sader, whose districts lay at a distance of 30 miles south east of Patna when M. Law returned from Rajmahal and escaped towards the Oudh frontier.²⁴⁶ (ii) True, M. Law definitely mentions the Rajah by his name, on two occasions, on the 3rd of June and on the 19th of June 1757. Probably it was the Rajah's brother, Rai Dhiraj Narain, who was in charge of Patna whom the French met and mistook for the permanent Naib. If not we shall have to presume occasionally flying visits of Raja Ram Narain to Patna during the course of his four month's stay in the Gaya district. (iii) The first cordial reception of M. Law on the 3rd June and the secret help rendered to him in his retrograde march subsequent to Plassey shows the attitude of the²⁴⁷ Naib towards the supporters of the Nawab. (iv) There is no mention of the delay in money payments on the part of Raja Ram Narain in Law's *Memoirs* and the immediate reference to Daud Khan, a brother of Mir Jafar, shows that it was probably he to whom the remark of Law applied. (v) The charge against Raja Ram Narain

Imperial, and he is even said to have joined Qadirdad Khan in turning upon Miran. He appears to have been one of the Afghan colonists of Tirhut (Darbhanga, for in the Dastūr where he makes his appearance frequently, he has been described as the Risaladar and Rais of Darbhanga, (323a).

⁴⁶ Broome, 171.

²⁴⁷ Law in Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 110. See also Orme, Broome and Ives's *Voyages*.

loses much of its force when we have reasons to believe that during his absence, the brother could not possibly cope with the situation, that nothing certain was known about the gravity of the situation at Murshidabad, and above all Ghulam Hussain himself makes the extenuating remark about "the slowness"²⁴⁸ which is now-a-days the fashion or etiquette with the people of Hindusthan."

We don't claim that Ram Narain or his brother was a paragon of promptness, specially in respect of money payments, but we have reasons to repudiate the hints about any deliberate intention on the former's part to injure the interests of the Nawab. Lastly, Orme's²⁴⁹ observation about the failure of M. Law to effect a junction with the defeated and fugitive Nawab has also to be taken into consideration:—"The French, with M. Law, advanced from Boglipoore, (Bhagalpore) as soon as they received the last summons of Sirajuddowla, but so late that they had not passed Takrigali (Sakrigally), when they heard some confused reports of the battle of Plassey, on which M. Law halted, waiting for more definite information. Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles farther he would, the next day, have met and saved Sirajuddowla and an order of events very different from those which we have to relate, would in all probability have ensued. After two days at Takrigally, M. Law received intelligence that he was taken; on which he immediately marched back to Bihar intending to offer his services to Ram Narain, the Vice-Nabob of the province." "Nature also conspired against Siraj" for, we are told that M. Law, "hurrying as fast as he could, was delayed by wind and storm"²⁵⁰ and consequently failed to rescue the Nawab.

Now to sum up the situation, we may regret the unfortunate delay in providing M. Law with the necessary expenses of the

248 *S.M.*, 640

249 Orme, II, 185.

250 Hill, I, ccvii.

journey which, if a fact, may not have been primarily due to Raja Ram Narain, nor owing to any deliberate design, but to a "want of punctuality,"²⁵¹ a misfortune frequently experienced in Hindusthan" and, therefore, we are justified in repudiating the ill-concealed accusation, that the Naib of Patna was guilty of an act of veiled hostility towards and criminal neglect of duty by, the young Nawab. We have read very carefully the extracts from the observations of M. Law and F. Noble (who quotes Colonel²⁵² Scott's *View of Bengal in 1754*), but we are unable to agree with the wrong interpretations of Mr. Hill²⁵³ that "the Hindu Zamindars of Bihar would have replaced Siraj-ud-dowla by a Hindu ruler if it had not been for the influence of the Seths." True, "the partisans of the British were almost all Hindus²⁵⁴ or protégés of Hindus," and there was also a community of interests through trade and commerce between the Hindus and the English as a result of which "in Bengal, the Jentoo Rajas (Hindu Rajas) and inhabitants were much disaffected to the Moör (Mussulman) Government, and secretly wished for a change."²⁵⁵ But we must remember that conditions in Bihar were not quite on all fours with those in Bengal. Moreover, the remark of M. Law, that but for the Seths "it was probable that *after the Revolution* in which Sirajuddowla was the victim, they (Hindu Rajas) would have risen together to establish a Hindu Government,"²⁵⁶ from which the English would not have obtained all the advantages they did from the Mussalmans" can only be applied to the post-Plassey events which may have had such repercussions in Bihar. We know that Sirajud-dowla had been saved from his discontented officers and the arch-conspirators of the future by the opportune approach of Raja Ram Narain and other Hindu Rajas of Bihar. We have shown that the latter were held up in their province by the orders of the Nawab himself so as to keep Kamgar under control and remain prepared

251 *S.M.*, 639.

252 Hill, I, xxii; III, 328.

253 Hill, I, xxiii.

254 *Ibid.*

255 Hill, III, 328, I.

256 Hill, I, xxiii.

for any hostile move from the west. It has been conclusively proved that the Bengal conspirators considered Raja Ram Narain to be "too faithfully²⁵⁷ attached to his master to be taken into their confidences." Even after the death of Siraj, this Hindû Raja is said to have been meditating a junction with the Subah of Oûdh²⁵⁸ (a Mahommadan ruler). Lastly, the relation between the Naib and the Nawab is also quite evident from the final action of the latter. In the night of 7th Shawal²⁵⁹ (25th June) he fled to Bhagwan Gola whence he proceeded towards Azimabad whose ruler was the last, and probably the best, refuge of his hopes. Let us see what Mr. Orme says about this affairs. "It was his intention to escape to M. Law and with him, to Patna, the Governor of which province, was a faithful adherent²⁶⁰ to his family." Unfortunately fate had ordained otherwise, and poor Siraj was betrayed and caught on the 1st of July, near Rajmahal, and shortly afterwards (night of 3rd July) done to death by the orders of the inhuman Meeran before he had completed his ablution and offered his last prayer²⁶¹ to the Almighty. We have already seen how the news was received by Raja Ram Narain. As to what he did afterwards, the extent to which he reconciled himself to the accomplished facts, and the manner in which he was wooed or awed by the English and their protege, these will appear from what we reserve for a subsequent occasion.

S. H. ASKARI

257 Scrafton's *Reflexion on Bengal* etc.

259 *S.M.*, 639; *T M.*, (*Tārikh-i-Mansûri*) *IASB.*, 1867.

260 Orme, II., 179.

258 *Ibid.*

261 Hill, I, ccvii.

Inscriptional Evidences Relating to the Development of Classical Sanskrit*

The most favourite theory with the nineteenth century Sanskritists was of Maxmüller that the golden age of Classical Sanskrit literature was the sixth century A.D., when flourished king Vikramāditya of Ujjain and his "nine gems" including Kālidāsa. This sixth century Vikramāditya was found in king Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription. The unsoundness of the theory was afterwards shown by Bühler who examined a number of inscriptions including the Nasik Prakrit record (c. 150 A.D.) of Gautamī Balaśri, the Junāgaḍh Sanskrit record (150 A.D.) of Rudradāman, and many inscriptions of the Gupta period, and proved the flourishing state of Classical prose and poetry, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, at the courts of Indian princes as early as the second century A.D. It was also shown that Yaśodharman was neither a Vikramāditya, nor a Śakāri, nor even had he his capital at Ujjain, and that the so-called "nine gems" were not known to have lived in the same century. Other theories ascribing later date to Kālidāsa, the best Classical Sanskrit writer, were proved to be untenable by the discovery of the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated Śaka 556 = 634-35 A.D. This record mentions the names of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi as already very famous. The introductory verses of the *Harṣacarita* also mention several authors including Kālidāsa, who flourished before Bāṇa, court-poet of king Harṣavardhana (606-47 A.D.). It is now generally believed that Vikramāditya Śakāri of the legends is the Gupta king Candragupta II (c. 375-414 A.D.) and that, of the "nine gems," at least Kālidāsa lived in the 4th-5th centuries A.D.

Now, however, we have got to look at the question from a different point of view. I have recently noticed attempts to ascribe

* Read at the Indian History Congress (1938), Allahabad.

the thirteen Trivandrum plays to the time of Candragupta Maurya, i.e., to the 4th century B.C., and the authorship of the *Mṛcchakatika* to Simuka, founder of the Sātavāhana family, who is generally placed in the 2nd, but sometimes also in the first, century B.C. We have now to see if there is any evidence of the existence of a developed *kāvya* style and of the popularity of classical metres and of *Samskṛta* (or the refined, reformed speech) in centuries before Christ.

The first question relates to the development and popularisation of Classical Sanskrit. It evidently owes its development to the endeavours of early grammarians like Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Śarvavarman and others. The most important and the earliest extant Classical Sanskrit grammar is that of Pāṇini who however seems to have been preceded by a number of writers on the subject. But Pāṇini's date is disputed, though he should be placed earlier than the 3rd century B.C. It is generally believed that *Samskṛta* is the refined form of the popular speech of Madhyadeśa which originally signified the upper valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. But Pāṇini is traditionally connected with Śālātūra in Gandhāra in the north-western part of India. Kātyāyana is placed between Pāṇini and Patañjali who again is taken as a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra (c. 185-49 B.C.) on the strength of the *Mahābhāṣya* passages like इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः । But there is reason to believe that these are मूर्धोभिषिक्त उदाहरणs, "stock instances," and that they do not prove Patañjali's contemporaneity with the Śuṅga king. But he should possibly be placed not later than the first century A.D.¹ According to tradition, Patañjali was a native of Gonarda which was situated between Ujjain and Vidiśā

¹ Cf. a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, verses 168, 174, 176. The study of the "*Mahābhāṣya* which was rare at that time" became reorganised at the time of king Abhimanyu (I, verse 176) who ruled after Huṣka (=Huviṣka), Juṣka (=Vajheska, Vasiṣka) and Kaṇiṣka (II ?).

(Besnagar). Śarvavarman lived at the court of a Śālivāhana or Śāta-vāhana king, possibly of Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan in Aurangabad Dist.), and appears to have lived not later than the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. It must be noticed here that according to scholars, Sanskrit was not a spoken language at the time of Pāṇini and that even among the cultured classes it was not in colloquial usage, but was confined to the grammatical schools (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 281).

Now, inspite of the efforts of grammarians, it is clear from the evidence of epigraphy that Sanskrit was not popular as late as the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Almost all records, whether of kings or of private persons, belonging to a period prior to the first century A.D. are written in Prakrit. In Western India, Prakrit began to be ousted by Sanskrit from the field of epigraphy about the 2nd century A.D., but in Southern India it lingered on upto the first half of the 4th century A.D. Inscriptions also suggest that the cradle of Sanskrit was possibly the north-western part of India, the land of Pāṇini, whence its influence seems to have spread eastwards and southwards. The inscriptional Prakrit generally avoids the use of conjuncts; but they are in general use in those Prakrit records which are linguistically and chronologically nearer the Sanskrit records. It is however very interesting to note that the Girnar (Kathiawar), Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar Dist.) and Mansehra (Hazara Dist.) versions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts—especially the last two—exhibit a tendency to use conjuncts. The language of these versions is definitely nearer Sanskrit in comparison with that of the other versions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. In place of the passage देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिने लाजिने of the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada versions, we have देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (Girnar), देवन प्रियस प्रियदसिने रजो (Shahbazgarhi) and देवन प्रियस प्रियदसिने रजिने (Mansehra), and in place of मिगे नो धुवे, we have झुगो नो ध्रुवं (Shahbazgarhi) and झिगे नो ध्रुवं (Mansehra).² And it

² The Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions are written in Kharoṣṭhi script which does not use long ā, etc.

is interesting that Sanskrit was first used in the records of kings who ruled in the country with Kathiawar in the south and Ayodhya in the east.³ It was popularised in Northern India by foreigners like the Scythians who came through north-western India, the land of Pāṇini. Inscriptions like those of the Scythian chiefs, which are written in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit, prove to be a landmark in the popularisation of Sanskrit in Northern India. Now, these facts possibly go to show that, unless we have proofs of a very positive character, no Classical Sanskrit *kāvya*—especially *drśya-kāvya* which is meant for the enjoyment of the public—can be safely given a date prior to the birth of Christ.

Now we may take up the question of the development of Classical poetry. Not to speak of a developed *kāvya* style, even figurative expressions and long compounds (ओजोगुण, i.e., समासभूयस्त्व, which is the very life of Classical prose) are conspicuous by their absence in early epigraphic records. Of the early records, the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāganikā, which is evidently a *prāśasti* of her dead husband, gives an only instance of figurative expression in the passage सागर-गिरिवर-वत्तयाय पथविय पथम-वीर.⁴ Epigraphy therefore does not support any hypothesis that a developed *kāvya* literature existed in the pre-Christian centuries.

A consideration of the question of the development and popularity of classical metres also tells the same story. Classical metres like

3 The Ayodhyā Sanskrit record of Dhana[deva], with constant use of *serif* and angular forms of letters like व, म, ष, etc., cannot be earlier than the 1st century A.D.

4 The Hāthigumphā *prāśasti* of Khāravela exhibits ओजोगुण and its diction is sonorous and rhythmical. But the angular forms of letters like व, म, etc., which are occasionally found in this record, prove that this inscription is later probably than the Nānāghāt inscription of Naganikā and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra. I am inclined to place the Hāthigumphā inscription about the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

मालती, प्रमिताक्षरा, प्रहर्षिणी, and वसन्ततिलका are no doubt found in the महाभाष्य of Patañjali. But, as we have already remarked, it is not at all certain that Patañjali lived in the 2nd century B.C. and not more than a century later. The Junāgaḍh record of Rudradāman possibly refers to the king's efficiency in composing *gadya* and *padya kāvyas*. But, in inscriptions, classical metres are seen to be used only about the period of the Guptas. These facts appear to prove that such metres were at least not popular before the birth of Christ.

The above facts have led me to believe that no Sanskrit work in a developed *kāvya* style can be much earlier than the 2nd century A.D. But the date of the drama or *drśya-kāvya* can be considered from another point of view. The determining factor in this case may be the language and style of the Prakrit inscriptions, which should be compared with the language and style of the Prakrit portions of a drama. Like royal edicts, dramas were no doubt meant to be intelligible to the public. At least the Prakrits used in dramas are theoretically in imitation of popular speech. A comparison of the Prakrit portions (with their ओजो-गुण) of the extant Sanskrit dramas with the Prakrit records shows that none of the latter can be earlier than the 1st or 2nd century A.D., because before that period समासभूयस्त्व was almost unknown in Indian epigraphy. Any attempt of identifying the author of the *Mṛcchakatika* with the founder of the Sātavāhana family would appear impossible, if only we compare the Prakrit portions of this drama with the language of the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāganikā. It would appear even absurd, if we remember the traditions regarding the ignorance of Sanskrit ascribed to the Sātavāhana, patron of Śarvavarman, who could not distinguish between *m* = *ōdaka* (no water) and *modaka* (sweets), the Sātavāhana of Kuntala who, according to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* ordered exclusive use of Prakrit in his harem, and the Sātavāhana king Hāla credited with the authorship of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. The above facts together

with the evidence of the inscriptions of the family, which are all written in Prakrit, appear to prove that the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan hardly patronised Sanskrit literature. At least, in these circumstances, a theory ascribing the authorship of the *Mṛcchakatika* to Simuka must be rejected, unless it is supported by evidence of a very definite character.⁵

Similarly, a comparison of the style of the thirteen Trivandrum plays⁶ with that of the inscriptions of Aśoka proves the absurd nature of the theory assigning the plays to the 4th century B.C.⁷ The theory however is based on a supposed similarity between some passages of the plays and some passages of the *Arthaśāstra*, ascribed to Kauṭilya who is said to have lived in the 4th century B.C. at the court of Candragupta Maurya. But whatever be the age of Kauṭilya, the present day *Arthaśāstra* is undoubtedly a later work. The *Arthaśāstra*, II, vi, refers to the system of specifying

5 The *Mṛcchakatika* (Act IX) which represents the judge (अधिकरणिक्) in a court of law as accompanied by Śreṣṭhin and Kāyastha can hardly be a pre-Gupta work. The earliest mention of śreṣṭhin and kāyastha as officials or semi-officials are in records of the Gupta period. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 473n.

6 Whatever be the date of Bhāsa, the Trivandrum plays may be placed in the Gupta period on the strength of the celebrated verse:

इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्धपकुण्डलाम् ।

महीमेकातपलाकां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥

The verse appears to refer to a king of Northern India whose kingdom lay between the Himalayas and the Vindhya, and between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Prof. Raychaudhuri may be right in identifying this Rājasimha with Candragupta II (*op. cit.*, p. 442 n). If Bhāsa was the author of these plays, he was possibly an older contemporary of Kālidāsa.

7 Cf., e.g., the ओजोगुण and the artificial style in the following passages of खप्रवासवदत्त, given in the mouth of a maid-servant. इयं भट्टिदारिद्र्या उक्कुरिद-करणचुलिएण वाआम-सजाद-सेदबिन्दु-विहृतिदेश परिस्सन्त-रमणीअ दंसणेण सुहेण कन्दुएण कीलन्दी इदो एव्व आअच्छदि (Act II); इअं चिन्ता-सुअ-अ-हिअआणीहार-पडिहद-चन्दलेहा विअ अमण्डद-भइअं वेसं धारअन्दी पिअं गु-सिलापट्टए उवविडा (Act III); etc.

dates in terms of राज-वर्ष (regnal year), मास (month), पक्ष (bright or dark fortnight) and दिवस (day).⁸ Inscriptions prove that this system was becoming popular only about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. The system of dating known to Aśoka in the third century B.C. is found in such passage of his Edicts as द्वादस-वसाभिसित्तेन मया इदं आजपितं । The Besnagar pillar inscription of the 2nd century B. C. is dated भागभद्रस त्वातारस वसेन चतुदसेन राजेन वधमानस. This system simply refers to the regnal year. A little later system refers to the regnal year, पक्ष of the season (originally three, but later four in a year), and day. In South India this system lingered longer. Cf. अश्वघोषस्य चतरिंशे सवच्छरे हेमन्तपक्षे प्रथमे दिवसे दशमे ; सिरिविरपुरिस-दत्तस संवच्छ २० वासापखं ८^० दिवसं १० ; सवच्छरं पडमं सरदपखं त्रितीयं दिवसं पडम नक्खत्तं रोहिणीयं (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 922, 1202, 1196). Mention of the month in a date is found in no very early records. The system popular in North-Western India at the time of the Kuṣāṇas was to refer generally to months of the Yavana Calendar and also to Indian months, and to days without reference to पक्ष; e.g., कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादसे ११ दशसिङ्ग(क)स्य मसस्य दिवसे अठविंशे २८, or सं ११ अषढस मसस दि २० उत्तरफुण्णे, or सं १८ कर्तियस मसो दिवसे २०, etc. It is interesting to note that dates of records belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period and found in the Mathura region show a compromise between the Indian custom of referring to season and *pakṣa* and the Yavana custom of referring to month; e.g., सं ५ हे ४ दि २० (Lüders, No. 20). The reference to the 20th day proves that हे ४ signifies the 4th month of हेमन्त and not its 4th पक्ष. Compare also कणिष्कस्य राज्यसंवत्सरे नवमे ६ वासमासे प्रथमे १ दिवसे ५; or संवत्सरे पचविंशे हेमन्तमसे तृतीये दिवसे वींशे etc. (Lüders, Nos. 22, 32). The system which possibly owed its origin to Yavana custom

8 See *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 441-42.

9 The number of the fortnight shows that the year was divided into three seasons (ग्रीष्म, वर्षा and हेमन्त) of eight *pakṣas* each. Śaśat was afterwards added to the list of seasons. Cf. the following example.

appears to have been followed about the 2nd century A.D. by another system of dating which referred both to the मास and पक्ष; e.g. वसे ४१ क्रातिकशुभे पनरस (Lüders, No. 1133), or रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७२ मार्गशीर्षबहुलप्रतिपदि etc. It should be noted that, like Sanskrit, this system of dating was also popularised by foreigners who came through North-Western India, and that Kauṭilya, like Pāṇini, is traditionally connected with a place (Taxila) in the north-western part of India. Kauṭilya may have been the teacher of an Arthaśāstra school and the author of the original *Arthaśāstra*, which, in that case, was very likely composed in the form of a Dharmaśāstra work, but some portions of the work and its form, as we have it to-day, are surely not much earlier than the 2nd century A.D.

I am inclined to think that the earliest known writer of Classical *kāvya* (including *drśya-kāvya*) is Aśvaghōṣa who, curiously enough, is traditionally known to have lived at the court of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka at Puruṣapura (Peshawar). He is thus not only connected with North-Western India, the cradle of Sanskrit, but also with the foreigners who favoured Sanskrit. Aśvaghōṣa's date is determined by that of Kaniṣka who is supposed to have ruled in the last quarter of the first, or the first half of the second, century A.D. There is no proof that Classical Sanskrit was popular in other parts of India in the age of Aśvaghōṣa.¹⁰ It is however not impossible that his was not the first attempt to write Classical *kāvyas*, and

10 The popular epic literature seems to have been originally in Prakrit; cf. the Jātaka literature, especially the *दसरथजातक* which gives an early version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (a saga not belonging to north-western India) is believed to have been sung by bards before public gatherings; it could not therefore have been written originally in Sanskrit which was not understood by ordinary people. The same appears to have been the case with the *Mahābhārata*, a saga of the Kurū-Pañcāla area. The Sanskrit versions of such popular works as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* may have been prepared at the time of the later Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas.

that, in North-Western India, there may have existed some works in Classical Sanskrit even before his time. But the history of the beginning of Classical literature is utterly obscure, though it may be conjecturally placed about a century earlier than the time of Aśva-ghoṣa. Theatrical performances, however, seem to have existed long before our first known dramatist's time; but they were probably like the 18th-19th century Bengali *yātrā* (half-written and half-unwritten plays) and the Bengali *bhāsān yātrā* and *gājir gān* (unwritten plays) of the present day. The age of Sanskrit dramas must have been preceded by centuries of unwritten plays, and possibly also an age of popular, unartificial Prakrit dramas which are now lost.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Malik Sultān Shāh Lōdī

The name of Sultān Shāh, the paternal uncle of Bahlūl Lōdī the first Pathān Sultān of India has yet to be vindicated, and is, I am afraid, unknown to many students of history. He is one of the many adventurers who rose into prominence during the decline of the Delhi Sultanate from the time of the later Tughlaqs to the advent of the Lōdis. Even more than that. It was he who laid the real foundation of the first dynasty of the Afghān rulers in India.

The regions clustering round the Sulaimān mountains had for a long time been the national home of the Afghāns. There the people whether Afghāns or Balochis are even to this day mostly pastoral, moving to the plains during winter and to the hills in the summer. During their sojourn in the plains they move far and wide either for employment or as traders. The Afghāns are the most enterprising of all peoples in that part of the country. To this day they periodically move to India and even to Chinese Turkestan for trade ventures. During the last quarter of the 14th century from Balōt,¹ a place in Balochistān one Malik Bahrām Lōdī who belonged to the Sahū-khel tribe of the Gilzai Afghāns used to come to Multān to trade in the company of his brothers and kinsmen. The trade did not prosper and following a quarrel with his brothers,² a phenomenon which is only one of the many causes of the migrations of pastoral tribes, Malik Bahrām Lōdī came over to Multān, gave up trade and accepted service as a mercenary soldier

1 Balōt (*Āin*, Jarrett II, p. 308) is perhaps Bellpat below Sibi town in Balochistān. Belōt which is the same as Balot is placed, by Abūl Fazl (*Āin*, II, p. 325, Jarrett) in the Bīrūni (beyond) Panj-nad Sarkar, Punj-nad being the river formed by the united waters of the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum, 44 miles in length upto the junction with the Indus. Vide *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. XIX, p. 398.

2 Ferishta, Muslim University Ms.



under Malik Mardān Daulat Khān governor of Multān and one of the chief nobles of Sulṭān Firōz Shāh Tūghlaq.³ Malik Mar'dān Daulat was succeeded by his son Malik Shaikh as the governor of Multān and on the latter's death which happened soon after, by Malik Sulaimān the adopted son of Malik Mardān.⁴ On Malik Sulaimān's death, his son Khizr Khān the subsequent founder of the Syad dynasty was made the governor of Multān by Sulṭān Firōz Shāh Tūghlaq.⁵ After Malik Bahram's death all his five sons—Malik Sulṭān Shāh, Malik Kālā, Malik Firōz, Malik Moḥammad and Malik Khwaja settled in Mutān. Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī enlisted himself in the service of Khizr Khān⁶ and was given a commission as the chief of a band of Afghāns.⁷

In the period of chaos and confusion that followed from the year 797 H. (1394 A.D.) when there were two rival Sulṭāns—Mahmūd Shāh bin Moḥammad b Firōz at Delhi and Naṣrat Shāh bin Faṭḥ Khān b Firōz at Firōzabād and the nobles had espoused the cause of the one or the other, Multān became practically independent under Khizr Khān, Sārang Khān, the brother of Mallū Iqbāl Khān the Turk, who held the governorship of Dipālpūr⁸ and Lahore on behalf of Mahmūd Shāh and ejected Khizr Khān from Multān after a contested encounter in 798 H. (1395 A.D.). Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī

3 Ferishta, Muslim University Ms.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, ASB., Text, vol. I, p. 265.

6 Ferishta, M.U. Ms. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett, vol. II, p. 308. Sūjjān Rai *Khūlāṣatūt Tawārikh*, M.U. Ms.

7 Rāi Bindrāban, *Lūbbūt-Tawārikh*, M.U. Ms., 74; *Gūlshan-i-Hind*, M.U. Ms. (of an unknown authorship).

8 Dipālpūr—a Tahsil of Montgomery District, the Punjab, situated between 30° 9' and 30° 56' N. and 75° 25' and 74° 8' E. The whole of the Tahsil lies in the low lands between the central plateau of the Bāri Doāb and the Sutlej. Its headquarters is the village of Dipālpūr situated in 30° 40' N. and 73° 32' E. *Imp. Gaz.*, pp. 358-9.

9 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, ASB., vol. I, pp. 253, 265. *Mūntakhabut Tawārikh*. Badauni, vol. ASB., Text, p. 267.

seems to have suffered a temporary disgrace along with his chief. When Tīmūr invaded India, Khizr Khān joined him and assisted him in capturing Lahore from Shaikhā Khokhar.¹⁰ At the time of Tīmūr's return from India Khizr Khān was bestowed the governorship of Multān and Dipālpūr by Tīmūr¹¹ in 801 H. (1398 A.D.). This involved the restoration of Sulṭān Shāh once more.

Immediately after Tīmūr's departure from India, Iqbāl Mallū Khān who had fled to Baran,¹² during Tīmūr's occupation of Delhi, drove Naṣrat Shāh who occupied the vacant throne of Delhi. Iqbāl Khān remained the real ruler of Delhi even after Maḥmūd Shāh Tūghlaq's return from Gujrāt in 804 H. (1401 A.D.). After campaigning against Gwalior, Etawah,¹³ and Sāmāna¹⁴ on behalf of the puppet Sulṭān, Iqbāl Khān turned towards Multān. On the bank of the Indus near Ajodhan,¹⁵ Khizr Khān offered him battle on 19th Jamādī I, 808 (12th Nov. 1405). Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī fought in the battle from the side of Khizr Khān and "aided by good luck"

10 The Khokhars, the Gakkhars and the Kākars are different tribes. The Khokhars are of indigenous origin and belong to the race of foreign invaders who entered India before the Mahomedans. They dwell on both sides of the Jhelum, from Mianwalli town to Jhang border and chiefly in the Shahpur district, Punjab. The Gakkhars claim descent from the rulers of Persia and are one of the invading races of India. They occupy part of the Rawalpindi, Attock and Jhelum Districts in the Punjab; Hazāra District in N.W.-F.P. and Jammu territories west of the Chenab. The Kākars are Afghans and inhabit northern Balochistān. All are Mahomedans except the Khokhars who are split up into Muslim, Rajput and Jat sections. (Vide *Āin.*, I, Jarrett), pp. 456, 486. 'Gakkhars' in *Encyc. of Islam; Punjab Census Report*, 1881, p. 149. *Punjab Dist. Gaz.*, Part A, on Rawalpindi, Shahpur and Attock.

11 *Āin.*, Jarrett, II, p. 307.

12 Baran is the old name for Bulandshahr, headquarters of the District of the same name in U.P. *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. VI, p. 428.

13 Etawah was a Sarkar. Etawah city is the headquarters of the district of the same name in U.P.

14 Sāmāna—a town in Bhawānigarh Tahsil, Karimgar Nizāmat, Patiala State, Punjab, situated in 30° 9' N. and 76° 15' E. 17 miles S.W. of Patiala town.

15 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, ASB., I, p. 260.

16 Ferishta, M.U. Ms., Subhi Sādiq by Mohammad Sādiq. Bankipore, Ms.

he killed Mallū Iqbāl. In the *Tārikh-i-Mūbārak Shāhi* it is mentioned that Iqbāl Khān being defeated in the battle failed to flee in time as his horse was wounded. This was the incident which favoured the luck of Sulṭān Shāh. Khizr Khān became highly pleased with his general, raised him high in favour and conferred on him the title of Islām Khān. In 820 H. (1417 A.D.),¹⁷ after the occupation of Delhi¹⁸ Khizr Khān bestowed on Sulṭān Shāh Lōḍī, the governorship of Sirhind¹⁹ and sent him to suppress the imposter Sārang Khān; the real Sārang Khān, brother of Mallū Iqbāl Khān having died during the invasion of India by Timūr.²⁰ In Rajab 822 (July-Aug. 1419), Sārang Khān emerged from the hills towards the bank of the Sutlej and was joined by the people of Rūpar.²¹ In the battle that took place, Sārang Khān was defeated, and fled to the hills with a handful of followers, after a hot pursuit by Sulṭān Shāh Lōḍī assisted by Khwājah Ali Andarāni, Zirak Khān governor of Sāmāna and Ṭūghān the son of the Turk. Sārang Khān was ultimately seized treacherously and executed by Ṭūghān the Turk in 824 H. (1420 A.D.).²² Ṭūghān himself rebelled against Khizr soon after, but was suppressed ultimately.

vol. IV, f. 1697 (a); Lübbūt-Tawārikh, by Rāi Bindrāban, M.U. Ms. Ghūlshan-i-Hind; *Tārikh-i-Mūbārak Shāhi*. *Ain.*, Jarrett, p. 307.

17 *Tabaqāt* ASB., I, p. 269.

18 Rabi I, 817 *Tārikh-i-Mūbārak Shāhi*.

19 Sirhind—literally the "head of India" is an extensive territorial division of Hindustan bounded on the north by the Punjab; on the east by Sirmor and other hills and the Dist. of Sahāranpūr, and Pānipat and Rohtak; and Hariāna; on the west by the state of Bhawālpore; about 220 miles in length and 160 miles in breadth; situated between 29° 3' to 31° 24' N. and 73° 50' to 77° 39' E. Thornton's *Gaz.*, vol IV.

20 Ferishta, M.U. Ms.

21 *Tārikh-i-Mūbārak Shāhi*, ASB., Text. p. 187; *Tabaqāt*, ASB., I, p. 269. Rūpar is the headquarters of the Sub-division and Tahsil of the same name in the Ambala Dist., Punjab situated in 30° 58' N, and 76° 32' *Imp. Gaz.*

22 This date is given in Rahmatullāh Attockī's *Mūntakhabat Tawārikh*, f. 433 (b) Bankipur Ms.; *Tārikh-i-Mūbārak Shāhi*, pp. 190-1.

During the reign of Mubārak Shāh (1421-34) son and successor of Khizr Khān, Sulṭān Shāh played a conspicuous part in warding off the Khokhar menace. In Jamādi I, 823 (May, 1420) Shaikhā Khokhar²³ had captured Sulṭān 'Alī king of Kashmir who had invaded Thattha²⁴ and was off his guard while returning after a victorious campaign. A huge booty including war-materials having fallen in Shaikhā's hands, his ambition soared so high that he began to aspire for the throne of Delhi. Carrying fire and sword before him, Shaikhā laid siege to Jalandhar²⁵ and treacherously captured its governor Zīrak Khān in Jamādi II, 824 (June 1421), and on 20th Jamādi II, (June 22, 1421), he fell upon Sirhind. Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, its governor, gave a stubborn opposition to Shaikhā whereupon he raised the siege on the approach of the rains and the timely arrival of the Delhi forces commanded by the Sulṭān.²⁶ Shaikhā fled by crossing the Sutlej. He was driven from pillar to post till he sought refuge in the hills. Next year in Jamādi II, 825, (June 1422) Shaikhā reappeared and invested Lahore with a stronger army. He failed this time as well and fled towards Kalanaur. Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī, in the company of some other generals,

23 This name appears in different forms. The author of *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* calls him Jasrath-Shaikhā, sometimes as Ja.rath and sometimes as Shaikhā. He even adds that Jasrath was the brother of Shaikhā. Ferishta names him Jasrath. The correct reading following Nizāmuddin and Badauni would be Shaikhā Khokhar. It was Bahlūl Lōdī who fought against Jasrath Khokhar son of Shaikhā Khokhar. Sūjān Rai writing his *Khulāṣat* 40 years after the accession of Aurangzeb correctly differentiates between the two names.

24 *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 194. Thattha—or Tatta, a taluka of Karachi District, Sindh lying between 24° 31'—25° 27' N. and 67° 34'—65° 24' E. Tatta town (situated 24° 45' N. and 67° 58' E.), known as Nagar Thato among its inhabitants is the headquarters of the Taluka. *Imp. Gaz.*, XXIII, p. 254.

25 Jalandhar or Jullundur town is the headquarters of the Division and District of Jullundur, Punjab, situated in 31° 20' N. and 75° 35' E. on the North-Western Railway and Grand-Trunk Road, *Imp. Gaz.*, XIV, pp. 231-2.

26 *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* ASB., p. 195.

chased Shaikhā upto the hills once more. The indefatigable Shaikhā full of ambition and reckless courage, never failed to utilise an opportunity. He succeeded in defeating and slaying Rāi Bhīm the Rāja of Jammū who had helped the Delhi army in operations against him in 827 H. (1423 A.D.), and unable to cope with the government forces, induced Shaikh 'Alī, governor of Kabul on behalf of Mirza Shāhrukh son of Timūr, to invade Siwistan,²⁷ Bhakar²⁸ and Thattha. The invitation did not bear any fruit for the time being.

By the year 830 H. (1428) Shaikhā had died and was succeeded by his son Jsrath as the leader of the Khokhars. Jsrath was no less elusive a warrior than his father. He zealously set himself to fulfil his father's ambition—viz., the seizure of Delhi, the capital of the Sultanate. With the assistance of Sultān Zainul-Abedeen king of Kashmir, Jsrath captured Kalanaur and defeated Malik Sikandar Toḥfa the Wazir, deputed to oppose him.³⁰ He invested Jalandhar and failing to capture it, he devastated the surrounding territories. Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Zīrak Khān governor of Sāmāna and Sultān Shāh Lōdī governor of Sirhind to assist Malik Sikandar who was compelled to fall back on Lahore after his defeat. According to Nizāmuddīn,³¹ Sikandar Toḥfa succeeded in driving Jsrath before the arrival of re-inforcement. Perhaps the news of the approach of a new army disheartened Jsrath who took to his heels.

27 Sewistan was then a Sarkār of the Province of Multān. Cf. *Āin.*, Jarrett II, 340.

28 Bhakkar is placed by Abul Fazl (*Āin.*, Jarrett, II, 334) the Multan Sarkar and as possessing a brick fort.). Bhakkar is the Central Cis-Sutlej Tahsil of the Mianwalli District, Punjab lying between 31° 10'—32° 22' N. and 70° 47'—72° E. Its headquarters is the Bhakkar town situated in 31° 37' N. and 71° 4' E. on the left bank of the Indus. *Imp. Gaz.*, VIII, *Āin.*, II, Jarrett, pp. 327-334.

29 Kalanaur—Town in the District and Tahsil of Gurudaspur, Punjab, situated in 32° N. and 75° 10' E. 15 miles west of Gurdaspur town.

30 Ferishta, M.U. Ms.; *Tabakat. Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī.*

31 *Tabakat-i-Ākbari.*

Sultān Shāh is next noticed in the operation against Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī king of Jaunpur in 830 H. (1426 A.D.).³² He was one of the many generals—Maḥmūd Hassan, Faṭḥ Khān, Zīrak Khān, Malik Jāman, Malik Kālū and Malik Aḥmad Muqbil who commanded the Delhi armies. In view of the gravity of the danger, Sultān Mubārak Shāh seems to have collected all his best generals to oppose the Sharqīs then in the pinnacle of their power and glory. The encounter remained indecisive as both armies remained in tact and both kings departed to their own capitals.³³

In Shawwal 833 (June 1430) Fūlād the Turk³⁴ revolted against Mubārak Shāh, and defeated the Delhi army sent against him. On hearing the news of this reverse Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Malik Sultān Shāh along with three other generals—Zīrak Khān, Malik Kālū, and Kamāl Khān against Fūlād. The party besieged Fūlād in Tabarhind in Safar 834 (Oct. 1430) for six months. Upon this Fūlād sent a message to Shaikh 'Alī, the Timuride Governor of Kābul imploring his assistance.³⁵ Shaikh 'Alī responded and marched towards Multān in Jamādī I 834 (Jan. 1431). Sultān Shāh and his party raised the siege when the army of Shaikh 'Alī appeared within 30 karohs (kos) of Tabarhind. Shaikh 'Alī joined by Fūlād captured Jalandhar and Lahore in Rajab 834 (March 1431). On the approach of the royal army under Emādūl Mūlk, Shaikh 'Alī retreated towards Multān, being closely pursued by the Delhi army. When he was within 10 *kros* of Multān city Emādūl Mūlk dispatched Sultān Shāh Lōdī to attack Shaikh 'Alī. In the sanguinary battle that followed, the royal army was defeated and Sultān Shāh Lōdī died fighting.³⁶

32 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, ASB., I, p. 278. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, ASB., p. 208.

33 *Ibid.*

34 Fūlād seems to be a relative of Mallū Iqbāl Khān or his brother Sārang Khān. He is not identified by historians.

35 *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, ASB., p. 208; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, ASB., I, p. 281.

36 *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 208. *Tabaqāt*, ASB., I, p. 276.

Thus the exploits of Sulṭān Shāh Lōdī more than once decided the fate of the Sultanate of Delhi. His victory over Māllū Iqbāl practically meant the death of the Tūghlak dynasty. He was instrumental in stabilising the Syad dynasty by defeating Sārang Khān. His exploits against Shaikhā and Jastrath had saved the sceptre of Delhi passing into the hands of the turbulent Khokhars. At the time of his death, Sulṭān Shāh as the governor of Sirhind possessed an army composed mostly of Pathān mercenaries estimated at 12 thousand men,³⁷ just the number which conquered India under Bābar. That the Afghāns had acquired great strength in his fief is attested to by the fact that soon after Sulṭān Shāh's death the Sulṭān of Delhi thought it prudent to disperse the Afghāns and make them law abiding by sending an expedition with Malik Sikandar Toḥfa as the commander. He did not consider this army as sufficient but induced Jastrath Khokhar the head of an equally turbulent tribe to cope with the Afghāns—the very Jastrath who was rival and a rebel to the Sultanate.

Sometime before his death he nominated his nephew and son-in-law whom he brought up from his childhood as the heir both of his state and position, to the exclusion of his son Qutb Khān Lōdī. This heir is Bahlūl Lōdī son of his brother Malik Kālā Lōdī who beginning his career with Sirhind as nucleus succeeded in capturing Delhi and laying the foundation of the Lōdī dynasty.

A. HALIM

Ferishta, M.U. Ms.; Ferishta puts the date of the death of Sulṭān Shāh to the 4th Ramzān 834 i.e. 16th May 1431. Moḥd. Sādiq [Sūbhi Sādiq, Bankipore 1693 (b)] calls him Faṭḥ Khān, a title freely used by Indian writers of universal history.

37 Rāi Bindrāḥan—Lūbbūt-Tawārikh, M.U. Ms. Mūjmili Hīndī—Habibganj, Ms. by Mir Mohsin (Private Library of Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Habibur Rahman Khān Sherwani in Habibganj, Aligarh District). Ferishta, M.U. Ms.

Hyder 'Ali's Relations with the British Government* (1769-75)

Wilks, in his estimate of Hyder, says that 'he had no passion good or bad to disturb the balance of the account.'¹ Between 1769 and 1775 Hyder became convinced that as matters stood, he must join the other combination opposed to the British. We cannot also deny that he had just grounds to complain of the English Government.

The 2nd article of the treaty of 1769 that ended the First Anglo-Mysore War provided that 'in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall from their respective countries, mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out.' No doubt this article was very inconvenient to the E.I. Co. giving them all the embarrassments of an offensive alliance without any of its advantages. But this ought to have been an argument against the conclusion of the treaty and not an argument against its observance after it had been concluded. This treaty of 1769 was naturally regarded by Hyder as the most important part of his plan of resistance to the Maratha invasion which might come at any time. The Maratha State, under the wise guidance of Madhava Rao, the greatest of the Peshwas, had recovered from the effects of the stunning blow at Panipat. Twice before, in 1765 and in 1767, Hyder had to oppose the invasion of Madhava Rao and he knew that this most formidable enemy would again invade his country and try to occupy the largest portion of it permanently. In view of this Maratha menace and the genius of the Maratha leader, Hyder could

* A paper based mainly on the records in the Imperial Record Dept. It was read at the 2nd session of the Indian History Congress.

¹ Wilks, *History of Mysore*, vol. II, p. 379.

not expect success unaided. This treaty of 1769 was therefore the sheet anchor of his foreign policy.

When in January 1770, Madhava Rao was in the field accompanied by organized garrisons and a field force, Hyder sent a vakil demanding British aid. Madhava Rao also sent his vakil to Madras. But the Government of Fort St. George decided that 'it must be our endeavour to remain neutral.' In their letter to the Bengal Government they argued as if the treaty of 1769 was non-existent and there was no obligation derived from it. They wrote that if Hyder was helped that would not be sufficient to crush the Marathas and would expose the Carnatic to Maratha ravages but if the Marathas got British help, they might blot the Mysore State out of existence and thus become more dangerous and if Hyder found the British willing to assist the Marathas, he would accommodate matters with them and turn in his anger upon the Carnatic. "Our greatest apprehensions at present are", wrote the gentlemen at Fort St. George "that affairs will be settled between them."² They feared that if the campaign ended before the campaigning season was over, the Marathas might enter the Carnatic. They protracted the time under various pretences. The Madras Government did not expect the campaign to last long. But though Madhava Rao was taken ill, he left Trimbak Rao behind him to continue the campaign. Trimbak Rao was not an unworthy successor of Madhava Rao in command of the Maratha army. At Chercoolee on the 5th March, 1771, Hyder was completely defeated. Seringapatam itself was besieged. The desolating war continued for 15 months even after Chercoolee. A treaty was concluded ending the 3rd Maratha-Mysore War in June, 1772.

As the campaign continued the Madras Government ordered detachments to Trichinopoly and Vellore, with a view to put on the

² *Select Committee Proceedings, 1770* 'Letter from Fort St. George, 13th Feb., 1770.

appearance of being in readiness should either of the two contestant parties invade the Carnatic. They wanted thus to keep alive the hopes and fears of both the parties.³ But this attitude underwent a remarkable change when it became evident that the Marathas were trying to subjugate Mysore permanently. In that case the British would find their territory constantly exposed to Maratha ravages and devastations. The Government of Fort St. George now became apprehensive that they might subject themselves to the imputation of a breach of faith. But now the Nabob of Arcot showed his disinclination to co-operate against the Marathas. He had refused to execute the instrument of his participation in the treaty of 1769 and as the war dragged on, he showed more and more his desire to comply with Maratha request for help. But the Madras Government also became more and more conscious that good policy required them to assist Hyder. On the 12th June, 1771, they wrote "Hyder 'Ali still continues to press us for assistance which we have it not in our power to grant, as it is impossible for us to attempt anything without the revenues and resources of the Carnatic, which are entirely under the control of the Nabob, who presses us earnestly to a junction with the Marathas to subdue Mysore. In this system he is warmly seconded by Sir John Lindsay, Crown representative at Arcot,"⁴ the Nabob being taken especially under the protection of the Crown by the 11th article of the Treaty of Paris. About the end of the year 1771, the Bombay Government instructed Mr. Sibbald, their Resident at Onore to learn from Hyder 'Ali, whether he would deposit a sum of money adequate to the expense they might incur in affording him assistance. The Government of Fort St. George also wrote on the 21st December 1771, "We have desired he will inform us what supplies of money and what provisions he

3 *Select Committee Proceedings*, 1770 'Letter from Fort St. George, 15th April, 1770.

4 *Select Committee Proceedings*, 12th June, 1771.

can furnish, should the orders we expect from Europe authorize us to assist him."⁵

As we examine the records relating to the infraction of the Treaty of 1769, we find the Madras Government at no stage willing to abide by the terms of the Treaty. It pledged them to all the evils of an offensive alliance which they had been anxious to avoid. Throughout the war from January, 1770 to June, 1772, the Madras Government followed a line of conduct that amounted to a passive infraction of the treaty. The Nabob of Arcot and Sir John Lindsay, the royal ambassador urged an active violation of the treaty by joining hands with Madhava Rao for the destruction of Hyder. Wilks writes, "The Government, feeling the impossibility of executing the treaty in opposition to the Nabob and the representative of his Majesty and resolved not to destroy the power which they were bound by treaty to defend, evaded the whole question, by representing both to Hyder and the Marathas the necessity of waiting for the result of a reference which they had made on the subject to their superiors in England."⁶ The line of conduct adopted by the Madras Government is thus sought to be justified. Some merit is actually claimed for this passive attitude because the intricate political system placed insuperable impediments against the performance of their engagements to Hyder. But if we look at the matter from Hyder's point of view a different interpretation is not unjustified. When a treaty is concluded, the contracting parties are expected to accept terms with a full sense of responsibility, a clear knowledge of its implications including the constitutional difficulties and handicaps. The elementary principles governing interstate relations were thus violated. To add insult to injury in the 24th month of this long protracted war, in which they were pledged to defend him, the Madras Government

asked him what money and provisions he could furnish if they were to assist him and some time after he was informed that the Home Government had forbidden any assistance to either of the two contestants.

This infraction of the treaty of 1769 was not the only event that alienated Hyder from the English. British attitude regarding his supplies of military stores caused further ill-feeling. After the conclusion of the treaty of 1769 by the Madras Government, the Government of Bombay deputed two men to enter into an agreement for what remained to be adjusted for the benefit of the Company on that coast. A treaty was concluded in 1770, by which it was arranged that the British were again to have a factory at Onore for pepper and sandalwood and an exclusive right was given to the Company for purchasing the entire quantity of these articles "the amount of which (as expressed in the treaty) or as much of it as the Hon'ble Company choose to be made good in guns, saltpetre, lead and in readymoney." Repeated applications were made by Hyder in consequence of this treaty for warlike stores. In 1772, however, the Court of Directors disapproved of this treaty. After the intimation of this disapproval, the Government of Bombay evaded supplying him with military stores and Hyder naturally turned to the French, who began to supply him liberally. The Bombay Government was of the opinion that it would have been much better to supply him to some extent the articles he desired as otherwise the French were getting the profits of these highly charged articles at the same time that they were acquiring an ascendancy in his Counsels.⁷ In March 1775, the Government of Fort St. George sent to the Bengal Government a résumé of the state of affairs in their part of the Deccan. They wrote that Hyder possessed a valuable extensive territory, a well-regulated government, a numerous well-

7 *Secret Proceedings*, 8th March, 1775.

disciplined army, with a revenue said to amount to three crores. He had by then recovered the whole country he had previously lost to the Marathas, taking advantage of the confusion in their affairs following upon the death of Madhava Rao and the assassination of Narayan Rao. The French supplied him with military stores and French adventurers entered into his service.⁸ But for this the British were not entitled to make any complaints as they themselves were directly responsible for the pro-French turn of his policy. It cannot be denied that in 1771 when the Marathas were encamped in Hyder's territory they proposed to compromise their differences with him provided he joined them in an attack upon the Carnatic. The offer might not have been sincere. But "Hyder made known these proposals to the British Government and even went so far to say that he was willing to forget the causes of personal animosity towards Md. Ali and to hope that the English would mediate a reconciliation, he authorised his envoys to propose as the condition of prompt and effectual aid the immediate payment of 20 lakhs of rupees and the cession to the English of the provinces of Baramahal, Salem and Ahtour; finally the ambassadors were directed openly to announce in the event of the rejection of all these advances, Hyder's reluctant determination to throw himself on the French for support (October 1771)."

The British helped Md 'Ali to seize Tanjore by storm on the 17th September 1773. Calculating that this acquisition of Tanjore would bring about an estrangement between Md 'Ali and the Marathas, Hyder once again made an attempt to enter into an alliance with the British and the ruler of Arcot. He made the first advances to an amicable negotiation and sent his deputies. He proposed a treaty that would renew the violated conditions of the Treaty of 1769, to be executed by the British, Muhammad 'Ali and

Hyder when the Government of Bombay seized the island of Salsette, thus making a war with the Marathas inevitable, Hyder naturally hoped that the Nawab of Arcot as also the President and gentlemen at Fort St. George would be more than willing to accept his offer." Md. 'Ali dragged on these negotiations, and even suggested some modification of the terms proposed, thus expressing his willingness to enter into an alliance provided the terms were modified. Hyder proposed the following terms.

"In case the Mughals (meaning in particular the Nizam) or Mahrathas should proceed against the country of my Circar in order to remove and expel them therefrom a sufficient force with a commander of importance, should be sent to act in conjunction and alliance with me, and to make a war upon the enemy—and I also in case the Moghuls or Mahrathas should attack the country of the Nabob Wallaujah or the English, will send the forces of my Circar to act against the enemy, in conjunction and alliance with them and drive them out. Whether peace or war be determined on towards the enemy, myself, the Nabob and the English are to be of one mind and to act entirely in concert, either in continuing the war or concluding of a peace—the expenses of the troops to be paid in this manner—To a European soldier 15 rupees—and to each sepoy seven and a half rupees per month and the officer shall be paid as I may be advised from them at the time I require them, the pay of my troops to be to each horseman 15 rupees and war sepoy $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per month and the officer to be paid as I shall write from hence at the time.

Whatever articles etc. out of friendship may be wanted out of the dominions of each other shall be purchased by the subjects of each without molestation on either side.

If the Moghul or Mahratha chief with a design to create a misunderstanding between us, should begin a correspondence, they (the Nabob and English) shall not take any measures in compliance thereto, but shall communicate the papers to me and I also if they write to me will from hence give advice thereof, which must tend to the increase of sincerity and the confirmation of union between us.

The security between us for these articles of Agreement shall be a solemn oath in the name of God, the Saint of God and on the glorious Koran."¹⁰

The Nabob proposed the following terms:—

"In case the Mahrathas or any other enemy should come into the country the above person (meaning Hyder) should send a sufficient force, with an officer of rank, who shall act in conjunction and concert with my forces and those of the English Company in order to expel and drive out the enemy from my dominions. In like manner, whatever foe shall enter the country of the said person, I will send a sufficient force, under a leader of importance, who shall act in conjunction and unanimity with his army to effect his expulsion. The pay of the troops on both sides to be at the rate of 15 rupees per month for a horseman and 7½ for a sepoy and that of the officers to be settled at the time they are required, advices thereon being sent along with the auxiliary troops.

With regard to the merchandize that may be wanted from each other's countries, it is necessary that the particulars thereof shall be first transmitted.

If the Mahrathas or other chief in order to create a disunion between us should begin a correspondance neither side shall act in compliance therewith, but shall give mutual notice of the writings that came to them.

¹⁰ *Secret Proceedings*, 23rd October, 1775 copy of a paper sent by Hyder 'Ali Cawn.

No protection shall be afforded to the subjects or enemies of each other and those that have fled away in disgust shall be delivered up again."

We should keep in mind the British comment on the treaty. "We are not aware of any advantages that could be derived from such a treaty either to the Nabob or the Company.....although its direct object is peace, it would alternately draw us into hostilities and distant operations, in supporting Hyder Ally Cawn."¹¹

In the meantime, as internal dissensions increased in Mahārāṣṭra, Md. 'Ali could see for himself that there was no immediate danger from the Marathas. He now became lukewarm, his ambassadors 'Ali Nawaz and Fateh 'Ali, began to amuse Hyder with their evasions and ultimately Hyder dismissed them with a civil letter. One of the ambassadors himself mentions that they wasted seven months in the hopes of the arrival of the treaty and Hyder at length thinking that the Nabob "did not wish for a friendship established by a written negotiation and only meant to keep up appearances till an opportunity should offer for executing measures of a contrary nature, that it was his business therefore to be upon his guard and take measures on his part."¹² Hyder himself was quite outspoken. He told Aly Nawaz Khan that for seventeen months, he had been desiring a confirmation of friendship with the Nabob but the Nabob paid no attention. "Though the English have assisted Raghunath Rao, yet whatever he gained by so poor a support? He will not be successful against the Poona army. Members of the Poona administration desire my alliance and assistance on the part of the son of Narrain Row and have sent me envoys of consequence. What we agree upon will in time be known."¹³ When the ambassadors

¹¹ *Secret Proceedings*, 23rd October, 1775 copy of a paper sent by Hyder 'Ali Cawn.

¹² *Secret Proceedings*, 23rd Oct., the verbal narration of Aly Nawaz Cawn.

¹³ *Ibid.*

returned they reported that Hyder would now seize Cuddapah, Kurnool, Adoni and Raichur after which he would reduce the whole country south of the Krishna, would form an alliance with other nations like the French and the Dutch who were opposed to the English, establish good relations with the Marathas and come to a rupture with Muhammad 'Ali and the English.

From 1769-75 Hyder tried his utmost to remain on terms of friendship with the British and Muhammad Ali. But convinced now that this was impossible he definitely went over to the other side. It was the bungling diplomacy of the British and the short-sighted policy of Md. 'Ali that forced Hyder 'Ali into the arms of the Marathas and the French, thus making things so difficult for the British between the years 1779-82. When we speak of the irreconcilable enmity that existed between Hyder, Tipu and the British, we should take the circumstances of the years 1769-75 into consideration. Hyder had undoubtedly just grounds to complain of the English Government.

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA

Foreign Denominations of Ancient Indian Coins

The earliest Indian coins were of the punch-marked variety. Though there is some difference of opinion about the time when these coins came into use, the scholars agree about their being of indigenous origin. It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, from about 800-1000 B.C., that these coins were gradually evolved in this country; and most probably copper was requisitioned earlier for the purpose of coinage. Their shape, fabric, system of manufacture, the weight-system etc. are all different from those of other countries that evolved their coinage independently of one another, e.g. Lydia in the West and China in the East.

The Indian denominations for punch-marked coins were *Purāṇa* or *Dharaṇa* for silver and *Kārṣāpaṇa* for copper. That these terms were originally the denominations of weights goes without saying. In *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*,¹ we have two weight-systems—one for silver, and the other for copper. The weight of the *Purāṇa* coin was 32 *ratis* approximately 58 grains, while *Kārṣāpaṇa* weighed 80 *ratis* or 146 grains. The term *Kārṣāpaṇa* signified a particular weight and also a class of punch-marked coins which were of copper. But in course of time, it came to be used for coins in other metals also and became a general term for a coin. *Kahāpaṇa*, the Pali word for *Kārṣāpaṇa* signified a coin of copper as well as of silver,² though it was generally used for copper, as it frequently implied “a coin of very little value.”³ It is used in Pāli literature “in a general sense for a coin or money piece without any reference to its metal,” though sometimes the metal is specified e.g.

1 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (The Carmichael Lectures, 1921), p. 212.

2 Bimala Churn Law, *Buddhist Studies*—(Some Numismatic Data in Pāli Literature)—C. D. Banerjee, p. 418.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 419, footnote 2.

Sisa-Kahāpaṇa or the Kahāpaṇa of lead. The other coin-denominations were the Māṣa, Kākaṇī, their multiples or submultiples; these terms, however, did not signify the same weight in the different periods of history. "There is no certainty that a particular measure of weight corresponding to a particular coin denomination would remain the same throughout the ages, or would even be of the same weight all over the country in a particular period of time. Even if the denominations would remain constant, the measures might vary. This may explain the variations in the weight of Māṣa, Kākaṇī etc."⁴ There is no doubt about the correctness of the statement that "the various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units."⁵

The indigenous coin-weights and their denominations had a long history. They had to pass through many vicissitudes no doubt, but appear now and then, and testify to the persistence of the old traditional system. The ancient Purāṇa weight of 32 ratis for the punch-marked coins was adopted by the Tomara Rājās of Ajmer and Delhi in the 11th cent. A.D. for their "Bull and Horseman" type coins, usually of Billon—a mixture of silver and copper in varying proportions.⁶ The denominations of the coins also persisted throughout the ages. As pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar—"The tradition of the Kāṣāpaṇa and its token money prevalent in the early Buddhist period was thus preserved so late as the 6th or 7th century A.D. as we find from Kātyāyana. No reasonable doubt can therefore be entertained as to Kāṣāpaṇa having continued to circulate upto the 7th century;⁷ though here the

4 S. K. Chakraborty, *A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 59.

5 E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.' p. clxxx—quoted from *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

6 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, p. 257.

7 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 186.

Kārṣāpaṇa was a copper coin. But silver Kārṣāpaṇa was also known in the mediæval period and Bhandarkar draws our attention to the statement of Nārada "that silver Kārṣāpaṇa was current in South India".⁸ Not only is this term referred to in the Bijāpur inscription of 997 A.D., but is also mentioned in the Gaya stone inscription of Govindapāla of the Pāla Dynasty (1175 A.D.).⁹ It has come down to us in Bengal in the form of Kāhan which is, however, valued in Cowries. Similar is the case with its sub-multiples—the Māṣa and Kākaṇi.

The traditional coin-denominations have thus come to us, even though the significance and the ratios with each other had varied in the different periods. But the people were not dependent only on those indigenous terms but they freely used foreign words to signify coins, not only for those issued by the foreign rulers based on foreign weight-standards, but also for those issued by the Indian rulers, even when the traditional weight-standard of this country was employed.

With the advent of the foreign conquerors, the Persians, Greeks and others, complications came to be introduced in the coinage of the country. The foreign rulers naturally followed the weight-standards, the denominations and the systems of manufacture with which they were familiar. But gradually the Indians came to influence the coinages of the foreign rulers; and as the effect was reciprocal, the Indian rulers also adopted some elements from them.

With the conquest of the Punjab and the Sindh region by the Persians, the sigloi or the silver coins of the Achæmenian Empire were introduced in this country; and as a large number of these coins have been discovered in India, it is but reasonable to infer that the Persian coins circulated freely in the region under the Persian domination. The Indo-Greeks naturally introduced their own

8 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

coinage based on the Attic standard. The Persian siglos had a weight of 86.45 grains, while the drachm of the Attic standard weighed only 67.5 grains. The Indo-Greek princes in course of time began to use both the weight-standards side by side, but gradually the Attic standard was replaced by the Persian which was actually, however, a few grains less than the standard weight and has been designated the Indo-Persic.

Eucratides was the first Indo-Greek king to issue silver coins, approximating to the hemi-drachms of the Persian standard, though he retained the other silver issues the tetradrachms, drachms and obols of the Attic standard. This practice was followed by Heliocles, Antialcidas and others; and under the later Indo-Greek rulers, the Indo-Persic standard generally replaced the Attic. These silver hemi-drachms based on the Indo-Persic standard became very popular. "In respect of weight, size, and fabric, these silver pieces set a standard, which was followed not only by the Śakas, Pallavas, and the Audumbaras but also by Mahārājā Amoghahūti of the Kuṇindas, Rājā Jñāgaṇa of the Vṛṣṇis, Svāmi Brahmiṇya (Deva) of the Yaudheyas, Mahākṣatrapa Rañjubula (Rājula) of Mathūrā, and the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna".¹⁰ The coins of Nahapāna were restruck by Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi who boasts of being the "exterminator of the Kṣaharāta family." The new dynasty of Śaka Satraps founded by Caṣṭana adopted the prevalent type and his successors continued it with slight modifications. On the conquest of Western Malwa or Avanti by the Imperial Guptas, the silver coinage of the Śaka-Satraps as regards weight, size etc. was continued. These silver hemi-drachms circulated under Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta in all parts of the Gupta empire as subsidiary coins.

The silver coins of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian kings approximated to the hemi-drachms of the Persian standard of which the theoretical maximum was 43·2 grains, but the actual specimens are much below the standard weight; and therefore the weight system is generally known as Indo-Persic. The silver coins of the Western Satraps and the Gupta Emperors are based on the same standard and it has been pointed out that from Nahapāna to Skandagupta, (a period of about 350 years) "the average weight of these degenerate descendants of the Indo-Greek hemi-drachm" varied from 33 to 36 grains.¹¹

There is no doubt that these silver coins were at first known to the foreigners by their Greek denomination of the drachm which was an Attic weight as well as a coin, probably meaning "as much as one can hold in the hand." Thus it had practically the same significance as Dharana, the silver punch-marked coins of ancient India. As we do not know exactly when the term Dharana came to signify a silver coin, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion; but it might have been the Indian term for the Attic drachm when the foreign coins entered into the country and were adopted by the foreign rulers. It is however certain that, generally, the old coin denomination the Kārṣāpaṇa was used to signify the hemi-drachms of silver which had become the standard coin in certain parts of the country, in the few centuries at the beginning of the Christian Era. In the Nāsik Inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta of the year 42, there is a mention of a gift of 70,000 Kārṣāpaṇas equal to 2,000 Suvarṇas. Ṛṣabhadatta was the son-in-law of Nahapāna and evidently these Kārṣāpaṇas refer to the silver coins of the time which were issued by Nahapāna and had a maximum weight of 36 grains. But there can be no doubt that the foreign term *drachma* came to be acclimatised and adopted by the Indians as a coin denomination.

¹¹ Law, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 407.

Bhandarkar points out that the denomination *Dramma* was prevalent all over Northern India "in the late mediæval period, that is, from the ninth to the thirteenth century".¹² In his opinion "the earliest record, where this word has been traced, is the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty and dated 875 A.D. Obviously the word *Dramma* has to be traced to the Greek *Drachma*. But it is curious that although the Greeks ruled over North-West India from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., the word is not found in any literature or epigraphic record of that period. It is really not till the middle of the ninth century that we hear of this word at all." On the face of it, the statement might appear strange, and Bhandarkar is driven to conclude that the term was introduced to India in the 6th or 7th century A.D. by the Gurjaras who were influenced by the Sassanians of Iran where the term *Drachma* was prevalent. This seems to be a far-fetched argument. Surely the Indians referred to these silver coins as *Dharaṇas* or *Kārṣāṇas*—one was the translation of the Greek term *Drachma*, and the other—the age-old coin denomination. But we have the evidence of the term *Drachma* being actually used by the Indians which had however escaped the notice of scholars so long. It is however a copper coin and this might be due to the fact that the tribe referred to had no silver issues. On the obverse of coin No. 18b (in Smith's *Catalogue*) issued by the Yaudheyas we have the legend which was read by Smith—"devasya drama Bra(hma)ṇa." In the footnote, Smith writes—"The word *drama* seems quite clear, but I cannot explain it. Cunningham notes—'on several specimens I find the word *dama* or *darma* over the back of the deer'".¹³ Evidently the word is *Dramma* the Sanskritised form of Greek *Drachma* and the legend should be properly read as "Brahmaṇya devasya drama," or the coin dedicated to the titular deity of the

12 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 206.

13 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in I.M.* p. 182.

Yaudheya tribe i.e. Brahmanyadeva or Kārttikeya: and it is dated by Smith at about 2nd century A.D. So we have no doubt that the term *Dramma* was used from a very early time and was not restricted to the mediæval period, though it appears to have become far more popular during this time as compared with other denominations of silver coins. "Various rulers of this period issued *Drammas* which are therefore named after them. We have thus *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha-dramma* called after Bhoja-Ādivarāha of the Pratihāra dynasty, *Vigrahapāliya-dramma* supposed to be named after *Vigrahapāla* of the Pāla dynasty, and *Ajayadeva-dramma* struck by Ajayadeva the Cauhān king, who founded the city of Ajmer in Rajputana. Of course, there were other kinds of *Drammas* which apparently were not connected with the name of any king".¹⁴ The word *Kāñcana-Dramma* referred to in a Kaṇheri cave inscription of Amoghavarṣa the Rāṣtrakūṭa king surely signifies a gold coin; *Dramma* is here a general term for a coin and evidently *Dramma* signified generally only coins in silver. The sub-multiples of the *Dramma* were the *ardha* and the *pāda*; *Viṃśopaka* was perhaps a copper coin which was "one-twentieth part in value of the original *dramma*".¹⁵

Another foreign designation for a coin was *Dināra*; it was generally restricted to gold, just as the *Dramma* ordinarily signified coins in silver. The *Dināras* were introduced during the time of the Kuṣāṇas and Hima Kadphises was the first king to issue them. These were based on the Roman weight-standard of 124 grains. Hima Kadphises issued "pieces of the weight of two aurei; the actual weight of the extant coins is however a few grains less.

The word *Denarius* was an ancient Roman coin in silver and its original value was 10 asses of copper (i.e. about 18d. of modern English money). Here, however, it is the gold coin of the Roman

14 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 208.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

Emperors—the Denarius aureus that is referred to, and it was worth 25 silver denari. The weight of an aureus was 124 grains. It is perfectly correct to say that the Kuṣāṇas issued gold coins based on the Roman standard to facilitate the trade with foreign countries, specially the Roman Empire," as the Roman coin was accepted almost all over the world at this time".¹⁶ The Roman coin had the same credit behind it in the international market as the English gold coin 'sovereign' has at present. In a number of inscriptions the gold coins of the Imperial Guptas are referred to as Dināras; in one inscription probably dating from the time of Kumāragupta, both the terms Dinarās and Suvarṇas are mentioned. The Roman standard was abandoned during the reign of Skandagupta; so there can be no doubt about the statement "that the same coins are referred to, in the first case by the foreign name, while in the latter case they are given the Indian name Suvarṇa, although not actually of that standard; unless perhaps, *Suvarṇa* here is a money of account".¹⁷ The suvarṇa coins were based on the old Indian standard of 80 ratis or 146.4 grains, but we are not certain whether these were introduced during the reign of Skandagupta or previously, though there is no doubt that the Roman Dināra standard was given up during his time.¹⁸

The term Dināra was in use throughout the mediaeval period. It is mentioned as a synonym for Suvarṇa in the Brhaspati and Kātyāyana Smṛtis of the 7th cent. A.D., and an inscription from Bodh-Gaya "of about the same age" refers to the "plastering and white-washing of the temple at the cost of 250 Dināras".¹⁹ In the later mediaeval period, it became a general term for a coin. In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of the 11th cent. A.D., "dināras" refer to coins of

16 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

17 J. Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties etc.*, p. cxxiv.

18 E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 25. (Sec. 19).

19 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 204.

gold, silver and even of copper. Evidently no particular coin is mentioned but it is a general reference to coins only.²⁰ The gold coins of some of the mediaeval dynasties are designated 'drammas', e.g. the gold coins of Kumārapāla of the Tomara dynasty, the gold coin of Govindacandra of the Gaharwār or Rāthor dynasty etc.²¹ and their prototype the gold coins of Gāṅgeya-deva of Cedi or Dāhāla.

Two other terms which came into use in the Kuṣāṇa period i.e. in the first or second century A.D. are Kuṣāṇa and Nāṇaka as coin-denominations of foreign origin. In the Nāsik Inscription of Rṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, we have the mention of an investment and this is said to have "provided the monks with Kuṣāṇamūla." I have shown elsewhere that Kuṣāṇa is evidently a gold coin and refers to the coins of the Kuṣāṇa Emperors. "The gold coins of Kaṇiṣka for example, have the legend—" Sāo-nano-śāo Kaṇṇṣki Koṣaṇo," but the copper coins omit the word "Koṣaṇo." So it may be inferred that the gold coins of Kaṇiṣka are referred to in the inscription in the word "Kuṣāṇa-mūla"—the value of a Kuṣāṇa, the gold coin of Kaṇiṣka; because gold was the standard coin of the Empire".²² Nāṇaka is also another name for a coin; Yājñavalkya refers to it in his law book. Most probably this term also refers to a Kuṣāṇa coin. In a gold coin of Kaṇiṣka (No. 7, p. 70—Smith's *Catalogue*), we have a draped goddess with the legend "Nana" below. The suggestion of Jayaswal, therefore, seems to be a correct one, and we may tentatively accept this identification.

We now take up another foreign designation for a coin. Bhandarkar gives a quotation from the Kāśikā which refers to 3 kinds of coined money—Dināra, Kedāra and Kārṣāpaṇa. We are already familiar with Dināra and Kārṣāpaṇa; Kedāra is also therefore a kind of coin. Bhandarkar's suggestion is the only one which is acceptable as

20 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

21 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in I.M.*, p. 257.

22 S. K. Chakraborty, *A study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 98-100.

regards its identification. "What the real significance of Kidāra is we do not definitely know. But this appears to be almost certain that the Kedāra of the Kāśikā is to be connected with the Kidāra of the Little Kuṣāṇa coins. Most probably the coin Kedāra was called after this Kidāra 'dynasty'".²³

In our discussion we have seen how foreign terms for coins came into use in our country, and were gradually Indianised. There were many changes in their weights, systems of manufacture etc. but they played an important part in the history of coinage in this country. The use of foreign terms for coins, sometimes side by side with Indian designations, or on occasions singly, clearly points to the foreign influence on Indian coinage, though we have always to remember that in the evolution of coinage in this country, our indebtedness to Greece and Rome was not a negligible factor; and the best proof is supplied by the acceptance of foreign designations for the coins which circulated in this country for centuries.

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Crime and Punishment in Jaina Literature

In a primitive age when there was less wickedness among men and the conception about transgression was vague and indefinite, the *daṇḍanīti* or the Penal Code was necessarily of a mild character. In the *Ṭhānāṅga* and *Samavāyāṅga suttas* we find mention of *Kulakaras* or great persons, who at particular epochs (*yugas*) made some ordinances to meet the exigencies of the time. The first two *Kulakaras* (Vimalavāhana and Caṅkṣuṣmāṇa) established the Hakkāra, the third and the fourth (Yāśasvī and Abhicandra), the Makkāra, and the fifth, sixth and seventh (Praseṇajit, Marudeva and Nābhi) the Dhikkāra *daṇḍanīti*. The commentary of the *Ṭhānāṅga* (Āgamodayasamiti ed. p. 398) explains that the syllable *Ha* uttered in censure of the crime was enough to make the offender feel that he was deprived of everything and would never commit the crime again; similarly the prohibitory syllable *Mā* (*mā ityasya niṣedhbārthasya karaṇam*), and deprecatory syllable *Dhik* had the same deterrent effect in case of greater offences committed during the ages of the later *Kulakaras*. Rṣabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara, is said to have introduced the two punishments of restraint known as *paribhāṣaṇam* and *maṇḍalabandham*,¹ which confined the criminal to a particular area which he was forbidden to leave. Bharata introduced the sterner punishments of imprisonment, and mutilation including decapitation.

As in the Pāli Jātakas, cases of theft, burglary and robbery are frequently mentioned in Jaina literature. We have a glimpse of the procedure of investigation in such cases. When the house of merchant Candana was burgled, he reported the matter to the king, who asked him to submit in writing a list of stolen goods, and caused a proclamation to be issued by beat of drum to the effect that the house of Candana had been burgled and such and such articles had been

1 *Maṇḍalaṃ iṅgitam kṣetram tatra bandho nāsmāt pradeśad gantavyam.*

stolen and that all persons to whom the goods named in the list (or any part thereof) were offered for sale or had come by any means whatsoever must immediately inform the king, on pain of heavy fine and punishment. Now Yajñadeva had secretly burgled the house of Candana, and deposited the stolen goods with Cakradeva for whom he feigned friendship, but whom he really wanted to ruin, professing that as he was afraid of his father, he brought his goods to Cakradeva for safe custody. Cakradeva was an honourable man and remained faithful to his charge without betraying Yajñadeva although he came to grief for it. For, when there was no response to the proclamation for five days and no information was forthcoming, Yajñadeva told the king that he had learnt from the servants of Cakradeva that the latter had stolen Candana's goods and kept them concealed in his house. The king did not believe that Cakradeva who was born in a high family could be capable of committing such a crime. Ultimately he was prevailed upon to refer the matter to the court (*kāraṇam*), and to order the law officers (*kāraṇīyā*) thus: "Take with you the elders of the city and the storekeeper of merchant Candana (*nayaramabantaḡeḡim saba ḡbettūṇa Candanasatthavābhaḡḡandāriyam*) and search the house of Cakradeva." Then the officers (*rāyapurisā*) entered his house together with elders of the city (*nayaravuddḡeḡim*), and discovered a gold article with the name of Candana engraved on it which was recognised by Candana's storekeeper. Other articles with Candana's name on them were also discovered. When he was questioned, unwilling to betray his friend he said that the articles were his, but when he was again asked why they bore the name of Candana on them, he said that the articles might somehow have been exchanged. The city-officers (*nayara kāraṇīyā*) then searched for goods belonging to other persons, but did not find them. Then they brought him to the king who asked him to disclose the real truth about the matter, for he yet could not believe that Cakradeva was capable of such a heinous crime. Cakradeva's

eyes were filled with tears, but he did not say anything. The king was much embarrassed, but not convinced of his guilt, banished him. Then the officers conducted him out of the town and released him near a grove sacred to the goddess of the town (*mukko ya nayaradevayāvanasamive*),² who afterwards disclosed to the king the real truth.

In the above story we find that the house was searched in the presence of respectable witnesses.

In another story we find that when the treasury of king Viradhavalā was burgled by robbers, all new-comers, beggars and suspicious looking persons were arrested, brought before the minister and closely examined by him. The merchant Dhana, on issuing out of his lodging was taken by the police who questioned him whence he came, where he resided etc. When he declared that he possessed nothing valuable he was dismissed. As he was crossing the courtyard, a monkey who had escaped from his cage rushed on him, and tore his clothes. The necklace, *Trailokyasāra* (which he had found on a corpse on the sea beach), fell on the ground. The minister took it up, recognised it as that of the royal princess of Śrāvastī, who had sailed to Ceylon, and thought that the princess must have come to grief. On being asked whence he got it, Dhana said that he had purchased it at Kaṭāha about a year ago, but lost in shipwreck everything excepting this. But as the princess left Śrāvastī only two months ago he discredited Dhana and informed the king. The latter showed the necklace to the treasurer who recognised it. He then thought that Dhana must have got it by killing his daughter, but when he did not receive any satisfactory answer from him, the king sentenced Dhana to death, which was the punishment for thieves. He was subsequently released when his innocence was proved, and highly honoured by the king.

Dhana proceeded to Giristhala. At that time king Caṇḍasena's treasury had been robbed, and great efforts were made to apprehend the robber. The citizens and the city guards were very anxious. A vigorous search was made for thieves, doors of houses, gates, and alleys were shut and guarded and all new-comers were examined. Dhana and his men were brought to the *pañca-ula* (*pañcakula*, or *pañcāyat*), the members of which asked him whence he came and where he would go. The *pañca-kulikas* are also called *kāraṇikas*, so their rank was something like that of judges or magistrates.

Meanwhile the police apprehended an ascetic with stolen goods, and brought him before the minister who condemned him to death and ordered him to be led to the place of execution.³ In order to elude the vigilance of the police, thieves and bad characters often took the guise of religious men (e.g. of *parivṛājakas* and *tāpasas*) or merchants.⁴

In the *Nāyādharmakabā* we read that Vijaya, the robber, stole Devadinna, the young son of merchant Dhana, taking advantage of the momentary carelessness of the servant Panthaka who brought him out to the streets for play. The robber spirited the child away to a dense jungle outside Rājagrha, took his ornaments, killed him, threw the corpse into a ruined well, concealed himself in an intricate thicket of creepers called *māluā*, and spent the whole day there in silence without any movement. When no trace of the child could be gained Panthaka informed his master, who with huge presents approached the city police (*nagaraguttiyā*) and informed them what happened. The latter duly armed and protected (having put on armours) issued with Dhana, scoured all the alleys, bye-paths and roads in search of the robber and ultimately arrested him in the *māluyā* thicket. There they recovered the corpse of the child

3 *Samarāñcakahā*, pp. 210-223.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 223, *paribbāyagarūvadhāri*.....*gahiyo mahābhuyamgo, līṅgadhāri coriyam kare-i*, (p. 430), *vāṇiyavesadhāri* (p. 524), *tāvasa-vesadhārino*.

Devadinna and made it over to Dhana. Then they showered blows on the robber by means of fists, elbows, knees and sticks, thoroughly pounded him, tied his hands behind his back, suspended the ornaments of the child from his neck, marched him on to the city squares, triangular enclosures and on high roads beating him with the thong, cane and thin whip (*kasa-laya-chivāppahāre*), sprinkling on him dust, ashes, filth, and proclaiming to the citizens his guilt of murdering the child and brought him to the jail where he was put in stocks, deprived of food and drink and beaten with thong, thrice in the day.⁵ Thus we see that thieves and robbers were beaten by the police severely (then as now (?)) and probably by the thief-catchers and men in the streets) before they were actually sentenced, and while awaiting trial.

Thefts and robberies were so very common that they had to be put down with the greatest severity. There was either no enquiry or if any, it was unsatisfactory. The accusation was almost taken for granted, and no benefit of doubt seems to have been given to the accused. Dharana had turned a monk and was in 'deep meditation. Lakṣmī placed her necklace near him with a string broken and raised a cry that she had been robbed. He gave no answers to the policemen's questions and was sentenced by the king to be impaled to death. He was put on a pale, while the *caṇḍāla* executioner proclaimed that the accused brought himself to that condition by robbery, and warned others against the same offence (*tā anno vi jai paradabbāvahāram karissai tampi rāyā sutikkheṇaṃ daṇḍeṇaṃ evaṃ ye vāvāissayitti*). But owing to the monk's virtue the stake gave way, he was saved and gods showered flowers.⁶ There does not seem to have been existent any elaborate procedure for adjudicating guilt, and from the texts it appears that the king summarily ordered the thieves to be executed and in cases of doubt, banished.

5 *Nāyādhamma-kabā* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed. pp. 84, 85).

6 *Samarā*, pp. 490-91.

There are vivid (though stereotyped) descriptions of dangerous robbers for whose capture ruses had to be planned and army employed by the king. In the *Vivāgasuyam* we read of a robber-chief (*corasenāvai*) named Vijaya (just like the Vijaya of *Nāyādham-makabhā*, with the self-same stock description of *abhammiye jāva lohīyapāṇi*) whose fame had spread over many cities as one heroic, full of valour, giver of hard blows, hitter of an object at its sound, a champion-wielder of the sword, exercising sway over four hundred robbers. He lived in a forest on the frontier of Purimatāla, the country of king Mahābala. The robber settlement was situated in a corner of a rugged valley of the mountain, surrounded by the wall-like fencing of bamboos, encircled by ditches formed by high uneven hills, with tracts of water inside the forest, intervening and preventing access to strangers, though on the outskirts there was scarcity of water. There were many intricate bye-ways and passages between the hills, access to which was only conceded to those who were known to the settlement, and the stronghold was unassailable even by a large number of men of the preventive police service (*subahuyassa vi kuvīyassa jaṇassa duppahaṃsā*).⁷

The robber Vijaya was naturally the guardian of, and afforded asylum to, all bad characters—viz., thieves, debauchees, cut-purses (lit. *gaṇṭhibbeyas*, breakers of knots of bundles, modern pick-pockets), burglars (lit. *sandhiccheyas*, cutters of holes into walls), wearers of rags (com. explains sots, gamblers and thieves cannot get full clothes to wear), of persons whose hands and noses have been cut off, who have been exiled, or pronounced as undesirable for such crimes as arson etc. He raided towns and villages, lifted cattle, took captives (who were released on ransom), committed highway robberies, terrorised people by breaking open their walls, torturing them, des-

7 The commentator explains *kuvīya* as persons engaged to prevent thefts, though *kupita* literally means angry. Cf. *Samarā*, p. 490 *Kuvīhim pavīva vajjhatthānam ti*.

troying their property, beating them, ousting them etc., and even by exacting taxes from them at pleasure. He even demanded taxes from king Mahābala himself. After his death his son Abhaggasena harassed the country like him. The villagers asked the king for protection. The enraged king sent for the commander-in-chief of the army (*dandam*), and asked him to make a raid on the robber-settlement and bring Abhaggasena alive to him. The latter marched with many men well equipped, sounding trumpets etc. Having been informed by his spies of the intended raid, Abhaggasena intercepted the army before it reached the settlement, and routed it. The commander-in-chief returned and reported to the king of the impossibility of capturing the thief by force (such as cavalry, elephantry, chariots etc.), so well stationed he was and suggested other means of capturing him (i.e. by *sāma*, *bhedā*, etc. winning over his inner friends by presents, creating confidence in him by presents etc.). Then the king announced the holding of a festival for ten days to which all people would be admitted without fees (*ussukam jāva dasarattam pamoyam ghosāvei*). Then he sent some men to inform Abhaggasena of the festival to which he was invited and he agreed to come to Purimatāla and become the guest of the king. Mahābala received Abhaggasena cordially, and placed the newly built palace (in the festival area) at his disposal. Then he caused the city-gates to be closed, caught Abhaggasena and ordered his execution.

Besides meting out to him the insulting treatment meant for ordinary robbers (of which I will presently give a description), Abhaggasena was dealt with most barbarously before he was finally executed. He was brought to streets surrounded by the crowd, and his offences were proclaimed. Then the officers brought him to the first square, where they made him sit, and in his presence killed eight uncles (*culappiyaye aggao ghāenti*), having previously beaten them with thongs, made them eat their own flesh which had been cut to pieces of the size of *guñja* fruit (*kākanimamsāim*

kbāventi), and drink their own blood. And this gruesome tragedy overtakes his other relations—8 aunts, *cullamāyūāyo* in the second square, eight elder brothers of the father, *mahāpine* (3rd), 8 of their wives (4th), his sons (5th), their wives (6th), his sons-in-law (7th), his daughters (8th), his grandsons (9th), his grand-daughters (10th), their husbands (11th), wives of grandsons (12th), husbands of father's sisters (13th), father's sisters (14th), mother's sister's husbands (15th), mother's sisters (16th), wives of maternal uncles (17th), other friends and relations (18th). This horrid picture seems to be rather over-drawn and looks unreal. (Is it because that all the relations had to be mentioned?).

I am giving a description of the treatment meted out to ordinary criminals or thieves from *Samarāiccakabhā* (p. 223).

Rāyapurisehi tanamasi geryabbhūvilittasavvaṅgo |

Kosiyamālābhūsiya siroharo vigayavvasano ya | |

Nibi uttamaṅgo kaṇavira dāmalambanto bhāsura lo-o |

Cittarakayāyavatto ubbhadasiyarāsahārudho | |

Ḍiṃḍimayasadda meliya babujanaparivārio ya so nabaram |

Dakkhiṇadisāe niyo Bhimaṃ aba vajjbatthāṇaṃ | |

Translation—"The police officers besmeared the entire body of the criminal with soot, grass, red-earth, and ashes, his head was crowned with a garland of shoes, he had scarcely any cloth on his person, a garland of *kaṇavira* flowers was hanging from his head, a parasol made of old articles such as winnowing fan, hair, worn-out cloth of goat hair etc., was held over him, he was mounted on an ugly white ass, he was surrounded by the crowd while drums were being beaten as he was led in the southern direction to the dreadful execution ground."

Other descriptions supplement the picture. In the midst of the officers was seen a person (the boy *Ujjihiya*) whose hands were so closely tied behind his back that his neck was bowed down, his nose

8 Siddharsi has given a long description in Sanskrit in his *Upamitibbhavaprapaṇca kathā* (pp. 174, 178) which is too long to quote here.

and ears were cut off, his body was besmeared with oil, he was wearing a pair of rough rags worthy of an offender, a rope and a garland of red flowers were hanging from his neck, his body was covered with red chalk, he looked worried, and though condemned to death still loved his life, his flesh was cut to pieces like sesame grain, he was made to eat them and drink his own blood, he was beaten with harsh straps in the midst of many men and women surrounding him, as he was led from square to square, his offence being proclaimed, to the tune of the beating of a broken drum.⁹

In my article, "On the Conventional Methods of Punishment and Disgrace" (*JBORS.*, XX, pp. 80-86) I have given a description of the treatment accorded to the thief as found in Pāli literature (e.g. *Kaṇavera-jātaka*, *Digha Nikāya*, *PVA*, etc.) which will be found to agree in the main with the description in Jaina literature barring the disgusting details of the criminal having to eat his own flesh and drink his own blood, and the torture inflicted on Abhagga-sena who was made to feel the pain of having to see his relatives killed in his presence before he himself was finally executed. Only that the ass is not mentioned in Pāli literature. The other elements—, viz., the drum (*Vajjhapaṭaḥabheri* or *Vajjabheri*), red *kanavera* (or other) flowers, brick dust, scourging, the southern location of the execution ground etc., are present. One other thing is realistic in Jaina literature viz., that the stolen article is either suspended from the thief's neck, or he is made to carry it, or it is carried before him (e.g. *sasakkeham saloddam sagevejjam*, or—in *Upamiti*, p. 174, *jaratpiṭakakhaṇḍeṇa baddhaloptro galaikadēse*).

A realistic description has been given of the execution ground (in *Śrṅkhala* metre) in *Samarāiccakabhā*:

Sukkapāyavāsābhā nilīnavāyasam vāyasarasanta karayararavam |
Ravanta s. ānāyabbhisanam bhisanadava-daddha
madayasurabigamdhama ||

The Caṇḍāla executioner in Jaina literature (at least in *Samarā*.) seems to be more human than in Pāli literature. He advises the victim to remember his *iṣṭa-devatā* (*Tā sumarehi iṣṭadevam..... aṅgikarehi dhammaṃ...*) and wishes to gratify his last desires, if any. (*Vinnatto ca amhehiṃ naravai jāhā vāvāijjamāṇassa 'suhapariṇāmo maraṇ' ti muhuttamettaṃ amhehiṃ samīhiya ttha sampādanam kāyabbamti.*

Other punishments were also given to thieves. The Kotwal brings a thief to Sudatta, king of Kaliṅga, and says: "Sir, this man entered the house of another, killed an old man and robbed the house: as he was coming out we have arrested him; now you are the judge." The king sent for the readers of the *dharmaśāstras* (*dhammasatthapāḍhaya*) and asked them what punishment should be given to him. They said: "Sir, he has stolen another's goods and killed a man, he should be brought to places where three and four roads meet and to the squares, where his offence should be proclaimed to the people, then his eyes should be plucked out, nose and ears and hands and feet should be cut off, and in this wise his life should be put an end to."¹⁰

In the first story, when the king discovered that Yajnadeva after himself stealing the goods of merchant Candana and depositing them with his friend Cakradeva falsely accused the latter with theft, he ordered his officers to sever his tongue and pluck out his eyes.¹¹ Robbers met with death in many other ways, e.g. they were impaled or their necks were wrung¹² or they were thrown in iron pots which were sealed.

In the *Rāyapaseṇiyasutta* there is a portion containing a discussion between king Paesi and monk Kesi regarding the important question whether the soul is the same as the body or they are different, representing the view-points of the Lokāyata (Cārvāka) school

¹⁰ *Samarā*, p. 269.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹² *Ibid.*, *galakaramoḍaṇa*.

and the Jains. This discussion recurs in *Samarāiccakabā* (pp. 165-174) and *Kumārapālāpratibodha* (Pradesikathā pp. 144-150). We are here concerned with the punishments which seemed to have been given to criminals in specific offences. The monk asked the king what punishment he would inflict on a man who would violate the modesty of the queen. The king replied that he would cut off his hands and feet, or pierce him on the pale, kill him by one stroke of the sword, or like a snared game. He would not give the offender any time to warn his relatives, or release him from restraint to go and warn them, against committing such offence which brought on him such misery and suffering. Other examples are given. The king threw the thief alive in an ironpot, covered it with an iron lid, fixed the joints with iron and tin so as to leave no aperture (i.e. hermetically sealed it) and appointed trustworthy persons to keep a watch on the jar. After some days it was opened and the thief was found to be dead. Or he killed him by strangling without cutting off his limbs, or in order to find the soul he dissected the body (i.e. split his body into two and gradually into innumerable parts). We get a glimpse of assemblies (*parisā*) established by the king to decide questions or quarrels e.g. court of warriors (*kbattiya*), court of householders (*gābhavai*) brāhmaṇas (*mābhana*), and monks and sages (*isi*). And different standards of punishment were set up for offenders of or against these different classes (*daṇḍaniti pannattā*). The offender of the warrior class¹³ was punished with the cutting of the hands or legs or head or he was impaled, or killed by one stroke of the sword, or he was killed as a snared animal. The offender of the householder class was burned to death by being enveloped in a heap of bark, or husk, or chaff. The offender of the Brāhmaṇa class was taunted in disagreeable terms and was branded (by means of burning) with the mark (*lacchana*) of a pot (*kuṇḍiya*) or a dog (*suṇaga*) or he was banish-

13 Dr. P. L. Vaidya explains, "he who offends the assembly of warriors, householders, brāhmaṇas etc."

ed. The offender of the class of monks was admonished in not very unpleasant terms.

Paesikabāṇayam just mentioned has its exact replica in the Pāyāsi Suttanta of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, there is so great a resemblance between the two not only in the subject-matter, but also in the mention of punishments.¹⁴

Dr. Charpentier says in the Introduction to *Uttarādhyayana*, (p. 31): "In the second Upāṅga, the *Rāyapasenijja*, the interesting relations of which to the Pāyāsi-sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* were detected and dealt with by Professor Leumann, it is stated in a certain passage that any Brāhmaṇas who have committed certain crimes should be stigmatised—i.e., the image of a 'dog (suṇakha) or a kuṇḍiya should be branded upon their foreheads. This coincides with Kauṭilya (p. 220) who prescribes that four marks should be used—for theft, a dog (*śvan*), for incest (*gurutaḥpa*) a pudendum muliebre (*bhaga*), for manslaughter a headless trunk (*kabandha*) and for consuming intoxicating liquor a *madyadhva*. But this rule does not occur in Manu where corporal punishments on Brāhmaṇas are not permissible. This usage had consequently become obsolete after the time of Kauṭilya and the conclusion is that the Jaina text where it occurs must be nearer to the time of Kauṭilya than to the late Dharmaśāstras.'"¹⁵

In the *Vivāgasūya*, Ujjhiya had fallen in love with a courtesan named Kāmajjhayā. King Vijayamitta made her an *abbhintariya* i.e. kept her as his own mistress. In such cases the courtesan had to

¹⁴ D.N., (III), pp. 332-33:

E.g. (a) imaṃ purisaṃ jivantameva kumbhiyā pakkhipitvā mukham piṇḍhitvā etc.

(b) imaṃ purisaṃ jivantameva tulāya tuletvā jiyāya anassāsakam māretvā punadeva tulāya tulethāti.....

(c) anupahacca chaviṇa cammaṇa.....jivitā voropetha.

(d) chavin cammaṇ.....chindatha.....

¹⁵ Quoted in Shah's *Jainism in North India*, p. 224.

live like a faithful wife and if any person visited her he was charged with adultery. Ujjhiya being infatuated with her visited her secretly and was one day caught by the king's men. The king administered a sound beating to him and his body was broken and shattered by blows from fists, elbows, knees etc. He was then led to the execution ground in the manner already narrated (in the case of thieves, and was impaled (*suliyabhinne*) at about 2 P.M. (*tibhāgāvasese divase*), the conventional time for impaling an offender. In a similar case we find that a boy named Sagaḍa, who had once lived with a courtesan named Sudarisaṇā, paid secret visits to her, when she was kept a mistress by Susena, the king's minister, and was brought before the king on the charge of adultery (*Sagaḍe dīrae mamam anteuramsi avaraddhe*). He was executed in a curious way—he had to embrace a red-hot iron image of a woman till he died (*egam maham ayomayam tattam samajoyibhūam itthipadimam avayāsāvie*). Here we find an example of the grim mockery of the enjoyment of a woman simulated in punishment. Bahassaidatta, the king's priest, was impaled for criminal intimacy with the queen. Prince Nandivardhana desiring to usurp the throne of his father asked a barber to cut the king's throat with his razor. The terrified barber informed the king, who ordered his son's execution so as to simulate coronation. Nandivardhana was taken by the police officers to a square where he was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne. Then officers came with iron pots filled with molten copper, tin, lead, acid oils and anointed him with them. Then they put on him red-hot metal necklaces of many strings, fastened a band (*paṭṭa*) on his forehead, and put a crown on his head, all red-hot and flaming.¹⁶

In the *Vivāgasūya* when Devadattā, queen of Pūsanandi, being jealous of her mother-in-law, killed her by means of a red-hot iron bar, the king caused her nose and ears to be cut off and ordered her

16 There is a reference to these stories in the *Thānāna*

to be publicly impaled. But in *Samarāiccakabā* the king ordered a woman to be banished for murder. There we find that when Dhanasiri murdered a saint by burning him while he was in meditation, the police officers suspected her of the murder from circumstantial evidence, and wanted to ascertain whether she was guilty by studying her physiognomy (*tā pecchāmi tāva satthavābhagarinim tayo muhaviyārāo c'eva lakkebissāmi*). The king sent a man with a letter (*lehavāhao*) to her father Punnabhadda to ascertain her antecedent and when the latter reported that she brought infamy on her family (*kuladūṣaṇā*) the king thought that the wicked woman must have done the deed, but that she being a woman could not be sentenced to death (*tabā hi abajjhā itthiyātti*) and was therefore exiled from his kingdom.¹⁷

The king granted reprieve to criminals, and ordered release of prisoners when their innocence was established, before the execution of the sentence. Prisoners were released on the occasion of the birth of the king's son (*Bhagavatī*: Mahābalajanmādivarṇaṇam).

In the *Vivāgasūya* is given the description of a jailor (*cāragapāla*) who is regarded as an impious man hard to please, named Dujjohana. He had the following implements (*cāragabhaṇḍe*) to deal with the prisoners: —various pots filled with boiling metal such as iron, copper, tin, lead or lime-water, acid oils etc., also many jars containing urine of different animals, such as horses, elephants, cows, buffaloes, camels, goats, rams etc. He had several kinds of handcuffs, fetters for the feet, massive wooden frame to fasten on the feet of prisoners (*baḍi*), iron chains etc., besides many kinds of sticks viz., of bamboo, cane, tamarind, and whip of fine leathern straps or those made from hemps etc. He had many kinds of stones, sticks, hammer, small anchors of iron or stone; many kinds of ropes, including ropes of hair, nets and nooses; swords, saws, razors, *kalambacirapatta*;

iron-nails, bamboo-pegs, leathern straps, weapons looking like the tail of scorpions (*allapalla*), needles big and small, small iron clubs; razors (*paccha*, *pippala*), nail-cutters, and *kuśa* grass.

The jailor, Dujjohana, administered the following punishments to the offenders viz., thieves, adulterers, knot-breakers, offenders to the king (*rāyāvayāri*), debtors, killers of children, breakers of promise (betrayers of confidence), gamblers and rogues (*saṇḍapatta*). They were made to lie on their backs, their mouths were opened by means of iron bars, and the molten oils and the urine of animals mentioned above were poured into them. Some of them were made to lie on their belly with head held down and given lashes of whips with *chada chada* sound. Hand-cuffs, fetters, stocks, gyves, chains were put on them; some of them were contracted and broken (*samkoḍiya-modiyayaṇi*), hands of some were cut off (up to) wounded by weapons, others were struck with the various kinds of sticks mentioned above. Some of them were thrown flat on the back, and stones were placed on their chests and they were struck with thick sticks, or given a rude shake by his men. Some of them were bound hand and foot with guts or various kinds of ropes, and let down in wells with head hanging down and made to drink water, some were made to bleed by means of razors, swords and other like instruments mentioned above and then bathed with saltish or acid oils; iron nails, bamboo-pegs etc., were applied to foreheads, collarbones, elbows, knees etc., or they were struck with scorpion stings, or small or big needles were thrust between the fingers of hands and the feet and bent by small hammers, and they were made to rub them on the ground; their fingers were cut off and made to bleed by instruments. Their bodies were covered with wet *darbhā* grass, then they were made to sit in the sun, and when the grass became dry it was pulled out (with a *caḍacaḍa* sound) which in the process cut the skin and made it bleed.

KALIPADA MITRA

Doctrines of the Sammitiya School of Buddhism

The Sammitiyas or better known as the Vātsīputriyas branched off from the Theravādins some time in the pre-Aśokan days. We do not hear much about this school in the early history of Buddhism except a few criticisms of its radical doctrine of the temporary existence of a self—a dogma which appears on the face of it as un-Buddhistic. This school, according to the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, attained sufficient importance during the days of king Harṣa and specially in the areas corresponding to modern Sind and Bengal. Its main doctrine that there exists a self has put into shade its all other minor views and elicited vehement criticisms from two distinguished exponents of the Abhidhamma, viz., Vasubandhu and Moggaliputta Tissa. The former devoted the last chapter of his monumental work *Abhidharmakośa* to the discussion of this topic while the latter took it up for discussion as the very first problem in his work the *Kathāvatthu*. As Profs. Stcherbatsky and Louis de la Vallée Poussin have exhaustively dealt with Vasubandhu's criticisms, we shall confine ourselves here only to the arguments of the *Kathāvatthu*, and state just the essential points of the long controversy relating to *Puggalo upalabbhati* (or *n'upalabbhati*) *saccikatthaparamatthenā ti* (I. 1).

The question of the Theravādins is: Whether the *puggala* is known in the same way as *that* which is real and ultimate, e.g. *Nibbāna* (or *Rūpa*) is known? (Para 1). In other words, the Theravādins want to ascertain whether the Sammitiyas admit the existence of the *puggala* either as the unchangeable, ever-existing reality like *Nibbāna*, or as a constituted (*sappaccaya-samkhatta*) object like *rūpa* or regard it as false as a mirage (*māyāmaricī viya*) or look upon it as simply as a hearsay. The Sammitiyas deny practically all the four

possibilities though they assert that the *puggala* is known as a real and ultimate fact (*saccikatthaparamatthena*).

The Sam. now assail the Th. with the counter-question whether the latter would admit that the *puggala* is *not* known in the same way as *that* which is real and ultimate. The Th. answered in the affirmative as according to them *puggala* is not even an object like *rūpa*; it is a mere *paññatti* (conventional term), a *sammutisacca* (so-called truth).

But when the same question is repeated by the Sam. (as in paras 2 and 6)¹ the Th. reply in the negative by saying “na h’ evam”,² because the answer is to be given to a question which included both *sammutisacca* (conventional truth) and *paramatthasacca* (the highest truth). The questions and answers which follow next have a mixture of both *sammuti* and *paramattha* truths, and so they appear contradictory to a superficial reader.

Now the Th. give up the logical tricks and put the question straight (para 11) thus: whether *puggala* is a *paramattha-sacca*,³ or not, *i.e.* whether or not the *puggala* is known in the same way as the real and ultimate *everywhere* (*sabbattha*) in and outside *rūpa* (material parts of the body), *always* (*sabbadā*) in this and the following existences, and in *everything* (*sabbesu*) *i.e.*, in all *khandhas*, *āyatanas*, *dhātus* etc. The answer of the Sam. is also definitely in the negative, *i.e.*, they do not consider “*puggala*” as real in the highest sense, and as existing *everywhere*, *always* and in *everything* as pointed out by the Th.

The next attempt of the Th. is to find out whether the Sam. regard *puggala* as something existing like any of the 57 elements,

¹ The remaining paras 3-5 and 7-10 are mere logical rounding up of the questions and answers put in paras 1 & 2.

² The question is,—Yo saccikattho paramattho tato so puggalo n’upalabbhati saccikattha-paramatthanāti ti?

³ Perhaps like the *jīvātman* of the Vedānta.

rūpa, vedanā, saññā, etc. The Sam. deny it saying they do not admit *puggala* as an element apart from the 57 elements,⁴ and in support of their contention they quote from the Nikāyas (*Digha*, iii, 232; *Majjhima*, i, 341; *Āṅguttara*, ii, 95) the passage “atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno” which indicates that *puggala* exists but not apart from the elements. The Th. also do not clearly state that *puggala* (as a *paññatti*) is different from the elements, the reason assigned by Buddhaghosa⁵ being that the questions of the opponents have a mixture of *sammuti* and *paramattha* truths and as such the Th. have no other alternative but to leave them unanswered (*thapanīya*).⁶

The next attempt of the Th. is to show that the Sam. should advocate either *Ucchedavāda* or *Sassatavāda*. With this end in view the Th. put the questions whether *puggala* is identical with *rūpa*, or different from *rūpa*, or *puggala* is in *rūpa* (like the container and the contained) or *rūpa* is in *puggala*. The Sam. reject all the four propositions as otherwise they would become either an *Ucchedavādin* or a *Sassatavādin*. Though, according to the Sam., *puggala* is of the same nature (*ekadhammo*) as *rūpa* and other elements,⁷ they would not treat it as an element separate from, and independent of, the 57 elements.

The Th. now assail their opponents by questioning on *lakkaṇas* of the *puggala*, and ask whether the *puggala* is *sappaccaya* (caused) and *saṃkḥata* (constituted) like *rūpa*, or is *appaccaya* (uncaused) and *asaṃkḥata* (unconstituted) like *Nibbāna*. The Sam. deny both and ask how the Th. would explain the ‘puggala’ in the statement of Buddha: “Atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno ti.” Is the *puggala* referred to in this passage *sappaccaya*, *saṃkḥata* or

4 Samayasuttavirodham disvā paṭikkhepo paravādisa, *Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 16.

5 See his *Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 16.

6 Paras 130-137 dilate on the above question, comparing it with each of the 57 elements.

7 *Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 18.

appaccaya, asaṃkhata? The Th. deny both, as in their opinion the term *puggala* is only a *sammutisacca*, and as such it is non-existing.

The next argument put forward by the Th. is whether the statement "*puggala* perceives" is the same as the statement, "that which perceives is *puggala*"⁸ i.e. whether the two statements are identical as *citta* is with *mano* or different as *rūpa* is from *vedanā*. Buddhaghosa interprets the position of the opponents thus: the Sam. hold that *puggala* perceives but not everything that perceives is *puggala*, e.g., *rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc. are not *puggala* but that *puggala* perceives and that which perceives referred only to the perceiver (*puggala*), and not to *rūpādi*." The opponents, however, rely on the statement "*atthi puggalo attahitāya paṭipanno ti*" which, again is counteracted by the Th. by saying that the Sam. should equally rely on the statement: *suññato lokaṃ avekkhassu*, etc. and admit that there is no *puggala*.

The Th. now proceed to examine the *paññatti* (description) of *puggala*. In answer to the question whether the *puggala* of the *Rūpadhātu* is *rūpi* and likewise of the *Kāmadhātu* is *kāmi* and of the *Arūpadhātu*, *arūpi*, the Sam. affirm the first and the third but not the second. The Sam. argue that *puggala* = *satta* = *jīva* and *kāya* = *sarīra*. Though they do not admit either the identity of, or difference between, *jīva* and *sarīra*, they hold, though not logically tenable, that *kāya* must be different from *puggala* as there are such statements as 'so *kāye kāyānupassī viharati* and so forth', in which "so" cannot but refer to *puggala*.

8 *Puggalo upalabbhati (yo yo) upalabbhati (so so) puggalo ti?* *Kvu*, p. 24.

9 *Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 20: The opponents say: *Mama puggalo atthi puggalo 'ti satthu vacanato upalabbhati. Yo pana upalabbhati, na so sabbo puggalo. Attha kho ke hi ci puggalo ke hi ci na puggalo 'ti. Tattha kokāratthe kekāro hikāro co nipa-tamatto. Koci puggalo koci na puggalo 'ti ayaṃ pan' ettha attho. Idam vuttam hoti puggalo pi hi rūpādisi pi yo koci dhammo upalabbhati yeva. Tattha puggala 'va puggalo rūpādisu pana koci pi na puggalo 'ti.*

The next discussion relating to *upādāpaññatti* (rebirth) of *puggala* raises the question of transmigration. The Sam. affirm that *puggala* passes from this world to the next but it is neither the self-same *puggala* nor a different *puggala*—a statement similar to what the Th. would say about the passing of the *khandhas*—avoiding the two heretical opinions of *sassatavāda* and *ucchedavāda* as also the *ekaccasassatikavāda* and *amarāvikkhepaditṭhi*.¹⁰ In support of their contention the Sam. quoted the passages in which a “*puggala*” is said to pass from one world to another “*sandhāvati saṃsarati*.”

Accepting the opinion of the opponents that the self-same, or a different, *puggala* does not pass from one existence to another, the Th. point out that they admit that some form of *puggala* referred to in the above-mentioned passages does pass from one existence to another. Now this *puggala* can then have no death, it once becomes a man and then a god and so forth, which is absurd.¹¹ In reply the Sam. point out that a *sotāpanna-manussa* is known to take rebirth as a *sotāpanna-deva* and question how can this *sotāpanna-hood* pass from one existence to another unless there is some form of *puggala* to carry the qualities. The Th. now in order to show the unsoundness of the statement asks whether the passing *puggalo* is identical in every respect¹² and has not lost any of its qualities.¹³ The opponents first negative it on the ground that a man does not continue to be a man in the *devaloka*. But on second thought they affirm it in view of the fact that the carrier of certain qualities from one existence to another is a *puggala*, an *antarābhavapuggala*.¹⁴ The Sam. take care to keep clear of the two extreme views: *taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sariraṃ* and *aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sariraṃ*. They affirm that the

10 See my paper on *Brahmajāla-sutta* in the *IHQ.*, vol. VIII.

11 Cf. *Nāgārjuna, Mādhyamikavṛtti*.

12 *Anañño = abbākārena ekasadiṣo*.

13 *Avigato = ekena pi ākāreṇa avigato*.

14 The self which exists between death and rebirth

identical *khandhas* and *puggala* do not pass from one existence to another but the transformed *khandhas* and *puggala* pass from one existence to another. The *khandhas* are, however, impermanent, constituted etc. while the *puggala* is not so but it is not also permanent and unconstituted. Without *khandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *indriya* and *citta*, *puggala* cannot remain alone but for that reason, the colour and other qualities of the *khandha*, *āyatana*, etc. do not affect the *puggala*. Again the *puggala* is not a shadow (*chāyā*) of the *khandhas*.

In reply to the question whether *puggala* is perceivable in every momentary thought, the Sam. answer in the affirmative but they would not accept the inference drawn by the Th. that the *puggala* in that case would have momentary existence (*khaṇika-bhāvaṃ*) i.e., die and be reborn every moment like *citta* (thoughts).

The Sam. now ask the Th. whether they would admit that one (*yo*) who sees something (*yaṃ*) by means of an organ of sense (*yena*) is the *puggala* or not. The Th. after assenting to it as a conventional truth (*sammutisacca*), put the same question in the negative form thus: One (*yo*) who¹⁵ does not see anything (*yaṃ*) by means of an organ of sense (*yena*) is not a *puggala*. The Sam., however, without arguing further quote a few passages in which Buddha said: I (i.e. the *puggala*) see by means of my divine eyes (*dibbena cakkebhūṇā*) beings appearing and disappearing and so forth, and infer therefrom that the seer is the *puggala*.

Their next discussions related to *purusakāra*. The Th. do not admit any *doer*, so they asked the Sam. whether the latter would subscribe to the same opinion. On their denial, the Th. ask whether the Sam. would admit the existence of the *doer*, and a creator of the *doer*, which is negated by the Sam. on account of the heretical doctrine of *issaranimmāṇa* (god the creator of the world) but on

15 E.g., a blind man, an *asaññasatta*.

second thought affirmed it in view of the fact that the parents teachers etc. are also in a sense the makers (*kattā kāretā*) of a person. The Th., without going into the implied sense of the replies, say that such a state of things, i.e. a doer having a doer and a deed implies not just a deed but also a doer, would lead to the conclusion that so long there is deed (*kamma*), there is its doer (*kārako puggalo*) and hence there can be no end to *puggalaparamparā* and that would falsify the fact that by the stoppage of the wheel of actions, *dukkha* can be brought to an end. Then again nibbāna, mahāpaṭhavi, etc. must also have a doer. All the inferences drawn by the Th. are rejected by the Sam. In conclusion the Sam. deny that the deed and the doer can be distinct, just to avoid admitting that the *puggala* has mental properties.

In the above, the doer of a deed is enquired into, while in the following discussion identity of the doer of a deed with the enjoyer of its fruit is enquired into.

The Th. deny the existence of a feeler or enjoyer apart from *vipākapavatti*, (that which is realised, the fructification of an effect). The Sam. hold that *paṭisamveditabba* is *vipāka* (result) but the *puggala* is not *vipāka*.¹⁶ They further state that Nibbāna or Mahāpaṭhavi, etc. is not *vipāka* like *divine happiness* (*dibbasukha*) or *human happiness* (*manussasukha*) so none of them is an object of enjoyment of the *puggala* but again the Sam. do not admit that *sukha* is distinct from the *sukha-enjoyer*. The Th. logically wanted to make their opponents admit that there must be not only an enjoyer of a fruit but also an enjoyer of the enjoyer of the fruit and so on an endless chain, in other words, according to them, as shown above, *dukkha* can have no end.

16 But it may happen that *puggala* who is in the enjoyment of his fruits, say, merits, may be again an object of enjoyment of another *puggala*, e.g. a son enjoying the fruits of his actions may be the object of affection of his mother and so forth. This explanation of Buddhaghosa should be compared with the above like the *kāretā* of *kattā*.

The Th. now put the crucial question thus: whether the doer of a deed is identical with, or different from, the enjoyer of its fruit. The opponents first deny both to avoid contradiction of Buddha's sayings: *sayam katam param katam sukhadukkham*, etc. but on second thought in view of their theory that there is a common element keeping the link between the present and the future life, they admit it. In short, the Sam. affirm that there is a *kāraka* (doer) and *vedaka* (feeler or enjoyer) of a deed, but the two are neither identical nor different, neither both identical and different, nor not both identical and different.

The Sam. next apply the test of *abhiññā* (supernormal powers), *ñāti* (relatives) and *phala* (attainments) and put the propositions thus:

- (i) How can a person perform certain miracles keeping his organs of sense etc. inert and inactive, unless there is something else as *puggala*.
- (ii) How can one recognise the existence of parents, castes, etc. without positing that there is a *puggala*, and
- (iii) How can a *phalastha* continue to be the same in his more than one birth, unless the existence of a *puggala* is admitted.

The Th. avoid the issues by putting the counter-arguments that one who cannot perform miracles is not a *puggala*, and in this way they refute the other two propositions.

The next question of the Th. is whether *puggala* is constituted (*saṃkhata*) or unconstituted or neither constituted nor unconstituted (*n'eva saṃkhato nāsaṃkhato*). The Sam. affirm the last alternative but would not treat *puggala* as something apart (*añño*) from the *saṃkhata-khandhas*. They state that the *puggala* has certain aspects of *saṃkhata*, e.g., it is subject to *sukha*, *dukkha*, and so forth; again it has certain aspects of



asaṃkḥata, e.g., it is not subject to birth, old age and death (*jāti*, *jarā*, and *maraṇa*).

In reply to the Th.'s question whether a *parinibbuto puggalo* exists in Nibbāna or not, the Sam. negative both as the affirmation of either would make them either a Sassatavādin or an Uccedavādin.

Now the Sam. put the counter question: does not a person say that he is feeling happy or unhappy and so forth, how can a person say so unless he is a *puggala* and not a mere conglomeration of separate khandhas. In refuting this contention, the Th. put the same question in a negative form thus: well, if a person does not feel happiness or unhappiness, then there is no *puggala*. The Th. further ask whether Sam. would treat *sukha* and *puggala* as something separate and distinct. The Sam. evade a direct answer and ask, well, when a *puggala* (*koci* or *so*) is said to be *kāye kāyānupassī viharati*, does it not affirm the existence of a *puggala*?

The controversy is then closed by citations of passages from the Nikāyas, the Th. quoting only those which clearly express *anattā* of all things while the Sam. quote those in which the word *puggalo* or *atthabita* or *so* appeared.

Through these controversies it is apparent that the Sam. are seeking to establish that the five khandhas which are distinct from one another cannot give rise to the consciousness of I-ness, a unity. The facts that a person acts or thinks as one and not as five separate things, and that in many passages Buddha does actually use the words *so*, *attā* and *puggala*, and that a person's attainments like *sotāpanna*-hood continue to be the same in different births, that one speaks of his past births and so forth, do lead to the conclusion that besides the five khandhas there exists some mental property which forms the seat of I-ness, and maintains the continuity of *karma* from one existence to another. That mental property, however, is changing with the changing khandhas but in view of the fact that one can think of his past, even of the events of his past births, the changing khandhas

alone cannot be made responsible for the memory. The Sam. therefore affirm the existence of a sixth mental property and call it *puggala* which can remain only along with *khandhas* and so must disappear when the *khandhas* disappear in *Nibbāna*. As this mental property or *puggala* is not *khanika* like the *khandhas*, it has not all the properties of a *samkhatta* (constituted object) and again as it is not also unchanging and ever existing like *Nibbāna* so it is not *asamkhatta*. Therefore the *puggala* must be said as neither *samkhatta* nor *asamkhatta*.¹⁷

This doctrine of the Sammitiyas or the Vātsīputriyas is presented in these words by Vasumitra :

1. The *pudgala* is neither the same as the *skandhas* nor different from the *skandhas*. The name *pudgala* is provisionally given to an aggregate of *skandhas*, *āyatanas* and *dhātus*.

2. Dharmas cannot transmigrate from one world to another apart from the *pudgala*. They can be said to transmigrate along with the *pudgala*.¹⁸

Vasumitra attributes to the Vātsīputriyas a few other views which have already been discussed. These are,—

(i) The five *viññānas* conduce neither to *sarāga* (desire) nor to *virāga* (removal of desires);¹⁹

(ii) To become free from desire (*virāga*) one must relinquish the *samyojanas* which can be destroyed by an adept when

17 For the arguments of Vasubandhu see La Vallée Poussin's *Abhidharmakośa*, Appendix and Stcherbatsky's *Theory of the Soul*, Petersburg, 1918. See also Masuda's note in the *Asia Major*, II, pp. 53-4.

18 Cf. Obermiller's *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, III, p. 380, referring to *Tarkajvāla* and Schayer, *Kamalaśīla's Kritik des Pudgalavāda*. He writes that "the Vātsīputriyas, Bhadrāyānikas, Sāmmītiyas, Dharmaguptas and Saṃkrāntivādins are those that admit the reality of the 'individual'. They say that the 'individual' is something inexpressible, being neither identical with the five groups of elements nor differing from them. It is to be cognised by the six forms of *viññānas*, and is subject to *saṃsāra* (phenomenal existence).

19 See *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 574-6.

he reaches *bhāvanāmārga* and not while he remains in *darśanamārga*;²⁰

- (iii) When one has entered the *samyaktvanyāma* he is called *pratipannaka* in the first twelve moments of the *darśanamārga* and when he is in the thirteenth he is called *phalastha*.²¹

Besides the above, the Sammitiyas held a few other opinions, some of which are :

(iv) *Parihāyati arahā arahattā ti* (*Kvu.* I. 2).

(v) *N'atthi devesu brahmacariyavāso ti* (*Kvu.* I. 3).²²

(vi) *Odhisodhiso kilese jahatīti* (*Kvu.* I. 4).

(vii) *Jahati puthujjano kāmarāga-byāpādan ti?* (*Kvu.* I. 5).²³

NALINAKSHA DUTT

²⁰ See *IHQ.*, XIV, p.

²¹ See Masuda's notes in the *Asia Major*, II. p. 56. In short, the Sammitiyas count in all fourteen moments instead of Sarvāstivādin's sixteen; so the 13th moment of the Sammitiyas corresponds to the 15th of the Sarvāstivādins; see *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 803.

²² *IHQ.*, XIV, pp. 804-5.

²³ *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 808.

The Initiation of Women

There is a general belief that women are not entitled to be initiated for Vedic studies. Our object in this article is to prove that such a belief is wrong.

The Grhya Sūtras say in connection with the initiation ceremony of the Brāhmaṇa "Aṣṭama-varṣe brāhmaṇam upanayet"¹ or "Saptama-varṣe brāhmaṇasya upanayanam"² or "Garbhāṣṭame brāhmaṇam upanayet"³ or exactly similar things⁴ meaning that the Brāhmaṇa should be initiated in the 7th or 8th year after he was conceived or born; they make similar rules for the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas too—only extending the age limit for them. Here by Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya the Sūtra-kāras mean that both the boy and the girl of these castes are to be initiated. As in the case of Svarga-kāmaḥ in "Svarga-kāmo yajeta," here also the gender is not intended to designate the Masculine alone. By a rule like this "Brāhmaṇo na hantavya: the Brāhmaṇa should not be murdered", it is meant that the Brāhmaṇi also should not be murdered. Similarly by saying "Maraṇadharmā mānavaḥ: man is mortal", we mean that the woman is also mortal.

1 *Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra* I, 19, 1, p. 64, Bom. ed.

2 *Kāṭhaka-grhya-sūtra* 41, 1, p. 159.

3 *Vārāha-grhya-sūtra* V, p. 4.

4 *Gobhila-grhya-sūtra* II, 10; *Khādīra*, II 5, 1, p. 70; *Gobhila-grhya-karma-prakāśikā*, p. 84; *Jaim. Gr. S.*, 1, 12, p. 10; 1, 4f.; *Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra*, 5, 2, p. 40; *Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra*, 1, 1; *Hiranyakeśin-grhya-sūtra*, 1, 1, 1; *Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra*, 10, 1; the *Mānava-grhya-sūtra* mentions no limit but begins "Upanayana-prabhṛti vratacāriḥ: One should observe vows from initiation" *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, 11, 2, 1, p. 196, Bom. ed., *Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra*, 11, 1, p. 13. Benares edn. p. 47. Compare also *Āśv. Gr. Kār.*, 16, 1, p. 275; *Saunaka-kārikā*, f. 31a; *Āśv. Yā. Pad.*, India Office Ms. Bühler 15, fol. 24b; *Renukārya*, f. 12b; *Baudhāyana-grhya-paddhati*, f. 74a.

5 See *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 1, 1, 7 "Strī cāviśeṣāt" and the commentaries of Karkācārya & Yājñīkadeva on it; pp. 5 & 8 of the Chowkhamba ed. and Weber's ed. respectively.

Hārīta⁶ says women are of two types: those who speak about Brahman and those who soon become wives (i.e. those who do not grow old in their parents' house). Of them, the first type has (the right to) initiation, establishment of fire, Vedic studies, and observance of begging alms in their own houses; the second is initiated and (soon after) married. Yama,⁷ as quoted in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, says that in ancient times the tying of the girdle is prescribed for girls; so also the teaching in the Vedas, and the utterance of the *Sāvitrī*. Nobody except her father, uncle or brother should teach her. The vow of begging alms is prescribed for her within (the limit of) her house. She should dispense with the deer-skin, the bark and the wearing of matted locks. Here Yama seems to refer to the existence of the custom not only in ancient times, but also in his own days, the construction being 'purākalpe (yathā aiśyata) tathā (adhunāpi) iśyate.' The word 'tathā' is significantly put by Yama by way of a comparison between the old time and his own time. So he makes the rule for his own time that nobody other than the girl's father, uncle or brother should teach her, she should beg in her house only (and not elsewhere) and she should not wear deer-skin, bark and matted locks. If Yama had intended to say that, unlike in ancient times in his own time the girl should not be initiated, he would have said something like this:—

पुरा-कल्पे कुमारिणां मौञ्जी-बन्धमिष्यते ।

इह कल्पे तु तासाम् न कुर्यान्मतिमान् क्वचित् ॥

6 द्वे-विधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्म-वादिन्यः सद्योवधश्च । तत्र ब्रह्म-वादिनोनामुपनयनसम्प्रीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्व-गृहे भिक्षा-चर्या चेति ; *Saṃskāra-raśna-mālā*, Poona, 1899, vol. I, p. 165, 1. 6-7.

पुरा-कल्पे कुमारिणां मौञ्जी-बन्धनमिष्यते ।

अध्यापनञ्च वेदानां सावित्री-वचनन्तथा ॥

पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत् परः

स्व-गृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्ष-चर्या विधीयते ॥

वर्जयेदजिनस्त्रीरम् जटा-धारणमेव च ।

As he continues with a series of verbs, all in the present tense—one in *Laṭ* and two in *Liṭ*, it is only reasonable to think that he prescribes the rules for his own days as was the case in ancient times too.

Without being initiated ceremonially, nobody is entitled to utter holy mantras. But the woman is found to utter sacred formulas in various sacrifices, *grhya* as well as *śrauta*. In the *Sāka-medha*, the third four-monthly sacrifice, the girl uses the *Tryambaka Mantra*.⁸ Mahidhara⁹ in his commentary *Veda-dīpa* says the unmarried girls of the sacrificer should walk round the fire three times along with the other males, the sons of the sacrificer and others while uttering the *Tryambaka Mantra* for *Tryambaka's* blessing. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁰ the priests and the sacrificer go round the altar thrice from right to left—smiting the left thigh; but the maidens go from left to right—smiting the right thigh. While doing so, the maidens utter the formula, "We worship *Tryambaka*, the fragrant bestower of husbands. Even as a gourd is severed from its stem, so may I be severed from this world, not from thence."¹¹ Kātyāyana¹² says, "*Kumāryaś ca uttareṇa ubhayatra pati-kāmā bhaga-kāmā vā*: the unmarried girls (of the sacrificer) too (should go round the fire), the latter"¹³ while uttering part of the mantra, in both the directions (*pitṛvad devavac ca parikramāṇe*: in going round both in the direction of the manes, i.e. the left, and in the direction of the gods, i.e. the right) either with the object of having husbands or fortune". Yājñikadeva¹⁴ in the *Paddhati* says, "*Vacanāt kumāryā api mantra-pāṭhaḥ*: the

8 *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, III, 60 b.

9 P. 92, Weber's edition of the *White Yajur-veda*.

10 II, 6, 2, 13 f, p. 197, Weber's edition; for *Sāyaṇa*, see *op. cit.* p. 218.

11 They want to be severed from this world i.e. their father's house and be permanent in their husband's family. Cf. Mahidhara also. They like to leave their father's gotra as well.

12 *Śrauta-sūtra*, 5, 10, 17, Weber's ed., p. 533; Chowkhamba ed. p. 361.

13 The former one i.e. *Vāj.Saṃ.*, III, 60 a, being used by the males.

14 p. 536, Weber's ed., of *W.YV.*

maiden too is to utter the sacred formula as it is so prescribed¹⁵ Satyāsādhā¹⁵ also says that if the daughter of the sacrificer longs for marriage, she should take the reverse course (to that taken by the males) along with the utterance of the Tryambaka formula.¹⁶

In the Varuṇa-praghāṣas, the second four-monthly sacrifice, after Haviṣ is placed on the north and south altars, the Pratipras-thātr—while leading the wife to the fire for the Karambha-pātra oblation—asks her if she has any lover or lovers. After her declaration¹⁷ she utters the formula¹⁸ “Praghāṣino havāmahe marutah, etc.: we invoke the Maruts, the voracious consumers”, etc. Then either the wife or the wife and husband both lift up the Karambha vessels on the winnowing baskets, place them on the head and offer oblations in the Dakṣiṇāgni with the formula “Yad grāme, etc; which in the village, etc”.¹⁹ On her way back, the wife recites the formula “Akram karma, etc.: having performed the work”.²⁰

In the Agniṣṭoma too, the wife, entering by the south door, anoints the axles of the Soma-cart with the remnant of the clarified butter left after the Sāvitrī-homa with the utterance of the formula, “Deva śrutau, etc.”²¹

There are several such instances where the wife or wives use sacred formulas. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis as well furnish examples as to the right of women to utter the holy mantras.

15 *Śrauta-sūtra*, 5. 5., p. 489, vol. II.

16 The *B. YV.* schools have a different reading उर्वारुक्मिव बन्धनान् मृत्यो-
र्मुक्षिय मा पते: ।

17 For details and references, see our section on “The Wife in the Cāturmāsya Sacrifice” in the *Position of Wife in the Vedic Ritual*.

18 *Vājasaneyi-saṃh.*, III, 44; For Mahidhara, see Weber’s ed., vol. I, p. 83; Karka, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 473, on *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 5, 10.

19 *Vājasaneyi-saṃh.*, III, 45.

20 *Op. cit.*, 47.

21 *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, 5, 17. The mantra has, however, variant readings in the different Saṃhitās and Sūtras. Cf. *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā* 1, 2, 9; *Kāṭhaka-Saṃh.*, 11, 10; *Satapatha Brā.*, 111, 5, 3. 13-14; *Mānava-śr.-sūtra*, 2.2.2. 15; *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 8. 3. 32.

The *Skanda-purāṇa*²² says that the wife should sacrifice with the sacred formulas in the rituals in accordance with the regulations; so, in the funeral rite too, she, according to the sacred law, is entitled to utter the sacred mantras. The *Kālādarśa*, as quoted in the *Śrāddha-mayūkha*²³ of Nīlakaṇṭha Mīmāṃsaka Bhaṭṭa, quotes the following lines from the same source to show that women are not entitled to utter the sacred formulas in the funeral and śrāddha rites: “Sarvābhāve striyaḥ kuryuḥ sva-bhartṛnām amantrakam: in the absence of all others, the striyaḥ i.e. the women should offer to the bhartṛs i.e. the maintainers without mantras.” Unfortunately we cannot trace the line in the Calcutta edition of the *Skanda-purāṇa*. The line, however, occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*.²⁴ We read herein like this:—

- a सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः स्व-भर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् ।
- b तदभावे च नृपतिः कारयेत् स्व-कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥
- c तज्जातीयैर्नरैः सम्यक् दाहाद्याः सकलाः क्रियाः ।

and preceding these lines are—

- i पाल-न्त्रये प्रेत-पालं अर्घ्यं चैव प्रसेचयेत् ।
- ये समाना इति जपन् पूर्ववच्छेषम् आचरेत् ॥
- j श्रीणामप्येवमेवैतदेकोद्दिष्टमुदाहृतम् ।
- मृताहनि यथान्यायं नृणां यद्वदिहोदितम् ।

But Raghunandana²⁵ takes the stanzas in the following order :

a. b. i. j. to run concurrently and argues that “apy evam” in j. means “amantrakam” as in a. and so “striṇāṃ mantra-niṣedho’pi tat-saṃpradānaka-śrāddha evāvagamyate: the prohibition (of the use) of mantra applies to those cases only where the women offer the Śrāddha”. We cannot find out in any of the printed editions or manuscripts available in the India Office Library the order followed

22 Ed. by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta, 1911, vol. IV, p. 2326; also quoted in *Śrāddha-mayūkha*, p. 22.

23 Ed. by Gharpure in the *Collection of Hindu Law Books*, vol. XVIII. p. 22,

1. 24-25.

24 Dr. K. N. Banerjee's ed. in the *Bib Ind.*, p. 189.

25 *Śrāddha-tattva*, p. 508, Calcutta, 1909-10.

by Raghunandana. Moreover, the word "Striyaḥ" in the *a* does not mean "Wife", but any and every woman maintained by the deceased. In the *Śrāddha-viveka*, after enumerating the long list of the *śrāddhādhikārins*, the author says "Tad abhāve yathākathañcit pariḡrhitāḥ striyaḥ: these failing, any and every woman taken hold of by any means would do." These are the women meant in line *a* above and not the wife. The claim of the wife (Patni) to perform the funeral and *Śrāddha* for her husband follows immediately after the son, i.e. the son failing, the wife is to do so. Śaṅkha, Kātyāyana, *Śrāddha-viveka*, *Śrāddha-mayūkeha*, *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* and all other authorities are unanimous on the point. So by "Striyaḥ" in "Sarvābhāve striyaḥ kuryuḥ", the wife can by no means be meant. The words "apy evam" in line *i* in the order to be uttered and that the rites following should be the same as mentioned before. The *Kalpa-taru* says that "Striṇām apy evam, etc." mean:

"यादृशेन सम्बन्धेन पितृव्यत्वादिना पुरुषाणामेकादशाहादि श्राद्धं, तादृशेनैव सम्बन्धेन स्त्रीणामेतत् कर्तव्यमिति" ।

Here it is evident that the women also utter the mantra in the *Śrāddha*. After having said that the *Ekoddiṣṭa* and *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa* should be offered with mantras, Yājñavalkya²⁶ says "This *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa* as well as *Ekoddiṣṭa* should be offered to the woman also" Yājñavalkya has suggested no distinction whatsoever. The *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*²⁷ also says that the *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa* of the mother is said to be observed with the grand-mother (on the father's side) in accordance with the rites as mentioned. Here also no distinction whatsoever is suggested. The *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*²⁸ also comments on the couplet स्त्रीणाममन्त्रकं श्राद्धम् etc." thus:

26 *Ūnavimśati-saṃhitā*, ed. by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1903, p. 161, l. II, śl. 254.

27 मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदितं । यथोक्तेनैव कल्पेन etc.

28 S. of Govindānanda, Bib. Ind. Cal., 1904, p. 377, ll. 19-78, l. 1 f.

स्त्रीणाममन्त्रकं श्राद्धमिति वचनात् स्त्रीणां सकल-श्राद्ध एव सकल-मन्त्र-पाठा नास्तीति वदन्ति । तन्मन्दं वचनस्यामूलत्वात् सकल-संग्रहेष्वदृष्टत्वात् । etc.

Here he thinks the couplet “*strīṇām śrāddham amantrakam*”, etc. is baseless (an interpolation) and is not found in all the *Samgrahas* and so the view that the woman is not entitled to perform the *Śrāddha* with mantra is not tenable. The *Brahma-purāṇa*²⁹ also says distinctly that the women should offer the *Śrāddha* with mantras.

*Saṅkha*³⁰ says that the daughter too after her *saṃskāra* should, like the boy, observe the *Aśauca*, perform the funeral rite, offer *Pinḍas* and celebrate the *Ekoddiṣṭa* for her father. Here too no distinction has been suggested and accordingly the mantras are to be uttered by the daughter too.

The reason why the “*Strīyaḥ*” in line *a* above who are really “*Yathā-kathāñcit pariḡṛhitāḥ strīyaḥ*” in the language of the *Śrāddha-viveka-kāra* should not utter the mantras is, therefore, not that the woman, because of her sex, is not entitled to utter the mantras in the *Śrāddha*, but because these women somehow picked out in the absence of all others need not utter the mantras. Such women will perform the *Śrāddha* somehow, and nobody would like them to perform the *Śrāddhas* in all the details. If the mantras are cut out, the oblations are also necessarily cut out and the ceremonies too become reduced by almost two-thirds. This is the reason why these “*Yathākathāñcit pariḡṛhitāḥ strīyaḥ*” should not utter the mantras.

The *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad* says “*Sāvitrīm praṇavam yajus stri-sūdrayor necchanti*: (some) do not recommend (the utterance

²⁹ स्त्रीभिश्च अवर-वर्णैश्च श्राद्धं विप्रानुशासनात् ।

मन्त्रवत् विधि-पूर्वं तु वह्नि-पाक-विवर्जितम् ॥

³⁰ दुहिता पुत्रवत् कुर्यात् माता-पितृस्तु संस्कृता ।

अशौचमुदकं पिण्डमेकोद्दिष्टं सदा तयोः ॥

as quoted in *Śrāddha-mayūkha*, p. 23; the *Śrāddha-kriyā-kauṃḍī* puts the verse under the name of *Bhāradvāja*.

of) the *sāvitrī*, *praṇava* and *yajus* for the woman and the *śūdra*.”³¹ Baudhāyana³² says, “*Amantrā hi striyo matāḥ*: some say, women are not entitled to utter the mantra.” The words “*Na icchanti*” and “*Matāḥ*” in the above texts show that the authorities themselves do not think that women are not entitled to utter the mantras though there are a few schools who think otherwise. Moreover, the authority of the *Smṛti* cannot be reckoned as valid against that of the *Śruti*. Thus, *Vedavyāsa*³³ says that where *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and *Purāṇa* differ (in opinion), the *Śruti* should be considered as the authority; of the (latter two) *Smṛti* precedes (over the *Purāṇa*). So, the schools whom Baudhāyana mentions need not be taken into serious consideration. The opinion of the school quoted by the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad* is to be ignored not only because the *Upaniṣad* itself considers it ignorable, but also because the opinion of the majority should prevail when the authorities differ among themselves. Our copious *Śruti* evidence shows that the opinion of the opponent school cannot prevail.

In the *Pinḍa-pitr-yajña*³⁴ and other *Śrāddhas*³⁵ the middle cake³⁶ given to the manes is to be eaten by the wife (*Patni*). The husband gives her the cake saying that she should eat it as it represents the juice of the annual herbs growing in waters; as a result she should become pregnant with a human embryo. The wife too³⁷

31 p. 10 of Ānandāśrama edition (vol. 30), 1. 6-7.

32 As quoted in *Śrāddha-tattva*, Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstrin's ed., Calcutta, 1909-10, 511, l. 4.

33 श्रुति-स्मृति-पुराणानाम् विरोधो यत्न इत्यते ।

तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणम् स्यात् तयोर्द्वये स्मृतिर्वरा

Smṛtinām samuccayah, Poona, 1905, p. 357, l. 7 (verse 4).

34 See *Samskāra-ratna-mālā*, Poona, 1899, p. 983, ll. 11 f.

35 *Śrāddha-mañjari*, Poona, 1909, p. 37.

36 If there are 6 cakes the wife should eat both the middle:

पिण्ड-षट्के मध्यमयोर्द्वयोः प्राशनम्, *Śrāddha-mañjari*, p. 37.

37 If the wife, however, is not in a fit stage, she should not eat the cake.

eats the cake with the prescribed mantra. If the house-holder has many wives, he divides the cake amongst them all and all of them should eat their respective portion along with the utterance of the above sacred formula. The author of the *Vaijayanti* as mentioned in the *Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā*³⁸ says this eating of the cake is not optional but obligatory whenever the *Śrāddha* is celebrated. According to him, therefore, the utterance of this mantra is not an occasional but a regular right of the wife; if the eating of the cake is a regular (*nitya*) right, the utterance of the mantra must also be her regular right during the observance of all the *Śrāddhas*. It does not seem, however, that the eating of the middle cake or both the cakes is compulsory. The *Śrāddha-mayūkha*³⁹ says it is only optional and not obligatory. *Manu* uses the word "Sūtārthini: desirous of a son" while prescribing the eating of the cake by the wife. *Devanabhaṭṭa* in the *Śrāddha-kāṇḍa*⁴⁰ says if she is desirous of a son or a daughter, the wife should eat the cake. *Yama* also says a wife desirous of an issue should do so. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* puts the word "Prajārthini: longing for a son or a daughter" as an adjective to the wife and mentions the sacred formula "Ādhatta pitaro garbham" which, it assures, is "Santāna-var dhana: (capable of) increasing (the number of) sons or daughters." Anyhow, the fact remains that whenever the wife eats the middle cake she as a rule utters the mantra. It is her right and no authority has ever intended to deprive her of this.

Āśvalāyana⁴¹ says in his *Gr̥hyasūtra* that from the time of marriage onwards the house-holder himself, the wife, the son, the unmarried girl, or a disciple, should offer regular oblations to the

38 Poona, 1899, p. 983, l. 13.

39 Ed. by J. R. Gharpure, *Collection of Hindu Law Books*, vol. XVIII, *Madhyama-piṇḍa-prāśanam kevalam eva na nityam*.

40 *Smṛti-candrikā*, vol. IV, p. 402.

41 1, 9, 1.

Grhya fire. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa⁴² and Haradatta⁴³ also cite the opinion of some schools according to whom the wife and the unmarried daughter are entitled to offer the oblation without any reservation. Khādira⁴⁴ says, "Some say the wife should sacrifice; the wife is the house and the fire belongs to the house." Gobhila⁴⁵ also says the wife should verily offer the morning and evening oblations in the domestic fire for the same reasons. According to the *Prayogaratna*⁴⁶ too, the wife, the unmarried daughter, the son, or the disciple, should offer the sacrifice following the order as mentioned here. The *Smṛty-artha-sāra*⁴⁷ also holds that the sacrifice offered by the wife, the daughters, etc. is (to be considered) just the same as offered by the sacrificer though the wife and the daughter should offer without the besprinkling (Paryuksana). So the wife and the unmarried daughter are entitled to offer the oblation along with the utterance of the mantras unquestionably, together with the Om at the beginning and end of each mantra.⁴⁸

Tarkālaṅkāra in his commentary on Gobhila⁴⁹ however, thinks that the wife should be given, on this account, so much education as would suffice for this, because "without studies she cannot sacrifice, nor does the Sūtra say that she should offer silently." Anyway, this much confession is sufficient to show that the wife is entitled to the Initiation ceremony so that she may be entitled to read at all, not to speak of uttering the Vedic mantras.

42 p. 33, l. 3, Bombay ed. of *Āśv. G.S.*, 2nd ed., 1909.

43 p. 33, l. 21, Trivandrum ed. of *Āśv. G.S.*, 1923.

44 Ed. by A. Mahādeva Sāstrin, Mysore Govt. Or. Lib. Series, no. 41, l. 5, 17-18, p. 40.

45 l. 3, 15, p. 95, Bib. Ind.

46 Bombay edition.

47 एतैरेव हुतं यच्च हूतम् स्वयमेव तु, p. 34 (*Ā.S.S.*, vol. 70).

48 *Upodghāta*, Poona, 1924, p. 47, l. 12-13.

सर्व-मन्त्रेष्वदावन्ते च प्रणवो वक्तव्यः ।

49 l. 5, 15, p. 95, l. 10 f., Bib. Ind. ed.

Pāraskara⁵⁰ says that the wife should, if she is desirous of conception, offer the first oblation in the evening as well as in the morning along with the utterance of the prescribed mantra wherein she should utter the "Svāhā" again.⁵¹ All the commentators, Karka,⁵² Jayarāma, Harihara, Gadādhara and Viśvanātha agree to say that the wife should worship the fire with the first oblation in the morning as well as in the evening with the above mantra. The mantra prescribed for her is a Homa-mantra ending with "Svāhā: Hail"; as she is to offer the first oblation with this, it is she who is to utter the Praṇava also. Without the upanayana, the wife can never do so.

Āśvalāyana⁵³ in connection with his section on *Nāma-karana* says:

1. नाम च अस्मै दद्युः । 2. घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमधिनिष्ठान्तं द्व्यक्षरम् ।
3. चतुरक्षरं वा । 4. द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठा-कामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्म-वर्चस-कामः । 5. युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम् । 6. अयुजानि स्त्रीणाम् । 7. अभिवादनीयश्च समीचेत तन्मात्तपितरौ विद्येतामा उपनयनात् ।

In the commentary upon the Sūtra marked 5 by us, Haradatta says that because of the mention of "Eva" and "Tu" in the Sūtra all that is said in the above Sūtras (2-4) is not proper; and it follows that the names for males should consist of even syllables. The names of females should consist of an odd number of syllables. Āśvalāyana thus finishes what he has to say about the *Samvyaavahārika nāma*

⁵⁰ *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, I, 9, 3-5, p. 110, Bom. ed., 1918.

⁵¹ This "Again" means that she should first offer the oblation with the mantra "Agnaye svāhā Prajāpataye svāhā" in the evening and "Sūryāya svāhā prajāpataye svāhā" in the morning, and then another oblation with this mantra together with "Svāhā."

⁵² For the commentaries, see pp. 110 f. of the Bombay ed. of *Pāraskara*: Karka I. 30-31, p. 110; Jayarāma, I. 3-4, p. 111; Harihara, I. 34 f.

"अत्र पूर्वं गर्भ-कामा इत्यस्य कोऽर्थः ? किं नित्ययोर्द्वयोरानुसृत्योः प्रथमा पूर्व-शब्देन विवक्षिता, उत ताभ्यां पूर्वापूर्वं होतव्यान्येव । किं तावत् प्राप्तम् ? अन्येव इति, मन्त्रान्तरेण देवतान्तर-होम-विधानान्मन्त्रस्य देवतायाश्च गुणत्वेन कर्म-भेदकत्वात् ।"

Gadādhara, I. 6 f. p. 114; Viśvanātha, I. 9 f., p. 115.

⁵³ I, 15, 4 f, p. 55, Bom. 2nd. ed.; I, 13, 4 f, p. 62, Trivandrum ed.

and proceeds, without making any more distinction, to say about the abhivādaniya name of the child (male and female).⁵⁴ "(He) should find out a name to be used (by the child) at the time when the child bows down to her"⁵⁵ (during the upanayana); the parents should keep the name concealed (to themselves) till the child's Initiation.⁵⁶ Kumārila Bhaṭṭa⁵⁷ also holds the same view when he says "Nāma abhivādaniyaṃ tu pitror hṛdyā upanītaḥ: But the name for the child's abhivādana the parents should keep secret till the upanayana." This name reserved for use during the initiation ceremony for the girl has no meaning if the girl is not allowed to bow down to the Guru at the proper time.⁵⁸

Gobhila⁵⁹ says expressly that the bride should wear the sacred thread when the bridegroom leads her to the altar. "Prāvṛtām yajñōpavitinīm abhyudānayan japet Soma'dadad gandharvāya iti:"⁶⁰ Leading her forward who is clothed in the proper way and wears the sacrificial cord (over the left shoulder), he should murmur the verse "Soma gave her to the Gandharva, etc." Prāvṛtā here means evidently Pra prakarṣeṇa āvṛtā veśa-parihitā and yajñōpavitinī yajñōpavīta-viśiṣṭā, i.e. she who has worn the dress properly and the sacred thread. In the *Aḍbhikāra Sūtra*, Gobhila himself as well as

54 सांव्यवहारिकं नाम कृत्वा अनिवादणीयञ्च कार्यमित्याह अभिवादनीयञ्च etc; Gārgyanārāyaṇa, p. 56. एवं तावत् संव्यवहारार्थस्य नाम्नः करणम् उक्तम् । अथ अभिवादनीयस्य नाम्नः करणमाह अभिवादनीयञ्च etc., Haradatta, p. 63.

55 Āśvalāyana does not repeat this rule in the section on Upanayana as this rule has been mentioned here.

56 See Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta, p. 56 and 63 respectively of the Bombay and Trivandrum editions. Their interpretation completely agrees with our translation.

57 *Gṛhya-kārikā*, pp. 263-326 of the Bombay ed. of *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, 2nd ed., I. 9.3. p. 273. For the use of the Abhivādaniya name during the upanayana, see I, 13, 23, p. 276.

58 This view of Āśvalāyana is corroborated by the *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra*, I, XVIII, p. 83, I. 1-4, Baroda ed.; cf. *Āśvalāyana*, op. cit., I. 14-15.

59 2, I, 19.

60 RV. X. 85. 41. AV. XIV. 2. 4.

Kātyāyana⁶¹ say that one must always wear the sacred thread. So the repetition of *yajñopavīta* here means that for ceremonial purpose the bride should change her former *yajñopavīta* and wear a new one.

Caṇḍrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, however, thinks otherwise. He gives us two alternative explanations.⁶² Firstly, he says the word *yajñopavītinim* in the passage means “*Yajñopavītinim iva, yajñopavītavat-kṛtottariyām*: The bride is *prāvṛtā kṛtottariyā*. How is she *Prāvṛtā*? : like a *yajñopavītinī*, like one who has worn the upper garment in the form of a sacred thread.” Secondly, “*Prāvṛtām*” means “*Prakarṣeṇa ācchāditām smṛty-ukta-ṛityā parihitādharīya-vasanām*” and “*yajñopavītinim*” means “*Yajñopavītavat parihitottara-vasanām*,” i.e. the bride who has worn her lower garments in the manner prescribed in the *Smṛti* and worn her upper garments in the fashion of a *yajñopavīta*. The learned commentator also says the word *yajñopavīta* may be used in the sense of the *uttariya* for showing which way the *uttariya* is to be worn. These explanations are not tenable.

Tarkālaṅkāra quotes the *Smṛti* to show how the bride should be properly dressed: “She should not show the navel, the virtuous wife should wear the clothes down to the heels and should not keep the breasts uncovered.” According to his second explanation “*Prāvṛtā*” means “she who has worn the lower garments” and “*Yajñopavīta*” means “she who has worn the upper garment in the form of a sacred thread.” The explanation that he gives does not follow the direction he mentions. If “*Prāvṛta*” does not mean “One wearing both upper and lower garments” but “One wearing the lower garment” only, the breasts remain uncovered. The *uttariya* *vasana* used in the form of a sacred thread cannot cover her breasts.⁶³

61 *Gobhila-grhya-sūtra*, 1, 1, 2, p. 8; *Karma-pradīpa*, Bib. Ind., vol. 178, p. 11. 1.1.

62 For the Text, see *Gobhila-grhya-sūtra*, Bib. Ind., p. 308.

63 For the right manner of wearing the *yajñopavīta*, see *Karma-pradīpa*, ch. 1.
verse 2 : लिङ्गदूर्ध्व-वृत्तं कार्यं तन्तु-वयमधोवृत्तम् । लिङ्गतश्चोपवीतं स्यात्तस्यैको ग्रन्थिरिष्यते ॥

The commentator in commenting upon *Gobh.* 1, 1, 2, says on p. 17, तद् इदम् यज्ञ-सूत्र-द्वयमुत्तरीयञ्च खल्विह कर्म-मात्रं शेषतया विधित्सितं विन्यासविशेषस्तु उत्तरीयस्येव यज्ञसूत्रस्यापि तल तल तत्तद्वाक्यादवगन्तव्यः । This pair of sacred threads and the upper garment are here mentioned as a rule as requisite for every ritual; but the particular manner of wearing it—as of the upper garment so of the sacred thread—is to be known from those particular passages in those particular places.” For this reason the word *yajñopavita* cannot be used in the sense of the *uttariya*. It is declared in the *Smṛti*:—⁶⁴

यज्ञोपवीते द्वे धार्ये श्रौत-स्मार्तेषु कर्मसु ।

तृतीयश्चोत्तरोयार्थं वस्त्रालामे तदिष्यते ॥

“Two sacred threads are to be worn in the Śrauta and Smārta sacrifices; a third one also should be worn for an upper garment: this is prescribed if a cloth is not available.” Here it is said that a third sacred thread is to be used if an *uttariya* is not available. If the *uttariya* is not wanting, the third thread is not to be used. Here the word *yajñopavita* is not certainly used in the sense of *uttariya*, but it said that *yajñopavita* is to be substituted for the *uttariya*. A substitute for a thing can never be the thing itself. Nor is it reasonable to think that because two different things are worn in the same manner, Gobhila has used one word for the other. Why should he? The *uttariya* is as well-known as the *yajñopavita*. What reason is there that the word *uttariya* would be dropped at will and the word “*yajñopavita*” be substituted for it?

The learned commentator quotes in p. 65 the *Nigama-pariśiṣṭa* “Vāsasā yajñopavitinī kurute, tad-abhāve tṛṣṭā sūtreṇa”⁶⁵ in which, he thinks, the word “*yajñopavita*” means an upper garment (*uttariya*). To follow the commentator, the sacrificer is to wear three upper garments which is nowhere prescribed in the Ritual litera-

⁶⁴ *Gobhila-grhya-sūtra*, p. 19, l. 7 f. *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, Bombay, 1921 f. 51; cf. *Smṛtyartha-sāra*, p. 5, l. 10.

⁶⁵ See *Karma-kāṇḍa-pradīpa*, f. 50.

ture. Again, three *uttariyas* to be made out of a cloth is an anomaly, for, in order to wear it properly, one is to wear the cloth wound round nine times on one's shoulder sideways. Two, and sometimes three of these, are to be worn. Nobody wants the sacrificer to carry a heap of clothes round about him. The real meaning of the passage is what is expressed in the couplet quoted above. The cloth, not a sacred thread but an accompaniment of the two threads normally used, is considered as making the number of threads three. We come across similar use in the following passage: "Yajamāna-*pañcamā* ṛtviṣa idaṃ bhakṣayanti:"⁶⁶ the priests with *yajamāna*-the fifth drink the *ida*." Here, too, similarly, the "Upavitam" means the two sacred threads with the garment as the third, i.e. the "Upavitāni" three in number together with the garment which is not a 'upavita' as in the above case the *yajamāna* is not a priest. So it is here by no means said, as our commentator thinks, that the 'yajñopavita' is 'uttariya.'

In a sacrifice to be performed even by the widow, she should wear the sacred cord on the right or left shoulder as prescribed⁶⁷ and should herself offer the annual or other *śrāddhas* to her husband, father-in-law,⁶⁸ etc. When she performs an *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* for a son, daughter, etc. she should herself do all the initial ceremonial necessities up to the initial resolution (*Samkalpa*) and may then give permission to a priest to perform the *śrāddha* on her behalf.⁶⁹

* 66 Very frequently used in the S-Ss; also cf. uses like

वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारत-पञ्चमान् ।

67 *Śrāddha-mañjari*, ed. by Vapu Mahadeva Kelkar, Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, p. 117.

68 स्व-भर्तृ-प्रभृति-क्षिभ्यः स्व-पितृभ्यस्तथैव च । विधवा कारयेच्छ्राद्धं यथा-कालमतन्त्रितः ॥ *Smṛtinām samuccayaḥ*, Poona, 1905; also quoted in *Śrāddha-mañjari*, Poona, 1909, p. 115.

69 कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणमृत्विक्त्वेन परिकल्प्य तं ब्रूयात् "मम आज्ञया त्वमिदममुक-श्राद्धाख्यं कर्म कुर्विति ।" She may herself perform it if she likes, see l. 20, p. 117, *op. cit.*

In course of the ceremony she wears the sacred cord on the right or left shoulder accordingly as the priest does.⁷⁰ This is the case when she gives a priest permission to perform the rite for her; no wonder she will do the same in course of performing the rite herself. If she is not entitled to be initiated for the vedic studies and wear the sacred cord, she cannot wear the sacred thread during the sacrifice.

In the section on Adhikāra-sūtra prescribing general rules (to be observed in all the rites,) Gobhila⁷¹ says that the ceremony should be performed by one wearing the sacrificial thread on one's left shoulder (as a rule) and having sipped water. In other places we have shown that the woman is entitled to perform the sacrifices. Without following the general rule, how can she perform the sacrifice properly.

Even in modern usage there is some relic of the woman's wearing the sacred thread. Now-a-days the bride is made to wear during the marriage the sacred thread of the bridegroom. This is a rite observed by women.⁷² Women, owing to their conservative nature,⁷³ always stick to things of time immemorial. Āpastamba and others pay their due respect to these strī-ācāras when they recommend them to be observed as their prescribed rules.⁷⁴

So it is certain that by "Yajñopavitini" Gobhila means a bride who has worn the sacrificial thread and not one who has worn the upper garment in the form of a "Yajñopavita". Gobhila here means that the bride should be properly dressed with the lower

70 अत्रिक्-कर्म-काले तद्-यज्ञोपवीतित्वेऽनुज्ञात्ताऽपि यज्ञोपवीतिता कर्तव्या । तद्-प्राचीना-
वीतित्वे तथा प्राचीनावीतिता कर्तव्या ।

71 Yajñopavitinā ācāntodakena kṛtyam; Gobhila-grhya-sūtra, l. 1. 2.

72 Stri-ācāra.

73 Buckle, *Fraser's Magazine*, April, 1858; Mason, *Women in Primitive Culture*, p. 273.

74 Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra, 2, 15; here he recommends that the ceremonies that are required by custom should be learnt from women; cf. Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra, 11, 6, 15, 9; 11, 11, 29, 11-12; Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra, 1, 14, 8; etc.

garment (adhariya) as well as upper (uttariya), and should wear a pair of new sacred threads; then the husband should lead her, hand in hand, to the marriage altar, while uttering the sacred formula "Soma gave to Gandharva," etc. Though in the section on general rules (Adhikāra-sūtras) it has been made a general rule that the sacred thread should be always worn while sacrificing,⁷⁵ the repetition of "Yajñopavita" would here mean that a pair of new sacred threads are to be worn during the marriage ceremony.

Kātyāyana says in the *Karma-pradīpa*⁷⁶ that in accordance with the seniority in caste and age, the honest wives should separately stir the fire. In stirring the fire the husband should not appoint a śūdra wife, an uncontrollable or a vicious one. The strongest of them who is the best of them as it were and certainly best of all those initiated (i.e. the most learned)⁷⁷ should stir the fire last of all with all her heart's content. This shows that Initiation for studies was a condition, not only necessary, but essential, for having preferential treatment in the religious, and consequently, in household affairs too.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁷⁸ queen Kauśalyā and in the *Mahābhārata*⁷⁹ Sāvitrī and Ambā offer oblations along with sacred formulas.

In his section "Stri-saṃskāra" in the *Madana-pārijāta*,⁸⁰ Madana Pāla quotes Kātyāyana⁸¹ to show that if any purificatory rite (saṃskāra) before the initiation ceremony is left unobserved, it should be performed with the offering of oblations. If the time for initiation expires, according to Madana, sacrifices for recovering

75 Whenever the word "Yajñopavita" is repeated in the Sūtras, there is always a special sense behind it; see Śrīdatta, *Snāna-prakaraṇa* in *Ācārādāśa*, f. 22, a-b.

"Yajñopaviti", etc. Harihara, *Snāna-sūtra-bhāṣya*, Benares edition of *Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra*, pp. 558-559: "Kātyāyana-smṛter," etc.

76 1, 8, 6 f, Bib. Ind., vol. I, p. 114, l. 1 ff.

77 Upeṭānāṁ ca anyatamā, *op. cit.*, p. 115, l. 2.

78 II, 20. 14 ff.

79 III, 296; vol. 186.

80 p. 362, Bib. Ind.

81 *Kātyāyana-saṃhitā*, forming part of the *Unaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, ed. by P. Tarkaratna, p. 330.

the rights forfeited (Vrātya-stomas) and other expiations are to be observed. Aṣ Madana deals with these things in his section on Stri-saṃskāra, it is clear that women are entitled to be initiated.

The brilliant record of their Vedic education also shows that women are entitled to be initiated for Vedic studies. The *R̥g-veda* furnishes us with a long list of seers composing or discoursing on sacred texts (Brahmavādinis). According to the *Brhad-devatā*,⁸² they form three groups: (1) those that praised the deities; they are all, strictly speaking, vedic seers; (2) those who conversed with seers and deities; (3) those who sang of the evolutionary forms of self; these latter two groups may also be called seers in that the hymns or the R̥ks were revealed through them. In the first group are घोषा,⁸³ गोधा,⁸⁴ विश्ववारा,⁸⁵ अपाला,⁸⁶ उपनिषद्,⁸⁷ निषत्,⁸⁸ ब्रह्मजाया⁸⁹ named जुहु, sister of अगस्त्य⁹⁰ and अदिति,⁹¹ इन्द्राणी,⁹² इन्द्रमता,⁹³ सरमा,⁹⁴ रोमशा,⁹⁵ उर्वशी,⁹⁶ लोपासुद्रा,⁹⁷ नदी,⁹⁸ यमी⁹⁹ and शाश्वती नारी¹⁰⁰ form the second group. श्री,¹⁰¹ लाक्षा,¹⁰² सारपराङ्गी,¹⁰³ वाचु,¹⁰⁴ श्रद्धा,¹⁰⁵ मेधा,¹⁰⁶ दक्षिणा,¹⁰⁷ रात्रि¹⁰⁸ and सूर्या सावित्री¹⁰⁹ come within the third group.

Yājñavalkya takes pride in teaching his wives Gārgī and Maitreyī the most abstruse philosophical doctrine of Soul.¹¹⁰ Gārgī Vācakanavi is venerated as the champion of all the learned Brāhmanas

82 Compare *Ārsānukramanī*, X. 102; *Brhad-devatā*, 11, 84.

83 *RV.* X. 39. 40. 84 X. 134. 6, 7. 85 V. 28. 86 VIII. 91.

87 and 88 Seers of the Khila beginning Vo dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya, etc

89 X. 109; Cf. *Ārsā*, X. 51. 90 X. 60. 6; Cf. *Ārsā*, X. 24.

91 Some R̥ks of IV. 18. 92 X. 86 (several stanzas) and 145.

93 X. 153; Cf. *Ārsā*, X. 72. 94 Several R̥ks of X. 108.

95 I. 126. 7. 96 Several stanzas of X. 95.

97 I. 179. I, 2. 98 Several R̥ks of III, 33.

99 X. 10 and 154.

100 VIII, I, 34; Cf. *Sarvānukramanī* on *RV.* VIII, I.

101 Supposed seer of Khila after V. 87 (Śrī-sūkta).

102 Seer of Khila below VII, 51. 103 X. 89.

104 X. 125. 105 X. 151.

106 Medhā-sūkta, Khila after X, 151. 107 X. 107

108 X. 127. 109 X. 85.

110 *Brhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 1-14 and 4. 5. 1-15.

present in the court of Janaka to ask Yājñavalkya, the most learned sage of his age, a series of questions in order to ascertain if they should debate with Yājñavalkya or not.¹¹¹ This time she asks him two questions which he manages to answer. On a subsequent occasion she takes up the question of the old water cosmology. Yājñavalkya is, however, cornered—so much so that he begins to curse her.¹¹² Umā Haimavatī tells Agni and Vāyu of the one Supreme Soul.¹¹³ The *AV.* in extolling the Brahmacarya says that by Vedic studentship a girl wins a young husband.¹¹⁴ The Vedic literature contains a long list of the names of female teachers of Philosophy and Ritual. The *Śāṅkhāyana*¹¹⁵ and *Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra*¹¹⁶ mention the names of Gārgī Vācakanvī, Vāḍavā Prāthithēyī and Sulabhā Maitreyī in the list of Ṛṣis. The *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*¹¹⁸ quote the authoritative opinion of a “Kumāri Gandharva-grhītā: maiden seized by a Gandharva” that the Agnihotra Ritual which was once performed on both days is now performed on alternate days only. Patañcala Kāpya’s wife¹¹⁹ and daughter¹²⁰ are also Gandharva-grhītās. Students from all over the country visited them for knowledge. Kāpya himself learnt many things from them. The extensive use of matronymics also may partly be due to the wide reputation of the learning of the mothers, some of whom are most probably teachers. Kātyāyana recognises the established position and honour of women teachers in his *Sūtras* (Vā. 2477) “Ācāryād aṇatvam ca” and (Vā. 125) “Mātulopādhyāyayor ānug vā.”¹²¹ Because of the honour shown to the learned women, the parents

111 *Op. cit.*, III, 8.

112 *Op. cit.*, III, 6.

113 *Talavakāra Upaniṣad*, IV, 1 f.

114 *Atharva-veda*, XI. 5. 18.

115 IV. 10.

116 III, 4, 4.

117 V. 29.

118 II, 9.

119 *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 7, 1.

120 *Op. cit.*, III, 3, 1.

121 *Bāla-manoramā*, vol. I, p. 379-80; for *Bāl.* itself, p. 379, l. 31 f.—80, l. 9 f.

perform some special ceremony for having a learned daughter.¹²² They boil rice mixed with sesanum, eat it with butter and make themselves worthy of giving birth to a learned daughter. Ātreya goes from North India to the South to learn the Vedānta from Agastya and others.¹²³ Ubhaya Bhārati¹²¹ mediates in the controversy between her husband Maṇḍana Miśra and Śaṅkarācārya who represent the Vedic learning in their age.¹²⁵

In the Vedic Ritual women have a recognised position for their songs and aptitude in music. Most probably, these were parts of their Sāma-vedic learning. Women are more willing to have singers rather than Brahma-vādins.¹²⁶ Women love men who can sing.¹²⁷ In the Mahā-vrata, wives sing and play various sorts of instruments. The *Satyāśādhya-śrauta-sūtra*¹²⁸ mentions in this connection the name of the following instruments, viz., Apaghāṭalikā, Tālukaviṇā, Kāṇḍa-viṇā, Pichorā, and Alāvu-kapi-śiṣṇa; the *Śaṅkabhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*,¹²⁹ Ghaṭakarkari, Avaghātarikā, Kāṇḍa-viṇā, Pichorā, etc; the *Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*¹³⁰ also gives a similar list. The *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*¹³¹ simply refers to the fact, but does not give any detail. According to Lāṭyāyana the wives

122 Paṇḍitā duhitā; *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI. 4. 17.

123 Bhavabhūti, *Uttara-carita*, Canto II.

अस्मिन्नेव अगस्त्य-प्रमुखाः प्रदेशे भूयांस उद्गीथ-विदो वसन्ति ।

तेषामधिगन्तुं निगमान्त-विद्यां वाल्मीकि-प्रमुखादिह पर्यटामि ॥

124 Most probably because of her vast learning she is also known as "Sarasvatī."

125 For studies in general, cf. *Mahā-nirvāṇa-tantra* VIII, 47; कन्याप्येवं पालनीया शिञ्जलीया चातियज्ञतः i.e. the daughter should be brought up with as much care and given as much education as the son.

126 *Sarasvaty-annuvāka*; 20, *Kāṭhaka-grhya-sūtra*, Appendix, IV, p. 303.

127 *Tait.Saṃh.*, VI, 1, 6, 5; *Mait.Saṃh.*, 111, 7, 3, etc; *Śat.Brāh.*, 111, 2, 4, 6.

128 XVI, 6. 21, vol. VI. p. 382.

129 XVII, 3, 12; for the way how to play these instruments, see the following sūtras; also *Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, IV, 6 f.

130 IV, 2, 1-8.

131 V. I. 5.

should sit to the west of the Udgātṛ and each wife should alternately play two lutes.¹³² They must not play one particular instrument called Ghātārī slowly.¹³³ As every part of the ritual must be perfectly performed, it may be fairly assumed that the wives were expected to be expert musicians and singers.

In one Pravādāna karma mentioned in the *Vārāha-grhya-sūtra*¹³⁴ in connection with the marriage ceremony the face of the bride is anointed with hands smeared with *ghee* for making her dear to her husband, brother-in-law and others and then she plays the various instruments and drums which have been consecrated beforehand for the purpose; she prays to the Dundubhi and Gomukha for excellent children and particularly for charming daughters who, growing up under the same roof and friendly with Indrāṇī, would play together, and also to Prajāpati for children and welfare.

No better honour could be shown to the learning of women than by depicting the deity of learning as a goddess. Vāc and Sarasvatī represent the highest recognition and respect the Hindu sages could ever show to women.

From our above arguments the conclusion follows that the girl is entitled to have the Upanayana, wear the sacrificial thread and utter the mantras together with the praṇava.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHUR

¹³² *Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, IV, 2, 5.

¹³³ *Op. cit.*, Sūtra 17.

¹³⁴ Prof. Raghu Vira's edition, pp. 34-35.

MISCELLANY

Political Condition of Bengal during Hiuen Tsang's Visit

Hiuen Tsang visited Bengal in 637 A.D. In his *Records* he mentions the four divisions of Bengal, viz., Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Punḍravardhana), San-mo-ta-t'a (Samatāṭa), Tan-mo-lih-ti (Tāmralipti), and Kie(Ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Karnasuvarṇa).¹ Punḍravardhana is identified with North Bengal, Samatāṭa with Comilla and Noakhali, Tāmralipti with Tamluk in Midnapur and Karnasuvarṇa with the village Rāṅgāmāṭi in Murshidabad.

Hiuen Tsang mentions Śaśāṅka as a recent king of Karnasuvarṇa.² According to Bāṇa, Śaśāṅka was a king of Gauḍa. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ*³ states that Soma's (Śaśāṅka's) family was superseded by Jayanāga in Gauḍa. The epigraphic evidence proves the existence of a king named Jayanāga, who ruled over Karnasuvarṇa about this time.⁴ Some scholars think that Bengal was occupied by Harṣa after Śaśāṅka. They argue that Hiuen Tsang's silence on the political condition of Bengal implies that the country was under the sway of Harṣa about this time. Now Hiuen Tsang does not mention anything about the political condition of Andhra. Andhra was evidently under the Eastern Cālukyas at the time when Hiuen Tsang visited that country.⁵ Again the *Records* of Hiuen Tsang are silent about the political condition of South Kośala, but the *Life* says that the country was at that time under the rule of a Kṣatriya king.⁶ This establishes that Hiuen Tsang's silence on the political condition of a country does not necessarily mean that it was under the supremacy of Harṣa at the time of the pilgrim's visit. As a matter of fact there is not the slightest evidence to prove that Harṣa ever held sway over Bengal.⁷

1 Watters, II, 184 ff. 2 *Ibid.*, 92. 3 Jayaswal, Text, p. 55, v. 750.

4 *El.*, XVIII, 63. 5 Author's *Eastern Cālukyas*. 6 Beal's *Life*, 134.

7 Dr. R. G. Basak quotes a verse from the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ*, and remarks

The Nidhanpur plates⁸ of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, state that the king granted lands from his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. It implies that the larger portion of Gauḍa, which was situated in between Kāmarūpa and Karṇasuvarṇa, was within the kingdom of Bhāskaravarman. The plates, however, do not help us in fixing up the date of Bhāskaravarman's occupation of Gauḍa and Rāḍhā.

The *Life of Hiuen Tsang* throws some light on the subject. It tells us that Harṣavardhana after his return from Orissa to Kajaṅgala invited Hiuen Tsang, who was at that time a guest of Bhāskaravarman, in Kāmarūpa. Bhāskaravarman expressed his unwillingness to part with the Chinese pilgrim for some time. Harṣa threatened the Kāmarūpa king with severe punishment if the latter failed to send the pilgrim forthwith to him. Bhāskaravarman deeply alarmed "immediately ordered his army of elephants, 20,000 in number, to be equipped, and his ships 30,000 in number. Then embarking with the Master of the Law they passed up the Ganges together in order to reach the place where Śilāditya was residing. When he arrived at the country of Kie-shu-ho-ki-la (Kajaṅgala), there was a conference held, and Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), being about to depart to explain matters, first

that the author of the book "here means to say that Harṣa defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka), the pursuer of wicked deeds, who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west; and Harṣa himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom, with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory." (*Hist. N. E. India*, 152). Dr. Basak thinks that the above verse of *Mañjuśrī* proves that Harṣa subjugated Śaśāṅka's kingdom.

Mañjuśrī-mulakalpa states that Soma (Śaśāṅka) was a Brāhmaṇa, and Ra (Rājyavardhana) was murdered by a man of a low caste. Contemporary history, however, proves that Rājyavardhana was murdered by Śaśāṅka. So *Mañjuśrī's* statements are to be accepted with caution. If the above verse quoted by Dr. Basak from this authority really contain any historical truth, it will rather establish that Harṣa, though he won a victory over Śaśāṅka, failed to annex the latter's kingdom into his own.

ordered some men to construct on the north bank of the Ganges a pavilion of travel, and then on a certain day he passed over the river and coming to the pavilion placed there the Master of the Law, after which he himself with his ministers went to meet Śilāditya-rāja on the north bank of the river (*Life*, 172).

It follows from the above report that Bhāskaravarman passed with a large army through the Gauḍa country without any opposition. Had Gauḍa been under the sway of any other king at this time, Bhāskaravarman would not have been allowed to proceed through that country with his army. This, in my opinion, proves beyond doubt that about this time, i.e., in A.D. 642, when Bhāskaravarman met Harṣa at Kajaṅgala, Gauḍa formed a part of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. If the report furnished by the Nidhanpur plates is studied along with that of the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, mentioned above, the conclusion will be that Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Gauḍa and Northern Rāḍhā in 642 A.D.

I-Tsing tells us that there was a king named Rājabhāṭa, who was the ruler of Samatata in the latter part of the 7th century (*Life*, xxx). Rājabhāṭa is identical with the king of this name, who belonged to the Khadga dynasty, which ruled over East Bengal. Rājabhāṭa was the son of the king Devakhadga, grandson of the king Jātakhadga, and the great grandson of Khadgodyama who was the overlord of rulers. If a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, Khadgodyama is to be placed in the early part of the seventh century A.D. Jātakhadga seems to have been a contemporary of Harṣa and Hiuen Tsang.

It thus follows from the above discussion that during the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit Gauḍa and Northern Rāḍhā were under Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, and Vaṅga and Samatata were ruled by the Khadga dynasty.

A Persian Translation of Vidyāsundara

Among Persian versions of vernacular works, those from Bengali are comparatively rare. Hindi (Grierson's Western Hindi) easily heads the list in this respect, with its dozen or so of Persian versions, both in prose and poetry, of works in only one branch of its literature, namely popular romances, beginning from Jaisi's *Padmāvatī*. Bengali, it would seem, failed to interest the Persian poets and writers, and except the one under notice, none of the popular stories of mediæval Bengal seems to have had a translator.

From this point of view the present work is of great interest. Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen, in his *Vaṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya* (2nd ed. p. 539) refers to a pre-Bhāratcandra version of the story of *Vidyāsundara* in Persian, which he had himself seen, but gives no more particulars about it. Nor, so far as I could ascertain, is it noticed in any of the available catalogues of Persian Mss. collections.

The Library of the Calcutta Madrasah has recently been presented with a collection of Mss. from the library of a Muhammedan gentleman of Mangalkot in Burdwan, and it includes a fairly well-preserved copy (Ma/15/54) of what seems to be an abridged but unacknowledged free translation of Bhāratcandra's version of the well-known story in verse. The name of the author, whose pen-name (*takballuṣ*) was *Nazārat*, is not mentioned in the work. That this cannot be the same work to which Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen refers is proved from the fact that the date of its completion, given at the end, both in figures and chronogram, is 1244 of the Bengali and 1254 of the Hijri era (1838 A.D.). The copyist's colophon supplies the title which is not mentioned in the body of the text, and states that it was copied by one Jasāratullah for Munshi Azharullah of Phurphura, Pargana Balia, District Hooghly, Sarkar Salimabad. A couplet at the end informs us that the author lived three *Farasangs* to the west of Calcutta, and the name of the village, written without the diacritical marks, was possibly *Bandpur*.

In a long verbose preface, after the usual praises of God and His prophet, the author states his reasons for writing the present book. It is interesting to note that he puts forward the same plea of 'supernatural commission' so commonly adopted by the early Bengali writers. At the end of a party in which "sorrow fell from the mountain into the bottom of the well," he fell asleep and dreamt that he was wandering restlessly in utter misery when a voice called him, and after exhorting him to look to God for help, bade him drink from a bottle "to the memory of Sundar and Vidyā" and in its intoxication, compose their story in verse.

From the absence of any mention of the author of the original version it would appear to be only a Persian recension of the local version of the story, which it very possibly is. It differs also on some points from the other versions. The flower-girl is here named Kurāṇa; the secret love-letter of Vidyā to Sundar and his reply before the latter's arrival at Burdwan seems to be an interpolation and is given in detail; and the tunnel, instead of being laboriously dug with the help of the Goddess Kālī is suddenly opened before his eyes by the "mercy and power of God". The Hindu religious setting of the whole story is carefully eliminated and a clever use made of the theme to glorify God instead of the Goddess Kālī as in the original. Attention is apparently concentrated on describing the beauty of the two lovers and their amorous adventures to which all other incidents are subordinated, but the language is dignified and indecency for its own sake is never indulged in.

That the author had one of the published Bengali versions of the story before him to supply the details is beyond doubt. That this was the version of Bhāratcandra Rai seems highly probable. The latter's language and similes in most of the dialogues and descriptions have been exactly reproduced, and the sequence of incidents and chapter-headings are less dissimilar to it than to those of Kṛṣṇarām or Rāmāprasad. The following lines with correspond-

ing extracts from Bhāratcandra's version will show the close relation between the two works.

ز شش ماه راه ان تازی هرا سوز.

F. 34a. شهر بردوان آمد بشش روز

কাঞ্চিপুর বর্ধমান ছ'মাসের পথ

ছয় দিনে উত্তরিল অশ্ব মনোরথ ॥

ভারতচন্দ্রী বিজ্ঞানন্দর

—হৃন্দরের বর্ধমান যাত্রা।

دیگر گفتی که این را برده بیرون

F. 37b. ریم از خانه ای حود بیرون

আহা মরি মহি

লইয়া পালাই

কূপে দিয়া ছাই, ভজি ইহারে।

—নাগরী উক্তি।

شب روز است باهم سایه جنگی

নেদیده‌ام آن چنان به شرم و زندگی

اگر با کس نگردد جنگ ایک روز

F. 38a. شود با باد جنگی آن خرد سوز

বাতাসে পাতিয়া ফাঁদ কৌদল পাতায়।

পড়শী না থাকে পাশে কৌদলের দায় ॥

—হৃন্দরের মালিনী সাক্ষাৎ।

F. 42a. بشب با یار کردی عیش رانی

রাতে ছিল বৃষ্টি বধূর ধুম ॥

—মালিনীকে তিরস্কার।

زان پس اعجاب است اینجا!

که مه‌ه را رخ نهان سازد ثریا

بدشدد شمع را فانوس اندر

بدامان بری گل سازد مشتر

ه در فانوس کردند شمع پدهان

F. 45a. نه بری دل نهان کردند بدامان

তড়িৎ ধরিয়া রাখে কাপড়ের ফাঁদে ।

তারাগণ লুকাইতে চাহে পূর্ণ চাঁদে ॥

অকলে ঢাকিতে চাহে কমলের গন্ধ ।

মাণিক্যের ছটা কি কাপড়ে যায় বন্ধ ॥

—হৃন্দরের পরিচয় ।

شبى رفتم بر آن ماه خروبان

که بخشید از عقیق این تشنه را جان

بتختی زر نشسته بود از ناز

نکرد آن شب بمن باب سخن باز

زدم عطسه زردی مکرر و تزویر

که بکشاید لب شیرین بتقریر

جوابش را نگفت آن ماه پاره

F. 49a. راسے در گوش کردش گوشواره

এক রাত্তি মোর সনে না কাঁহল কথা ॥

বিস্তর যতনে নারি কথা কহাইতে ।

ছলে ইঁচিলাম জীব বাক্য ভুলাইতে ॥

আমি জিলে, রহে তার অর্থাৎ নিশ্চল ।

জানিয়ে পরিল কানে কনককুন্তল ॥

রাজার নিকট চোরের শ্লোক পাঠ ।

بدزدنى متهم گشتى و رسوا

بمان چندانى به پيشم شاه آسار

بگفتا تهمت دزدى ز من دور

F. 71b. نخواهم شد يقين دان تا دم صرور

বিজ্ঞাবলে এতদিন ছিলে চোর হয়ে ।

সাধু হয়ে দিন কতক থাক আশা লয়ে ॥

হৃন্দর কহেন বামা না বুঝ এখন ।

চোর নাম আমার না ঘুচিবে কখন ॥

—হৃন্দরের স্বদেশ গমন প্রার্থনা ॥

A note on the Khaṭvāṅga

In the December issue (vol. 13) of this Journal Dr. C. Minakshi has published a note to suggest that a weapon of Śiva, viz., Khaṭvāṅga, which is 'a club or a staff with a skull on the top, was adopted as an emblem by the immediate successors of Pallava Simha-
viṣṇu, who were zealous Śaivites. Dr. Minakshi has come to this conclusion after investigating the family records and the titles borne by the rulers of the line.

All that Dr. Minakshi has to say about the Khaṭvāṅga and its inclusion in the list of the royal emblems of the house is perfectly correct. The attempt to explain its omission on the wall of the Vaiṣṇaṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñci where it may be naturally expected among the Pallava insignia, might also be explained by saying that 'the Pallava sculptors have not filled in all the details contained in the inscribed label'. But in this connexion we are also told that the Khaṭvāṅga is not to be considered as excluded from the list of the important Pallava emblems mentioned in the stanzas of Tirumangaimannan on the same temple. In support of this contention help is sought from the word *paṇinda* which occurs in the sixth verse of the same record. It is maintained that this word is to be interpreted so as to denote the Khaṭvāṅga, since the latter is known to have been associated with a serpent. In the Kailāśanātha temple a panel is found to contain a serpent at the top of a staff held by one of the two gaṇas of Śiva who is seated on the same.

Dr. Minakshi's thesis rests on the assumption that a serpent was considered to be essentially a part of the Khaṭvāṅga. Even assuming with the writer that the staff carved on the panel in the Kailāśanātha temple represents the Khaṭvāṅga, its association with a serpent, if so, may be taken to have been merely accidental. The record describes the Pallava ruler as the possessor of *paṇinda* (*faṇindra*), a serpent; and if the word *paṇinda* is to be taken as

signifying the well-known Khaṭvāṅga, the ruler could have been more appropriately described as the possessor of the emblem itself. In this expression the word *paṇḍa* can hardly give an indication of the Khaṭvāṅga. It is for this reason that Mr. P. T. Sinivasa Ayyangar¹ has considered the word as denoting the necklace *ugrodaya* due to its resembling the Ādi Śeṣa (*paṇḍa*).

As observed in the note, the stanzas of Tirumangaimannan on the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple 'contain references to the *Rṣabha-lāñchana*, i.e., the victorious bull banner', and, in view of this fact, we can hardly support the contention that it was only the Khaṭvāṅga that was adopted by the Pallava rulers as their emblem. It may also be noted that the Khaṭvāṅga figures as a weapon not only of Śiva, but of other deities as well. The well-known verse of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*² describes the goddess Kālī as possessing a Khaṭvāṅga :

तस्याग्रतस्तथा काली शूलपातविदारितान् ।

खट्वाङ्ग-पोथिताश्चान्यान् कुर्वती व्यचरत् तदा ॥

H. V. TRIVEDI

¹ For Mr. Ayyangar's interpretation of the expression, see Dr. Mīnakshi's article, *op. cit.*, p. 719, f.n. 7.

² Bibliotheca Indica Series, lxxxviii, 31. Pargiter translates the word Khaṭvāṅga as 'a skull-topped staff'. See his translation of the *Purāṇa* published in the same series, p. 504.

A Tantric Family of the Deccan settled at Benares

About thirty years back the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shastri referred (*Indian Antiquary*, 1912, pp. 7-13) to several families of Paṇḍits of the south of India who had come to and settled in Benares and exercised a good deal of influence over the local society. In this connection he gave an account of the life and works of a number of southern Paṇḍits living in Benares. It is just possible that other families preceded and followed the few mentioned by H. P. Shastri. For, Benares—the sacred city of Lord Śiva and an important centre of old Indian culture—was eagerly resorted to by generations of scholars and people of a religious temperament from different parts of India. As a matter of fact, we have reference to at least one more South Indian family of Paṇḍits versed in the Tantra lore, one of the most prominent members of which, namely Śrinivāsa, migrated to Benares. An account of the family together with a description of the known literary activities of the members thereof is given in the following pages.

Śrinivāsa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin and his family appear to have occupied a position of some distinction in Northern India, where Śrinivāsa had migrated from his original home in the South. A fair account of the family may be gathered from the works left by Śrinivāsa and his descendants. It is known from the introductory verses of the *Śivārcana-candrikā*, which gives a detailed description of the family and its ancestral home, that to the south of Kāñcī (Conjeeveram) there was a big village called Ananta, on the banks of the river Enā, which was inhabited by pious and learned Brahmins, who had received the village as a grant from a certain king.¹ Here lived Samarapuṅgava Dikṣita, the glory of the

¹ देशोऽस्ति दक्षिणदिशि द्रविडाभिधानः काञ्चीति यत्र वसतिः स्मरशासनस्य ।
पुरया पुरो पुरनिसूदनभागधेयं सौभाग्यदन्तुरितकीर्तिरचलश्रीः ॥
आविर्बभूव हयमेधमले विरिञ्चेर्यत्र स्वयं स भगवानुमया रमेशः ।
अद्यापीहास्ति गिरिनाथ इति प्रसिद्धः संदश्यते सकललोकसमर्चिताङ्गिः ॥

members of the Ātreya gotra.² His son Timummala Dikṣita was a great scholar, resembling Patañjali in Pāṇini's system of grammar, Prabhākara in Mīmāṃsā and Brahman in the Vedas.³ Śrīniketana, son of Timummala and father of Śrīnivāsa, was a pious man versed in Vedic rituals.⁴ Śrīnivāsa, who was specially versed in the Tantras, had gone on a festive occasion to Jullundhar, a famous seat of Tantric worship and was initiated by Sundarācārya or Saccidānandanātha,⁵ presumably the author of the *Lalitārcana*-

तस्या दक्षिणदिग्गतः क्षितिमुरैः षट्शास्त्रविद्भिश्चतु-

र्वेदैः सोपनिषद्भिरङ्गसहितैरार्थैः सदाधिष्ठितः । .

योऽनन्त इति विधृतः क्षितितलेऽप्येनानदीतीरभू-

देशे यागगृहाकुलसकलदिक्ष्वास्तेऽग्रहारो महान् ॥

2 आत्रेयगोत्रशतपथविकाशमिबलस्तत्तातिरात्रसुमहाव्रतमलकर्ता ।

भर्तार्तदीनकृपणान्धसुहृन्नानां षट्शास्त्रवित् समरपुङ्गवदोक्षितोऽभूत् ॥

3 तस्यात्मजः कणिपतिर्वरपाणिर्नाथे मीमांसकेष्वपि गुरुः श्रुतिषु स्वयम्भुः ।

सद्वादसाहचयनान्वितवाजपेयसामाश्वरी भुवि तिसुम्मलदोक्षितोऽभूत् ॥

4 तन्नन्दनः सकलवेदविदां वरिष्ठः श्रौतक्रियासु निपुणः श्रितसोमदीक्षः ।

आसीदशेषगुणरत्ननिधिः पृथिव्यां श्रीश्रीनिकेतन इति प्रथितोऽश्वरोन्द्रः ॥

5 तत्सूनुः श्रीनिवासः सकलनिगमवित् सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता

श्रौतस्मार्तेषु कर्मस्वतिशयनिपुणः सत्कविः स्वीयदेशात् ।

पीठं जालन्धराख्यं प्रकटितविभवं प्राप्य यात्राप्रसङ्गात्

तत्र श्रीसुन्दराख्यं सकलगुणनिधिं प्राप्य सद्देशिकेन्द्रम् ॥

तत्पादपङ्कजयुगं परिचर्य तस्मात् प्राप्याभिषेकमखिलागममप्यधीत्य ।

तस्याङ्गा समधिगम्य पुरीं स काशीं तत्कारोदवसतिमात्मविदां वरिष्ठः ॥

तत्र स्थितः सकलतन्त्ररहस्यवेत्ता शिष्यैः शिवार्चनपरैः श्रितशैवदीक्षैः ।

अभ्यर्थितो वितनुते सकलागमार्थसारोदयां भुवि शिवार्चनचन्द्रिकां सः ॥

Eloquent references to the vast erudition of Śrīnivāsa are found to have been made by two of his worthy grandsons in their own works :

तत्तातस्तु तथाभवद् भवसमः श्रीश्रीनिवासः कृती

ज्ञानोदारकुठारदारितजगज्जाघोरभूमीरुहः ।

नानातन्त्रविबोधमप्य मनुजा यस्यानुकम्पानिधेः

शिष्या दैवतसेवनैरभिमतामहाय सिद्धिं गताः ॥

candrikā and the *Laghucandrikā* which may be an abridgement of the former. His post-initiation name appears to have been Vidyānandanātha. As desired by his preceptor he came down to and settled at Benares. He was the author of several Tantric compilations four of which he has mentioned by name at the end of his *Śivārcanacandrikā*.⁷ Manuscripts of three of these works are known. The first work, the *Bhāiravārcāpārīṣāta*, of which no manuscript is known to have come down, apparently dealt with the worship of Śiva. The second, the *Saubbāgyaratnākara* or the *Bhavānikararatna* as it is called in one of the colophons of a manuscript of the work belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, describes in thirty-six chapters the details of the worship of Tripurā.⁷ Vidyānandanātha is the name of the author given in the concluding verse⁸ found *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each chapter of the work. This is the post-initiation name of Śrinivāsa as is evident from one of the concluding verses.⁹

—Introductory verse (No. 34) of the *Simhasiddhāntasādhana* of Śivānanda (below).

आसीदागमशास्त्रकीरवसतेः सत्पञ्जरः सज्जन—
व्यूहानन्दकरः कलानिधिकलाभालप्रियाकिङ्करः ।
नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुकवितामन्दोहविज्ञाखिल-
प्राज्ञस्तोमपरिष्कृतो बुधवरः श्रौश्रीनिवासः कृती ॥

Introductory verse (No. 10) of the *Mantracandrikā* (below) of Janārdana.

6 चत्वारोऽत्र कृता ग्रन्था मया ह्यागमदर्शने ।
निदेशाद्देशिकेन्द्रस्य मन्त्रप्रदाप्रवृत्तये ॥
तत्रायः पारिजाताख्यो भैरवाचीपदादिकः ।
अथो रत्नाकराख्यः स्यात् श्रौश्रीभाग्यपदादिकः ॥
तृतीयः कल्पवल्गुखाख्यः सपर्याक्रमपूर्वकः ।
चतुर्थस्याभिधानं तु श्रीशिवार्चनचन्द्रिका ॥

7 Mss. of the work, complete in thirty-six chapters, are described in *A Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner* (No. 1328) and in *Desc. Cat. Sans. Mss. Madras Oriental Lib* (XII, 5756).

8 श्रीविद्यानन्दनाथेन शिवयोः प्रियसूनुना । कृते सौभाग्यरत्नाब्धौ तरङ्गोऽगच्छतुर्दशः ॥
9 श्रीविद्यातत्त्ववेत्ता जगति करुणयोपात्तकायः शिवो यः
श्रीमान् सौ सुन्दराख्यचित्तिसुरतिलकः सच्चिदानन्दनाथः ।

The third work of the author is the *Saparyākramakalpavalli* which in five chapters (stavakas) treats of the details of the worship of Caṇḍī.¹⁰ The fourth and the biggest work is the *Śivārcana-candrikā*¹¹ a comprehensive work on Tantric rituals which in 46 chapters deals with Tantra rites in general (initiation, daily worship, *puraścaraṇa* etc.—Chapters I-XV) as well as with the details of the worship of Gaṇeśa (chapters XVI-XIX), Śakti (chapters XX-XXXI), Viṣṇu (chapters XXXII-XL), Sun (chapter XLI) and Śiva (chapters XLII-XLVI). Two manuscripts of the work, one complete and one incomplete, are found in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal while incomplete manuscripts are reported to exist in the Benares Sanskrit College, Bikaner State Library and the collection acquired for the Government of Bombay by Prof. Peterson in 1882-3 and noticed in his *Report* (I, p. 120). It was on the basis of this work that Janārdana, a grandson of Śrīnivāsa, compiled the *Mantracandrikā*—a work of which two versions may be distinguished in the manuscripts that are known. The bigger version in twelve chapters is contained in a manuscript belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as also in one described by Prof. Peterson in his *Report on the Search of Sans. Mss.* (IV, 1137), while the shorter version in nine chapters is represented by a manuscript described by R. L. Mitra (*Notices*, II, 911).

Other works not mentioned in the list given in the *Śivārcana-candrikā* also seem to have been compiled by Śrīnivāsa and the

तच्छिष्यः श्रीनिवासो द्रविडविषयजस्तत्प्रसादात्तत्त्वः

श्रीविद्यानन्दनाथः परशिववचसां भाववेत्ता विधेयः ॥

—Madras Catalogue (*loc. cit.*).

It is not known what evidence led Prof. Peterson to conclude that this was the name of a co-pupil of Śrīnivāsa (*Cat. Sans. Mss. Lib. Maharaja Ulwar No. 2444*.)

¹⁰ Manuscripts of the work have been described in *Desc. Cat. Mad. Orient. Lib.* (XII, 5750) and R. L. Mitra's *Notices Sans. Mss.* (V, 1855), while one Ms. is found in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

¹¹ The name seems to have misled R. L. Mitra to declare that "the work is a comprehensive digest on the worship of Śiva" (*Cat. Sans. Mss. Bikaner*—No. 1332)

manuscript of one such work (e.g., the *Sarbhāgyasubhagodaya*) is deposited in the library of the Maharaja of Ulwar (No. 2445). It seems identity of the authors' names and similarity of subject-matter of the works led Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 670) to attribute to the present author several works, manuscripts of which are reported only from the north-west of India, wherefrom the author of these latter works might not unlikely have hailed.

The dignity of the family was continued, if not enhanced, by the successors of Śrīnivāsa. His son Jagannivāsa, who was also versed in the Tantra lore, counted among his disciples a number of ruling chiefs of the time¹² of whom Devīsiṃha¹³ (Bundel) has been mentioned by Śivānanda Gosvāmin, the eldest of the sons of Jagannivāsa, who wrote the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu*¹⁴ at the request of the above-mentioned chief. Works like the *Lakṣminārāyaṇār-*

12 आसीदशेषनरपालविशालभालजालप्रमार्जितमनोरमसत्पयोजः ।

सर्वागमाम्बुनिधिमन्थनमन्दराद्रिः श्रीश्रीनिवासतनयस्तु जगन्निवासः ॥

--Introductory verse (No. 11) of the *Mantracandrikā*.

आसीत्तस्य गुरुर्गुरुणागणैर्मन्त्राधिपारंगमः

श्रीगोखामिजगन्निवास इति सन्नान्ना जगद्विश्रुतः ।

यस्याज्ञावशवर्तिनः क्षितिभुजस्ते तेऽभवन् भूरिशा

येषां कीर्तिरतीव भाति भुवने दाने कृपाणेऽपि च ॥

--Introductory verse (No. 33) of the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu*.

13 The following genealogical table may be reconstructed from the introductory verses of the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu*: Madhukara—Rāmasāhi—Saṃgrāmasāhi—Bhārata—Devīsiṃha.

14 ज्येष्ठस्तस्य सुतो जनोदितशिवानन्दाभिधानः क्षितौ

श्रीविद्याचरणारविन्दयुगलध्यानैकतानोऽनिशम् ।

देवीसिंहनृपेण धर्मकलितस्त्वान्तेन सम्प्रार्थित-

स्तत्प्रीत्यै वितनोति धार्मिकजनश्रव्यं निबन्धोत्तमम् ॥

--Introductory verse (No. 36) of the *Siṃhasiddhāntasindhu*.

This is a comprehensive compilation dealing with the details of Tantric rites in connection with the worship of various deities. R. L. Mitra, however, was far from accurate when he described it as a 'hand-book of Vaiṣṇava religious duties' (*Desc. Cat. Bikaner*, No. 1330, *Notices*, IV, 1621).

cākaumudī,¹⁵ *Tithinirṇaya*,¹⁶ *Kulapradīpa*¹⁷ and *Vaidyaratna*¹⁸ are also attributed to a Śivānanda Gosvāmin whose identity with the son of Jagannivāsa has yet to be established.

Janārdana, another son of Jagannivāsa and probably the youngest one,¹⁹ was the author of the *Mantracandrikā* already referred to. Like the *Śivārcanacandrikā* of the author's grandfather, on which it was based, it deals, though not so elaborately, with the details of the worship of the five principal deities of the present-day Hindus.²⁰

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

15 R. L. Mitra—*Desc. Cat. Bikaner*, No. 1017.

16 Peterson—*Desc. Cat. Ulwar*, No. 313.

17 *Desc. Cat. India Office* (IV. 2569), *Desc. Cat. Madras* (XII. 5585) Śivānanda Gosvāmin is the name of the author as found in the manuscript of the work belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal while manuscripts belonging to the India Office and the Madras Oriental Library refer to the author as Śivānandācārya. Gosvāmin as the surname of the family is also found in the colophons of the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* and the *Mantracandrikā* as occurring in the Mss. thereof belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

18 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, II. 156 under Śivānanda.

19 तन्मन्त्रनाः सुकृतिनः करुणाद्रिचिन्ताः शैलेन्द्रजाचरणपङ्कजचञ्चरीकाः ।
ज्येष्ठः शिरोमणिरिति प्रथितः कनिष्ठस्तस्माज्जनार्दन इति ह्यनुचक्रपाणिः ॥

—Introductory verse (No. 12) of the *Mantracandrikā*.

20 मन्त्राणि यानीह शिवार्चनचन्द्रिकायां श्रीश्रीनिवासकृतिना प्रकटीकृतानि ।
सर्वाणि तानि मुनिचिन्तनयुक्षडङ्गयुक्तान्यविस्तरतयेह वदामि साधु ॥
आदौ गणपतेर्मन्त्राः शिवायास्तदनन्तरम् ।
ततः ऋष्यास्य सूर्यस्य शम्भोष्ठा यथाक्रमम् ॥

Non-Aryan Elements in the Place-names of Bengal

The problem of non-Aryan elements in the place-names of Bengal is important from various view-points—linguistic, anthropological and historical. No systematic work has been done on the subject as yet. A few scholars incidentally touched the Bengali toponymy and gave us some hints about the contributions of the non-Aryan people to the present-day civilization of Bengal. We are not aware of what kind of speech was in vogue in the different parts of Bengal before the crystallisation of Aryan civilization, but it can be asserted that the pre-Aryans of the tracts—Rāḍha, Suhma, Vaṅga and Puṇḍra were certainly influenced both linguistically and racially by the Dravidians and Kols who lived in the western borders of Bengal and by the Boḍas and Mon-Khmer tribes (allied to the Khāsis) living in the northern and eastern fringes.¹

We find a large number of Kol, Dravidian and other non-Aryan words of obscure origin in the vocabulary of the Bengali language, which throw a flood of light on the nature of the dialect which prevailed in the province at that time. So, valuable materials on the question of non-Aryan influence on the people and culture of Bengal are also expected from a proper study and investigation into the "place-names of Bengal." Although the bulk of the words of the modern place-names of Bengal are of Aryan origin, there are many which have no affinities with those of Aryan roots. These place-names offer a fairly satisfactory explanation, when we approach

¹ In point of time, it is generally surmised that it is the Austric people who first came and settled in Bengal. After them, came Dravidians who spread in different parts of the country, specially in west and south Bengal. They were followed by Aryans. Tibeto-Burman people of the Tibeto-Chinese family came last in the field and settled in east and north Bengal.

them from the standpoint of Dravidian, Kol, and Tibeto-Burman languages. Some of the place-names are found in exceedingly mutilated form and it is very difficult to give a satisfactory solution of them at present, unless further materials are coming to light.

In the old Bengali inscriptions dating from the sixth century A.D., there are names of villages, rivers, etc. which give us glimpses into the history of Bengali toponomy; and incidentally serve as evidences of a non-Aryan substratum in the village names of Bengal. In a few instances there are fuller forms of these names preserved in old inscriptions.

A village called Bālutiya (বালুটিয়া) or Bālute (বালুটে) at the present day was known as Bālahittā (বালহিট্টা) in the twelfth century (*vide* inscriptions of Ballāla Sena): Pāhnā (পাহনা) was something like Pawubannā (written Paduvanvā) in the eleventh century; or Brahma-cāla was Barawācāla (written Varapañcāla) in the ninth century. Similarly Khāḍjuli (খাড়জুলি) was Khaddajotika, Bāktā (বাক্তা) was Bakkattaka, Ādrā (আদরা) was Ardhakaraka and Kadori (কড়োরী) was Koddavira, (*vide* the Malla-sarul Copperplate Inscriptions of Gopa-|Candra| and Vijaya-Sena). There are other place-names in the inscriptions which make it quite clear that the local nomenclature is largely non-Aryan.

There are in the old place-names of Bengal and Assam words like Jola, Joli, Joṭa, Joṭikā, Hittī, Bhattī, Viṭi, Hiṣṭ(h)i, Gaḍḍa, Gaḍḍi, Pola, Vola and probably also Haṇḍa, Vaḍā, Kuṇḍa, Kuṇḍi, Cavaṭi, Cavāḍa and many others which can be explained most satisfactorily as Dravidian words and in some cases as Kol. [See S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 65-67]. Modern Bengal place-names with the endings [Jolā] [Joli], [Joṭā] [Joṭikā], meaning channel, water-course, river, water are quite abundant specially in the districts of West Bengal.

A few place-names with Dravidian [Jola] জোল, [Jolā] জোলা [Joli] জোলি "channel" as their common final elements are given

below. (Cf. Assamese, Jola, "water"). Thus, [Soṇājol] সোনাজোল (Howrah, Maldah).

[Nādājol]	নাড়াজোল	...	...	...	(Midnapur) [Mid.]
[Śinjol]	শিংজোল	...	...	...	(Jessore) [Jes.]
[Āmjolā]	আমজোলা	...	...	...	(Birbhum) [Bir.]
[Lakṣmijolā]	লক্ষ্মীজোলা	...	...	...	(Mursidabad) [Mur.]
[Pūtijol]	পুটীজোল	...	...	...	(Mur.)
[Kākḍājol]	কাঁকড়াজোল	...	...	...	(Hughly) [Hug.]
[Cāmārjol]	চামারজোল	...	...	...	(Maldah) [Mal.]
[Gājol]	গাজোল	...	...	...	(Mal.)

[Joli] জোলি found as [Juli] জুলি in modern place-names of Bengal.

[Khāḍ-juli]	খাড়জুলি	...	...	...	(Burdwan) [Bur.]
[Taljuli]	তলজুলি	...	...	...	(Mid.)
[Kāijuli]	কাইজুলি	...	...	...	(Bir.)
[Soṇājuli]	সোনাজুলি	...	...	...	(Bur.)

Dravidian [Joṭa] and [Joṭikā] occur as [Joḍa] জোড়, [Joḍā] জোড়া or [Juḍā] জুড়া, [Juḍi] জুড়ি and even as [Juḍiyā] জুড়িয়া in modern place-names of Bengal. These names are found in fairly large number almost in every district of Bengal (Cf. "jod" as found in Kandh).

To give some well-known place-names.

[Dāpnājod]	দাপনাজোড়	...	(Mymensingh) (Mym.)
[Keorjod]	কেওড়জোড়	...	(Mym.)
[Hāiljod]	হাইলজোড়	...	(Dacca) (Dac.)
[Bātājod]	বাটাজোড়	...	(Barisal) (Bar.)
[Śimjod]	শিংজোড়	...	(Khulna) [Khu.]
[Mūlājod]	মূলাজোড়	...	(24-Parganas) [24-P.]
[Śālajod]	শালজোড়	...	(How., Bir.)
[Hetālajod]	হেতালজোড়	...	(Mid.)
[Bākaljoḍā]	বাকলজোড়া	...	[Mym.]
[Āṅgārajodā]	আংগারজোড়া	...	[Dac.]
[Āmlājodā]	আমলাজোড়	...	(Bur.)
[Bhurjoḍā]	ভুরজোড়া	...	(Bir.)
[Bānājodā]	বানাজোড়া	...	(Bar.)
[Dublājūḍi]	দুবলাজুড়ি	...	(Jessorc) [Jes.]

[Phulājjudi]	ফুলাইজুড়ি	...	...	(Tipperah) [Tip.]
[Bāinjūdi]	বাইনজুড়ি	..	...	(Chittagong) [Chi.]
[Kukrājūdi]	কুকরাজুড়ি	...	...	(Mid.)
[Dāmjudi]	ডামজুড়ি	...	...	(Bankura) [Ban.]
[Nekdājūdiyā]	নেকডাজুড়িয়া	...	...	(Bur.)
[Gadjūdiyā]	গডজুড়িয়া	...	...	(Ban.)

[Cf. also the name Kātjudi river in Orissa, the name “Jodā-sāko” meaning river-bridge Sanskritised as “Yugma-setu” and therefore wrongly explained “double-bridge.”].

The word [Jhol] ঝোল, soup, watery mass as in [nāla-jhol] নালঝোল is most probably Dravidian. [Cf. Kannada, jollu, Telegu, dzollu “saliva”].

The suffixes [Jhor], [Jhorā] ঝোর, ঝোরা found in the modern place-names of Bengal may also be compared with Kannada, Joru “drip, flow, trickles”. Thus,

[Budijhor]	বুড়িঝোর	...	...	...	(Mid.)
[Khādūjhor]	খাড়ুঝোর	...	...	...	(Ban.)
[Muriyājhor]	মুরিয়াঝোর	...	...	...	(Faridpur) (rar.)
[Karnajhorā]	কর্ণঝোরা	...	...	...	(Mym.)
[Sākojhorā]	সাঁকোঝোরা	...	...	...	(Jalpaiguri) [Jal.]
[Sīngijhorā]	সিঙ্গিঝোরা	...	...	...	(Darjeeling) [Dar.]

The words [Śola] [Śolā] and [Śuli] শোল, শোলা, সুলি, meaning channel, stream, occurring in place-names in the districts of West Bengal specially Burdwan, Midnapur and Bankura are in all probability of Dravidian origin. [Cf. Jola, Joli শোল, জোলী in village names].

To cite some well-known names.

[Āsanśol]	আসনশোল (Bur.)	[Piḍāriśol]	পিড়ারীশোল (Ban.)
[Śiyārśol]	শিয়ারশোল (Bud., Bir.)	[Pheguyāśol]	ফেগুয়াশোল (Ban.)
[Bhukibhukīśol]	ভুকিভুকিশোল (Mid.)	[Kākḍāśol]	কাঁকড়াশোল (Mid.)
[Tāngāśol]	টান্গাশোল (Mid.)	[Dhadrāśol]	ডডাশোল (Mid.)
[Khayrāśol]	খয়রাশোল (Mid.)	[Cekuyāśol]	চেকুয়াশোল (Mid.)

Dravidian Vadā or Kol Oḍak “house” is partially the source of new Bengali “-ḍā” -ড়া, which is a very common affix occurring all over Bengal.

Thus,

[Bhātḍā]	ভাটড়া (Mym.)	[Dhānoḍā]	ধানোড়া (Raj.)
[Deluḍā]	দেলুড়া (Mym.)	[Caodā]	চওড়া (Ran.)
[Kāoḍā]	কাওড়া (Mym.)	[Āphḍā]	আফড়া (Jes.)
[Khekadā]	খেকড়া (Dac.)	[Mocḍā]	মোচড়া (Jes.)
[Masuḍā]	মসুড়া (Dac.)	[Mādḍā]	মাদড়া (Khu.)
[Tātḍā]	টাটড়া (Tipperah) [Tip.]	[Seoḍā]	সেওড়া (Khu.)
[Jāoḍā]	জাওড়া (Tip.)	[Cāpḍā]	চাপড়া (Nad.)
[Phāoḍā]	ফাওড়া (Noakhali) [Noa.]	[Āngḍā]	আঙ্গড়া (Nad.)
[Balōḍā]	বলোড়া (Noa.)	[Netḍā]	নেতড়া (24 P.)
[Pomḍā]	পোমড়া (Chi.)	[Ākḍā]	আকড়া (24 P.)
[Mohāḍā]	মোহড়া (Chi.)	[Sajḍā]	সজড়া (Bur.)
[Nāoḍā]	নাওড়া (Bar.)	[Ulāḍā]	উলাড়া (Bur.)
[Caḍḍā]	চাটড়া (Bar.)	[Howḍā]	হাওড়া (How.)
[Kāphuḍā]	কাফুড়া (Far.)	[Khayḍā]	খয়ড়া (How.)
[Sāoḍā]	সাওড়া (Far.)	[Somḍā]	সোমড়া (Hug.)
[Keoḍā]	কেওড়া (Mal.)	[Betḍā]	বেতড়া (Hug.)
[Khānuḍā]	খানুড়া (Mal.)	[Rasaḍā]	রসড়া (Mur.)
[Jhāpḍā]	ঝাপড়া (Din.)	[Budhḍā]	বুধড়া (Mur.)
[Chānuḍā]	চানুড়া (Din.)	[Ikḍā]	ইকড়া (Bir.)
[Bhānguḍā]	ভাঙ্গুড়া (Pab.)	[Dhāmḍā]	ঢামড়া (Bir.)
[Demḍā]	ডেমড়া (Pab.)	[Kāstaḍā]	কাস্তড়া (Ban.)
[Tāloḍā]	তালোড়া (Bog.)	[Bānkuḍā]	বাকুড়া (Ban.)
[Baguḍā]	বগুড়া (Bog.)	[Sāoḍā]	সাওড়া (Mid.)
[Pāṇuḍā]	পাণুড়া (Bog.)	[Dāoḍā]	দাওড়া (Mid.)
[Sināḍā]	সিনাড়া (Raj.)		

The word [bir] বিন্ন “forest” is Santali. It also occurs as common initial element in the place-names of Bengal.

[Birgailā]	বিন্নগাইলা (Mym.)	[Birsīmul]	বিন্নশিমুল (Bur.)
[Birbaruhā]	বিন্নবরুহা (Mym.)	[Birkotā]	বিন্নকোটী (Mid.)
[Birmāsukā]	বিন্নমাসুকা (Pab.)	[Birjharīyā]	বিন্নঝরিয়া (Mid.)
[Birkursā]	বিন্নকুরসা (Mym.)	[Birbāndī]	বিন্নবান্দী (Mid.)

The word [bād] বাড়্ which occurs as common initial element in village names is probably of Austric origin.

Thus,

[Bādbākḍā]	বাড়বাকড়া (Mid.)	[Bādbeguniyā]	বাড়বেগুনিয়া (Mid.)
[Bādjaśuyā]	বাড়জাশুয়া (Mid.)		

The words [daha] দহ and [dā] দা found as common second part or suffixes in the place-names are also of Austric origin. (Cf. Muṇḍā-“dā”, water). The tadbhava form daha<hrada may have exerted some semantic influence on the Kolarian word dā.

Thus,

[Phuldaha]	ফুলদহ (Mym.)	[Soṇādaha]	সোনাদহ (Ban.)
[Cākḍaha]	চাকদহ (Mym., Dac., Khu.)	[Kākḍaha]	কাঁকদহ (Nad.)
[Āḍiyādaha]	আড়িয়াদহ (Dac.)	[Bāsḍaha]	বাঁশদহ (How.)
[Kāliyādaha]	কালিয়াদহ (Dac.)	[Ḍumurdaha]	ডুমুরদহ (Hug.)
[Kālidaha]	কালীদহ (Far., Noa.)	[Ghidaha]	ঘিদহ (Bir.)
[Sardaha]	সরদহ (Raj.)	[Śiyāldaha]	শিয়ালদহ (24 P.)
[Kuśadaha]	কুশদহ (Din.)	[Nimdaha]	নিমদহ (Bur.)
[Dharmadaha]	ধর্মদহ (Din.)	[Haldā]	হলদা (Jes.)
[Āṅgārdaha]	আঙ্গারদহ (Jes., Khu., Nad.)	[Naodā]	নওদা (Bur., Mur.)
[Cardaha]	চরদহ (Khu.)	[Sāordā]	সাওরদা (Mid.)
[Muktādaha]	মুক্তাদহ (Jes.)	[Kroḍḍā]	ক্রোড়দা (Mid.)
[Madhudaha]	মধুদহ (Jes.)	[Dāṅgardā]	ডাঙ্গারদা (Ban.)
[Tāmbuldaha]	তাম্বুলদহ (24 P.)	[Naldā]	নলদা (How.)

The common Austric substratum is responsible for interprovincial(?) names containing repetition.

Thus,

[Damdam]	দমদম (24 P.)	[Dulduli]	হুলহুলি (24 P.)
[Bajbaj]	বজবজ (24 P.)	[Jāmjāmi]	জামজামি (Nad.)
[Budbud]	বুদবুদ (Bur.)	[Daldali]	দলদলি (Mal.)
[Kolkol]	কোলকোল (Bur.)	[Dagdagā]	দগদগা (Mym.)
[Simiśimi]	শিমিশিমি (Bur.)	[Jhanjhaniyā]	ঝনঝনিয়া (Khu.)
[Dumduni]	ডুমডুমি (Ban.)	[Bhurbhuriyā]	ভুরভুরিয়া (Tip.)
[Jhaljhali]	ঝলঝলি (Mid.)	[Balbaliyā]	বলবলিয়া (24 P.)
[Bhurbhuri]	ভুরভুরি (Mym.)	[Hulhuliyā]	হলহলিয়া (Raj.)
[Khunkhuni]	খুনখুনি (Mym.)		

The suffix “cu” or “co” চু, চো meaning water which occurs in the place-names is of Tibeto-Burman origin ²

2 Curiously enough, it is to be noted that the place-names ending in -co or -cu are restricted only to the district of Tipperah.

Thus,

[Kāliyāco]	কালিয়াচো (Tip.)	[Rānico]	রাণীচো (Tip.)
[Pāpāco]	পাপাচো (Tip.)	[Tirco]	তিরচো (Tip.)
[Thośarico]	ঠোশরিচো (Tip.)	[Churico]	ছুরিচো (Tip.)
[Sānico]	সানিচো (Tip.)	[Dārācu]	দারাহু (Tip.)
[Nārāco]	নারাচো (Tip.)	[Lādūcu]	লাড়ুচু (Tip.)

Besides these, we find many other words in the place-names of Bengal which seem to be of non-Aryan origin, although nothing can be definitely said about them, at the present stage of our knowledge.

KRISHNAPADA GOSWAMI

'Vachasi' in Rock Edict VI of Aśoka

There is an important statement in Rock-Edict VI which relates to the ordaining by Aśoka of an arrangement by which he declared himself accessible for submission of reports by the *prati-vedakas* and disposal of public business at all hours of his private life. The sentence reads as follows in three different versions:—

Girnar:

त मया एवं कृतं । सवे काले भुञ्जमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागागारम्हि
वचम्हि व विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवत्र पटिवेदका ऋता... ।

Hultzsch, *Corpus* I, p. 11.

Kalsi:

से मया हेवं कृत । सवं कालं अदमानसा मे अलोधनस्मि गभागालस्मि वचस्मि
विनीतस्मि उयानस्मि सबता पटि वेदका... ।

Corpus, p. 34.

Shahbazgarhi:

तं मय एवं कृतं । सत्रं कलं अशमानस मे ओरोधनस्मि ग्रभगरस्मि वचस्मि
विनीतस्मि उयनस्मि सबल पटिवेदक अठं जनस चटिवेदेतु ।

Corpus, p. 57.

'I have made the following (arrangement). Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the

cowpen. in the palanquin, (and) in the park.' (Hultzsch). Thus there are six places in which the king declares himself open to be approached for submission of reports. Dr. Mookerji in a footnote on this Edict in his *Asoka* says that all these words single out the different places with which are associated the different aspects of his (the Emperor's) domestic and private life, viz. eating (अदमानस), sleeping (गमागलसि), company of females (ओलोधनसि), walking about in the gardens (उयानसि) or his farm (वचसि), and last but not the least important for Aśoka, his religious exercise (विनितसि). Of the above list controversy has centred round two words, viz. वचसि and विनितसि. All scholars agree in connecting *vinitasi* or *vinitamhi* with the Sanskrit word *vinītā*. Dr. Hultzsch rendered it as 'in the palanquin.' But I think Dr. Mookerji's interpretation of the word *vinīta* as 'the place of religious instruction' should be accepted for the time being as approximating finality. In this edict Aśoka orders that public work has the right to encroach upon the domain of his private life and can pursue him even into his home and leisure and privacy.

But the Sanskrit rendering of the word *vachasi* is not so certain. Drs. Hultzsch and Mookerji take it from *vraja* which means a cowpen, or the king's ranches. The presence of the king in the *vraja* or cowpen does not seem to be accounted for as being a part of his daily routine. Even if he occasionally visited that place he could not strictly be said for that portion of his time to be cut off from public engagements as in the other five places, viz. his refectory, bed-chamber, harem, place of listening to *vinaya* (an equivalent of the Brahmanical king's *agnyāgāra*) and pleasure-garden. It appears from the context that the innovation of the order lies in the fact that the Emperor is permitting for the first time in the history of Indian polity an intrusion on the strictly private time-divisions of his daily routine, whereas other kings before him had legitimately chosen to remain in complete privacy, at those particular hours. An inspection

of the *vraja*, if it means cowpen, cannot come under such private category. Kautilya divides the king's day into eight parts and enjoins. 'Of these divisions during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure; during the second part he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; *during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study*; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold but also attend to the appointments of superintendents; during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; *during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation*; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry; and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his Commander-in-Chief.' *Arthaśāstra* Trans., Dr. Shamasastry, p. 37.

Of the above eight divisions, only the third viz. time of bath, meals and study, and sixth, i.e., time of amusements or self-meditation can be strictly called private time. The other duties as the inspection of elephants, horses etc. already relate to disposal of public business. It is therefore not difficult to understand that the interpretation of *Vachasi* as an equivalent of Sanskrit *Vraja* does not hold good. There is no doubt as Dr. Mookerji has pointed out, that philologically *vacha* or *vrach* can be connected with Sanskrit *Vraja*, enclosure for cattle, and indeed in Rock-Edict XII *vacha bhumika* were officers connected with the king's establishments for cattle-breeding. But that does not suit the meaning in Rock-Edict VI.

The locative *vachasi* (*vrachaspi* or *vachambhi*) can as well be with greater propriety rendered into Sanskrit *varchasi* meaning 'a latrine,' 'place of defecation,' or more properly 'a bath-room.' Dr. Hultzsch h. ; noted on p. 12, note 6 to the Girnar version of this edict that

the word is generally taken in that sense. His objection, however, is that Sanskrit *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine' but 'ordure.' This does not seem to be a material point. 'Pāṇini uses *varchaska* as a synonym of *avaskara*. वर्चस्केऽवस्करः VI. 1. 148. *Avaskara* as given in Apte means both 'excrement' and 'a place for faeces.' *Avaskara* in the *yajñabhūmi* is a place specially marked out where sweepings etc. were thrown. Thus *varchaska* which was a synonym of *avaskara* could also have both its meanings. *Varchas* and *varchaska* are synonymous terms in *Amara*. *Varchas* could very well have denoted in the Maurya period a bath-room which provided a place for daily ablutions to be gone through by kings and noblemen.

In the prelude to the *Tīpallatthmiga Jātaka* the word *vacchakuṭi* occurs four times in reference to Buddha's privy (*Jātaka Text*, vol. I, p. 162). *Varchas* seems only an abbreviation of *vacchakuṭi* as there is always a tendency in such names to drop out the euphemistic part of the word. Aśoka's reference to *vachasi* must have included the time that he spent in finishing his daily ablutions and bath and possibly toilet also, as no separate mention is made of them in the Edict. *Vachasi* is then an equivalent of the portion of the king's time which according to Kauṭilya he spent on *snāna* etc. The Emperor ordained by means of this edict an extension of the hours of his availability for public affairs, and this applies equally to all departments of his domestic and private life. Indeed the list of possible conditions that occupied his time in private life is made perfectly complete, when we understand *vachasi* (or *vachamhi*) in the sense of a privy or bath-room from which place the Emperor emerged in full readiness for fulfilling the next items of his private routine, viz. *bhojana* and *svādhyāya* (Kauṭilya) or to be 'adamāna' and 'vinitamhi' according to this very edict.

REVIEWS

THE KṚṢṆAKARṆĀMṚTAM by Lilāsuka Vilvamaṅgala : edited with three commentaries by Prof. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit., and published by the University of Dacca.

We heartily welcome this critical edition, by Prof. S. K. De, of a work which, since the days when Śrīcaitanya brought a manuscript copy of it from his South Indian pilgrimage, has been a source of perennial delight to Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Nor has this charming mystical poem been less popular in Southern India, the land of its origin. In Bengal, we have had several printed editions of the work, but none of them has been a critical one, and none contains more than a single commentary. The present edition gives us three commentaries, the *Kṛṣṇavallabhā* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the *Subodhanī* by Caitanyadāsa and the well-known *Sāraṅgarāṅgadā* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, which often follows and amplifies the *Subodhanī*. The first-named commentary is based upon two complete and one incomplete manuscripts, the second and the third upon four complete manuscripts each. All these eleven manuscripts and the printed Bengali and Vāṇīvilāsa editions were available for the collation of the text of the original poem. Both the text and the commentaries have been edited with great care, the variant readings being copiously given in the footnotes. Prof. De's own poetical gifts and his mastery over Sanskrit Rhetoric have had full play, the readings adopted by him being hardly ever exceptionable. His keenness has even succeeded in detecting a mislection which had crept into verse 111 before the Bengal text was fixed.

The present edition commences with a valuable introduction, which is followed by a description of the available manuscripts and printed editions of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*. This is followed by the text with the commentaries. Next come three appendices, the first giving

the 2nd and 3rd Āśvāsas of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of the work, the second quoting verses by Līlāśuka to be found in the *Vilvamaṅgala Kośa-kāvyā* and the third giving additional verses attributed to the author in the anthologies and Bengal Vaiṣṇava works. This is followed by exhaustive indices, five in all, making for easy reference, as far as practicable. These are followed, again, by Addenda and Abbreviations, while a number of printing mistakes have been set right in the Errata. A few more mistakes have unfortunately passed undetected.

In South India, the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* has been held to have been a work of three Śatakas or Āśvāsas, but, in Bengal, only the first Āśvāsa of 112 verses was known and commented on till recent times, and it looks probable that the original *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* did not go beyond this limit. As pointed out by Prof. De, while the 2nd and the 3rd Āśvāsas of Pāpayallaya's text contain some verses each of which was undoubtedly Vilvamaṅgala's work, they also contain several verses which are found attributed to other authors in various Anthologies. The verses by Vilvamaṅgala, found in those two Āśvāsas, probably formed part of some work of his other than the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*. Prof. De has, therefore, been right in confining his edition to the first Śataka. The two others cannot also boast of commentaries even nearly as good as the three which have been incorporated in the present edition.

Each of these three commentaries has its own good features. The *Kṛṣṇavallabhā* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, is a learned piece of work; it shows the author's mastery over Sanskrit language and Rhetoric and, while the interpretations it offers accord to the tenets of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, it is less scholastic and more acceptable to the general reader than the other two. Its real drawback is that Gopāla sometimes indulges in a number of varying interpretations of a word or a phrase, leaving the reader to wonder what the poet might have in mind when he wrote. His ingenuity, too, at times leads him astray,

as in his interpretation of the word, *somagiri*, in the first verse. The *Subodhanī* will be useful to those who cannot spare time to go through the two longer commentaries and are sufficiently well-versed in Sanskrit to be able to do without them. The clearest of the three is the *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, which has been immensely popular in Bengal, so much so as to have thrown the other commentaries into oblivion. But the writer was an uncompromising scholiast, who seems to have persuaded himself to the belief that whoever wrote on *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*, however early he might have been, must have thought and felt in terms of the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Ujjvalanīlamanī*. Just as in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* one never comes across the real human Caitanya, nor even the man-God, such as he is believed to have been, but is confronted, in stead, by a personification of the works of Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmīns, so in the present commentary, too, *Līlāsūka* functions as a mere exponent of Śrī Rūpa's *Rasa* works. Kṛṣṇadāsa's great ingenuity in interpretation, more often than not, blurs the real import of the verses, and the reader, who applies to the study of the text a mind free from scholastic bias, is likely to reap a richer harvest of delight than one who prefers to follow this commentator's exercises in esotericism.

The *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*, as Prof. De rightly observes, "in spite of its simplicity and directness, possesses all the distinctive features of a deliberate work of art, and though it is not a systematic expression of religious ideas and 'does not represent a professional effort'" (like the dramas of Rūpa, one might say) "it is the outcome of a gift acquired through worship and aspiration." The deliberateness of the work is so manifest that, to the unbiassed reader, the story, given by Kṛṣṇadāsa, that the verses were uttered at random by *Līlāsūka* in the midst of his Kṛṣṇa-frenzy, on his way to Vrajabhūmi and after his arrival there, to be jotted down by his companions, provided beforehand, as it were, with writing materials in an occult anticipation that the verses would come, at once looks silly. This legend, forming

part of the legend about Vilvamaṅgala's conversion, given by Kṛṣṇadāsa and also current in South India, has been rightly rejected by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as fanciful. Comparable to the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta* is the *Gītagōvinda* by Jayadeva, and if the latter excels in sheer mellifluity, Vilvamaṅgala, too, at times casts a word-magic which enthralls, while his spiritual vision and realisation are far deeper than those of Jayadeva. All the same, 'the artistic and human appeal' of the poem persists throughout.

Lilāśuka was a great master of Prosody and Rhetoric. In composing this poem of 111 verses, he has handled with perfection as many as 28 different metres, the one most largely used being the 'Vasantatilaka.' He variegate the Sanskrit metres by introducing rhymes in the earlier syllables of the lines of his stanzas, in varying permutations,¹ a fact pointing to his familiarity with Tamil, Malayalam, or Kanarese versification, in each of which it is usual to find the second syllables of all the lines of a stanza rhymed, and also to his South Indian domicile. Figures of speech come to him without any apparent effort, and his ear for rhythm and the music of words hardly ever fails him. No, these are not the incoherent effusions of a mind thrown off its balance, as some people thought.

Little is known about the life-history of our poet. It has been just said that he probably belonged to the extreme South or South-West of India. A. Govinda Warfyur claims that the Vilvamaṅgala Svāmiārs were all attached to one of the two Śaṅkarite shrines at Trichur.² Lilāśuka has been claimed by many Vallabhites and some

¹ Second syllables of all the two or four lines of a stanza rhyme, as in verses.

9, 43, 84, 93 & 95.

First syllables identical in all four lines, as in verses, 6, 13, 26, 40 & 82.

Third syllables identical, as in verse, 25.

Fourth syllables rhyme, as in verses, 48 & 54.

The first five syllables in all the four lines rhyme, as in verse, 86.

Other variations also occur.

Similar rhyming is not also infrequent in the verses given in Appendices I & II.

² See 'Vilvamaṅgala Svāmiārs,' *IHQ.*, June, 1931.

Bengal Vaiṣṇavas as an ascetic of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect, while Vallabha himself says that he belonged to the Māyāvāda School of Śaṅkarācārya.³ In my view, there is really no conflict between these two apparently hostile claims, for I have held⁴ that there really never was any Viṣṇusvāmin Sect of Vaiṣṇavas and that Viṣṇusvāmin Sect was the name given for a time to the Bhāgavata branch of the Śaṅkara Sect, a view to which I still adhere in spite of an attempt to refute it, as the arguments advanced in that behalf do not stand scrutiny.⁵ A reply to the criticisms offered will shortly follow. Vallabha's testimony about Vilvamaṅgala's sectarian affiliation is supported by the name of the latter's *guru*, Somagiri, a clearly Śaṅkarite name, by his own admission in the verse attributed to him in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*,⁶ and by the internal evidence of the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* itself. Pāpayallaya Sūri, in his gloss on verse 18, has sought to bring out the poet's Advaita metaphysics. Verses 51-3 of the work under notice also show that Lilāśuka's aspiration is to be merged in the blissful sweetness of the Lord. These verses have so upset Rāmanārāyaṇa that, in his Bengali rendering, he has deliberately misinterpreted them. Our poet is not satisfied with merely contemplating the sports of the Lord and indulging in such minor ecstasies as *āsru*, *kampa*, *pulaka* and the like; he wants to be merged in the Lord, like Rādhā in that fascinating song with which Rāya Rāmānanda bewildered Caitanyadeva.⁷ Lilāśuka makes no secret of the fact that *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* is the goal of his endeavour. He follows the great author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, an ultra-Advaitin

3 See Vallabha's *Tattvanibandha*, Benares Ed., p. 180.

4 See 'The Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle,' in *ABORI.*, vol. XIV, pts. III-IV.

5 See Mr. G. H. Bhatt's papers, styled 'Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabhācārya,' in the *Proceedings* of the Baroda and Mysore Sessions of the Indian Oriental Conference.

6 अद्वैत-वीथी-पथिकै रूपास्याः खानन्द-सङ्हासन-लब्ध-दीक्षाः

शङ्केन केण अपि वयम् हृदयेन दासीकृता गोपवधूवितेन"

7 The song beginning, 'Pahilahi rāga nayana-bhaṅga bhela.'

of the Yogavāsiṣṭha or Gauḍapāda type, who nevertheless holds that devotion to the *līlāvatāra* of the Lord leads to liberation : —

“बाबुदेवे भगवति भक्तियोगः प्रयोजिताः जनयन्त्यासु वैराग्यम् ज्ञानम् यद् ब्रह्मदर्शनम्”⁸

That the erotic mysticism,⁹ which has in course of time culminated in the dualism of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava School, really originated among Advaitins appears likely. That greatest of Monists, Yājñavalkya, uses an erotic imagery in describing how the *puruṣa* feels when embraced by the *prājñā ātman*.¹⁰ Coming to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, we find the idea followed up, Śrī Kṛṣṇa here standing for the Universal and the Vrajagopīs for the individual souls. Many *ācāryas* of the Śāṅkara Sect have preferred the path of *prema-bhakti*, inculcated in this *Purāṇa*, to the orthodox path of *vicāra* of their own sect. When, however, Kṛṣṇa is assimilated to the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya and Rādhā to *prakṛti*, as in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, or when Rādhā is taken to stand for the *hlāḍīnī śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, as in the Vaiṣṇavism of the six Vṇḍāvana Gosvāmins, a dualism necessarily replaces the earlier non-dualism. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult seems to have had its pre-Bhāgavata expression in Prākṛta literature, and the growth of the cult has yet to be studied and its history written from a scientific non-sectarian point of view. This is a task for which Prof. De is eminently fit.

As regards Vilvamaṅgala's date, A. Govinda Wariyur and K. Rama Pisharoti are evidently wrong in placing him in the 9th century. Their only reason for doing so is that Vilvamaṅgala, in one of his works, is said to have named Padmapāda as his teacher. But this Padmapāda could not certainly have been Śāṅkara's illustrious disciple of that name for, neither in Śāṅkara's undisputed works, nor

8 *Bhg. P.*, III. 3.2.23; see also, 1.2.7 & IV. 2.9.37.

9 The use of this phrase has been objected to. But if Bengal Vaiṣṇavism has in the terms, 'madhura' or 'ujjvala' rasa, euphemisms for the *śṛṅgāra* or the erotic sentiment, Prof. De may be excused for using this expressive phrase in the absence of an euphemistic equivalent in English.

10 *Br Up.*, IV. 3.21.

in the fragments of Padmapāda's *Pañcapādikā* which have come down to us, can we find any trace of Vilvamaṅgala's erotic mysticism. We have heard of a commentary on the *Prapañcasāra Tantra* by one Padmapāda. This tantra is wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara, but was really the work of Vidyāśaṅkara Tirtha, who also wrote the commentary on the *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad*.¹¹ The Padmapāda or Padma-Tirtha,¹² who commented on the *Prapañcasāra* was evidently a junior contemporary of Vidyāśaṅkara, and he might have been a vidyā-guru of Lilāśuka, whose dikṣā-guru was, as he tells us, Soma-giri. If so, Lilāśuka's date has to be placed in the 13-14th century. He was earlier than 1363, the probable date of the compilation of the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, if the single quotation from him, found in that work, be genuine.

We feel sure that this masterly presentation of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* will have even a warmer reception than its predecessor, the *Padyāvali*. The University of Dacca deserves congratulation upon these publications.

AMAR NATH RAY

FUTŪHUS-SALĀṬIN, or the SHĀHNĀMA OF MEDIEVAL INDIA, edited with an introduction by A. Mahdi Husain. Educational Press. Agra 1938.

The author of this versified history is a comparatively unknown poet, in spite of his claim to have produced quite a number of other poetical works. Even his real name is uncertain. The tentative identification, based on his *Takhalluṣ*, with Khwāja 'Abd Malik 'Iṣāmī mentioned in the *Khazina-i-Ganj-i-Ilāhī*, is open to objections. One of the latter's sources was Daulat Shah's famous *Tazkirah*, and

11- & 12 'The Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle,' *ABORI.*, vol. XIV, pts. III-IV

this work has an entry under a person named Khwāja 'Abd al-Malik Samarqandi who is said to have been the Sheikhal Islām of Samarqand during the reign of Timūr (1378-1404). He also bore the *Takhalluṣ* 'Iṣāmī as is found in the *ghazal* quoted therein (Browne, p. 332). This person was a great scholar, but "inspite of his vast learning," Daulat Shāh remarks, "his verses were soft and sweet." No reference is there made either to the *Futūḥus Salāṭīn* or to any other work of his, nor is any biographical detail given except that he was descended from the first Caliph. It seems more than likely that the 'Iṣāmī of Ilahī's *Khazina* refers to this person and not to the author of the present work. The same 'Abd al-Malik Samarqandi is mentioned in the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amin Aḥmad Rāzī under Samarqand but his only literary work noted was writing glosses on the texts of the *Hedāya*. It is a pity that the details respecting the Khwaja as given in the *Khazina* are not known owing to that work being yet undiscovered, for they would have been helpful in settling this point. 'Iṣāmī's reputation as a poet and author could never have been high in India, for he finds no place in any of the biographical dictionaries compiled subsequently; nor is the *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn* mentioned by more than a very few industrious historians as Ferishta and Nizām-uddin Bakhshī. The extreme rarity of copies of the work may have also been due to the same oblivion that befell all his other works.

The work, rediscovered and published for the first time from a unique manuscript, was meant to be an Indian counterpart of Firdousi's *Shāhnāma*, and so it is without the latter's epic qualities. It covers a period of a little more than three hundred years and recounts the history of the Muslim rulers of India from Sabuktigin to Muḥammad b. Tughluq with a brief notice of the first years of the reign of the author's patron, Alā al-Dīn Hasan Gāngu Bāhmani. An interesting fact to which the editor draws our attention is its close resemblance with Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Travels* not only in the accounts of the past events but also in that of their contemporary Muḥammad b.

Tughlaq, although each was written independently of the other. Obviously they both drew on the same source of information, and to say that this source was the bazaar stories current at the time need not always make them unworthy of attention. In so far as they hint at popular reactions to political happenings they provide a sort of counterpoise to the official propagandist chronicles. 'Isāmī's account of the reign of Rāḍīah, for example, shows that the secret palace revolution that resulted in her downfall was greatly disliked by the people who had taken an active part in her elevation to the throne by overcoming the opposition of the courtiers and the Dowager Queen. That the people never believed in the scandals circulated against her by the court and its henchmen, the 'Ulemā, is evident from their fond reverence of her memory and feeling sympathy with her fate even after the passage of more than a century, as reflected in his verses. He repeats Ibn Baṭūṭa's statement that Balban poisoned his master and son-in-law, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd to facilitate his own accession (p. 158), and there may be some truth in it, considering the fact that the hiatus of six years between the end of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* and the beginning of the *Tārīkh-i-Firōzshāhī* has not yet been properly accounted for. This *vox populi* can be detected also in his account of the contemporary events. Dr. Husain notes 'Isāmī's unconcealed bias against Muḥammad b. Tughluq summed up in a bitter condemnatory poem on him (p. 570). Misled by the disaffected 'Ulemā and orthodox reactionaries, blinded by the sufferings involved in the transfer of the capital and unable to understand the Emperor's mind the people formed an extremely unsympathetic opinion of him, and this is reproduced both by 'Isāmī and Ibn Baṭūṭa. As the editor remarks, 'the discovery of the *Futūḥus Salāṭīn* has made it easier to understand the source of the charges levelled by Ibn Baṭūṭa at the Sultan.' It is, however, easy to exaggerate its value as a historical source and there may be some who will not agree with the editor's

statement (p. 2) that in some respects 'Iṣāmī as a historian is superior even to Minhāj-i-Sirāj. The only occasion on which Ferishta refers to the *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn* is to correct one of the latter's erroneous statement (p. 3 of Lucknow Text).

The edition, as it has emerged from the press, is unfortunately very imperfect. What with the archaic lithograph, the pasted strips of verse numbers, complete absence of indices and finally, constant reference for notes to an appendix (*Zāmina*) which is yet to be printed, it is enough to exasperate even the most patient reader. The introduction too is very brief and one wishes the editor had found it worthwhile, in order to give the preface a completeness, to deal briefly with the points raised by the *Futūḥus Salāṭīn*, for a fuller discussion of which he refers to his forthcoming monograph on Muhammad b. Tughluq. These imperfections are a sad commentary on the conditions in which a scholar has to work in this country, relying on his own meagre resources and without assistance and encouragement. Recognition of Dr. Husain's valuable work in historical research is however assured and he deserves our gratitude and encouragement for this important addition to our historical texts.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

PORTUGUESE VOCABLES IN ASIATIC LANGUAGES,
translated from the original Portuguese of Monsignor S. R. Dalgado
by Anthony Xavier Soares M.A., LL.B., Oriental Institute, Baroda
1936.

The present work is a translation of Monsignor S. R. Dalgado's *Influencia do Vocabulario Portugues em Linguas Asiaticas* published by Academy of Sciences, Lisbon in 1913. Mr. Soares has earned the thanks of many scholars who cannot use the original by rendering the very useful work into English. It is an alphabetically

arranged list of Portuguese words together with the forms they assumed as loan-words in the languages of different Asiatic peoples with whom the Portuguese ever came into contact. In this vocabulary the compiler gives reference to sources of his information wherever necessary and sometimes quotes from his authorities. All this has added to the value of the work. Almost a whole decade elapsed between the publication of the work and the decision of the translator to present it in English. During this period the author of the Vocabulary had brought out other works on cognate subjects and in these he had occasionally arrived at opinions and results different from these he had put forward before, or supported the earlier views with additional evidence. Besides this a glance at the bibliography of the author, reveals the fact that some sources of information remained unknown or inaccessible to the author. The translator has wisely incorporated in the work alterations and additions that the new materials made possible and due to all this improvement the translation can be considered a revised second edition of the work, for this also thanks are due to the learned translator.

It would however be a mistake to consider this work, in spite of the best efforts of the author and the translator, to be an exhaustive list of Portuguese loan-words in Asiatic languages. Let us take the case of Bengali. Some words have escaped the notice of the author as well as the translator. For example, *ācār* (*achar*), *ālpin* (*alfinete*), *mistri* (*mestre*) and *bārmād* (*armada*) have not been mentioned. This may well be the case with other languages as well. Besides these words have sometimes been wrongly considered to be of Portuguese origin. For example *Bārāṇḍā* Beng. with its Hindi and Asamese counterpart is from Sanskrit *Varaṇḍaka*. Similarly *juā* is from Sanskrit *dyūta* and *raśid* is from Persian *rashidan*. *Kāmān* from Arabic *kamān*. Careful scrutiny by specialists in different Asiatic languages will surely reveal many more

words of this kind. But in spite of all this the present volume will remain for a long time very useful for the critical students of oriental languages and their history. The translator as well as the Oriental Institute of Baroda is to be congratulated for bringing out this excellent work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

YOGĪNDUDEVA'S PARAMĀTMAPRAKĀŚA edited with Brahmadeva's Skt. commentary and Daulatrāma's Hindi translation with an Introduction, various readings etc. and the *Yogasāra*, critically edited with the Skt. *Chāyā* and the Hindi translation of Pandit J. Shastri by A. N. Upadhye, M.A., Published by Seth M. R. Jhaveri, Bombay 1937. Pages Sup. Royal, 8 vol. xii + 124 + 396.

The two Apabhramśa works edited in this volume deals with the means of liberation (*mokṣa*) from the miseries of the world and rebirth (*saṃsāra*). Though such works are not rare in Skt. they are not often met with in Ap. Hence students of Ap. will be thankful to Prof. Upadhye for bringing out the two works in critical editions. The very informative introduction which the learned editor has written to the *Paramātma prakāśa* has very exhaustively treated the various aspects of the history of the author of the work; its contents and language.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the study of this text has been rendered singularly easy through the labours of the editor and will add to his reputation as a careful editor of Pkt. works. All this however does not mean that we agree with him in all the conclusions in the introduction. For example it is difficult to accept the high antiquity he assigns to the *Paramātmaprakāśa* and its author (Intro. pp. 66-67). As is seen from the language of the work which bears considerable similarity to that of the Siddhācāryas of

Bengal like Kāṇha and Saraha it may be as old as the 9th or 10th century. The date of Kāṇha as suggested by Dr. Shahidulla seems to be too early by two or three centuries.¹ The chronological distance between Kāṇha and Saraha who wrote a similar language and on similar topics does not seem to be very great. So when Kāṇha is placed in the 12th century Saraha cannot be considered to be a person of the 6th century. But such an occasion for a difference of opinion does not diminish the great merit of Prof. Upadhye's work. The very excellent analysis of the linguistic data of the work which he gives in the Introduction (pp. 44ff) will make it indispensable to a student of Apabhraṃśa. It is with genuine pleasure that we congratulate Prof. Upadhye for bringing out the work. The *Yoga sāra* another Ap. work of Jogindudeva, which has been included in this volume, contains only a Skt. *chāyā*, Hindi translation and various readings. It will also be found useful for the study of Ap. Promoters of the Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstramālā deserves the thanks of scholars for helping the publication of such useful works.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

DĪNA-CAṆḌIDĀSER PADĀVALĪ, vols. I and II edited by Manindra Mohan Basu, M.A., published by the Calcutta University in 1935 and 1939, pp. D/C. 8 vo. lx + 326 and lix + 444.

With the publication of Badu Caṇḍidāsa's *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana* in 1917 by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad the ideas about the age and the authorship of the *padas* or songs current under the name of Caṇḍidāsa have undergone a radical change. These songs written in modern Bengali when read side by side with the *padas* in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa kīrtana* (= *ŚKK.*) which on the basis of the language and

¹ See Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Presidential Address in the Literary Conference held at Gauhati in December, 1938, p. 5.

other data was placed in the 14th century could no longer be considered to have been from the pen of a poet flourishing more than five centuries ago. Besides this, in the treatment of the character of the Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which has been depicted in the two sets of writings these two latter differed very much. This was an additional and grave reason for creating controversies among scholars of Bengali about the relation of the well-known poet to either of these two sets of songs. Some scholars denied the genuineness of the newly discovered ŚKK., while others hailed it as the real composition of Caṇḍidāsa. And in course of more than twenty years that have passed, researches on the subject, notably that by Dr. S. K. Chatterji (*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 127 ff.) have established the genuineness of the work and its antiquity. Hence one naturally turns to the question of the age and authorship of the popular songs written in modern Bengali and ascribed to Caṇḍidāsa. For some time it was believed that they were written by some later poet *on the basis of songs* by Baḍu Caṇḍidāsa which have become unintelligible on account of their archaic language.

Mr. Basu finds reasons to reject this theory and believes that popular songs ascribed to Caṇḍidāsa are original compositions and not from the pen of the poet of that name who flourished before Caitanya and they form the part of a large *kāvya* composed by one Dīna Caṇḍidāsa (or a Caṇḍidāsa who calls himself *Dīna* or 'humble'). It is with a view to establish his own theory that Mr. Basu has brought out the two volumes under review. The evidence with which he seeks to support his theory are of two kinds: manuscripts and critical analysis of the modern Bengali songs current under the name of Caṇḍidāsa. Manuscript materials described in the introduction to his vol. I. (pp. 50 f.) are inadequate but they are sufficient to create a strong presumption in favour of Mr. Basu's theory. It may be hoped that future discovery of Bengali Mss. will support

Mr. Basu's conclusion but before that may come he has tried by other means to put his theory on a solid basis. After a very careful analysis of modern Bengali songs ascribed to Caṇḍidāsa Mr. Basu discovers a connecting link between them all and he has arranged them in the present work in the manner in which they are supposed by him to have existed in the assumed large *kāvya* of Dīṇa Caṇḍidāsa. Of course the entire arrangement is not due to Mr. Basu. It is only when a song did not occur in Mss. used by him that he has exercised his judgment and given reasons for placing it in a particular position. In doing all this, Mr. Basu had to work hard for a number of years and results of his patient scholarship have been gathered in the well-written general introduction as well as in the introductions to various sections. It may be that fastidious critics will not be thoroughly satisfied with the method of discussion used by Mr. Basu but no honest man can deprive him of the credit of bringing out a large collection of valuable data for the settlement of the age and the authorship of the popularly known *padas* of Caṇḍidāsa as well as making out a *prima facie* case for the existence of a large *kāvya* consisting of songs by a poet named Caṇḍidāsa who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century and called himself Dīṇa or 'humble'. In the edition of the work of Dīṇa Caṇḍidāsa by Mr. Basu notes have been added to explain difficult points in the *padas* and variant readings have been added where they were available. In his notes Mr. Basu has freely quoted from allied literature and Sanskrit and Bengali works on theology of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas to elucidate points under discussion and it may be hoped that any one carefully studying Mr. Basu's work will fairly acquaint himself with the *rasa*-theory elaborated in this theology and will gain a footing in the study of the *padāvali* literature of Bengal. We congratulate Mr. Basu on the publication of his valuable work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

ṚGVEDA-SAMHITĀ with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, vol. II (2-5 maṇḍalas), Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala. Poona, 1936, pages 5 + xlv + 998.

The welcome which was accorded to the first volume of the work under review by persons interested in the Vedas will be extended with genuine pleasure to its second volume. I had the opportunity of reviewing the first volume in the pages of this Journal and what I said there about its merits applies equally to the present volume. The learned editor and the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala are to be congratulated on the publication of this volume. Thirtysix very thickly printed pages in the introduction (pp. xi-xlv) set forth in detail the improvements that the editors with their new Ms. materials have been able to effect upon the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary to the Ṛgveda, as reconstructed by Maxmüller, and anyone carefully going through them will at once realize the magnitude of the work and will be thankful to the editors for bringing out such a dependable edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary to the Ṛgveda. Gratitude of the promoters of Vedic studies is also due to Her Highness the Maharani of Indore whose financial help enabled the publishers to issue this volume without much delay.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

RĀJAGRHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE by Dr. Bimala Churn Law. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 58. Pp. 49, and 2 plates. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938. 4s. 6d.

Detailed study of the ancient historical sites of India as Dr. Bimala Churn Law says is greatly needed and Rājagrha has every reason to be chosen as a model for further memoirs in the Archaeological Survey series. The author has successfully accomplished his aim of dealing exhaustively with the information available from Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist sources, and it will not be easy to find anything of value to add to his account, in which due regard is had to history, geography, topography, and architecture, religious and secular.

Dr. Law can suggest no solution of the curious absurdity by which the *Sabbāparva* in ch. XXI gives varying names to the five hills of Rajgir, but the fact that Vaihāra is styled *vipulaḥ śailaḥ* is of value, for it serves to explain the style Pi-pu-lo in Hwen Thsang, and removes any doubt as to the identity of the Jaina Vaibhāragiri and the Vebhāra of the Pali records. The Pali Vepulla must be identified with Ratnagiri and Chhaṭhāgiri, taken together and counted as one hill, as against the view of D. N. Sen, who sees the Pāṇḍava hill in Ratnagiri and identifies Vepulla with the Jain Vipula. The identification of the Ratnagiri and the Pāṇḍava is made in the *Sutta-nipāta* commentary, but Dr. Law shows that it is not required by the text itself, and that it should be abandoned. We must likewise abandon Sir J. Marshall's identification of Gijjhakūṭa and Chhaṭhāgiri and Cunningham's identification of Isigili and Ratnagiri. A very interesting suggestion (p. 13) is that the name Maddakuchchhi is a distortion of *adri-kukshi*, which has the same meaning as the Pali *pabbata-kuchchhī*, 'a curve in the hill'. There is cited as parallel the Machalagāna of the *Jātaka*, which is believed to stand for *achalagāma*. The point deserves further elucidation.

The identification of the Paṭibhāṇa-kūṭa is interesting; there is a peak at the eastern end of the Soṇagiri, opposite to the Udayagiri, which echoes sounds. Dr. Law clears up the confusion in the account of the new Rājagṛha; by this is meant nothing more or less than Pāṭaliputra which Ajātaśatru fortified in his feud with the Vṛjīs of Vaiśālī, and in which Udāyi established his capital. From the new capital must be distinguished the new city which was only a palace area in the outer city of Girivraja (p. 24).

The religious history of Rājagṛha is of great interest; though a centre of the activities of the Buddha, it was also a Brahmanical stronghold (p. 37), and, though Fa-Hien still found Buddhist monks there, Hwen Thsang records only Brahmans and Jain ascetics, and, though Buddhism may have revived under the Pāla kings as some of the images recently discovered indicate, that was, it seems, the last revival of the faith. It may be conjectured that it was the strong Brahmanical element that helped to make Rājagṛha one of the centres of the mischievous activities of the Chabbaggiyas, and the scene of the schism begun by the rivalry of Devadatta.

A warning as to the necessity of care in the use of the Pali sources may be derived from the fact (p. 41) that the account of the First Council given in the *Vinaya Chullavagga*, XI, does not accord as regards the place of meeting with the concurrent testimony of later traditions in Pali and Sanskrit alike.

There is a full index, and two plates, with interesting details of the present condition of the site, complete a first class piece of research.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

CONCEPTS OF RITI AND GUṆA IN SANSKRIT POETICS by Dr. P. C. Lahiri M.A., Ph.D., Kāvya-tirtha. Published by the University of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca. Demy Octavo, pp. vii + 308.

An investigation into the literature on a particular subject and the study of the theories and concepts embodied in that literature should go hand in hand. Unfortunately in many a field of old Indian culture such a combination is a rare occurrence. In some cases we have only historical accounts of the literary output on the subjects concerned while in others we have descriptions of what are believed to be the main doctrines of particular systems of thought with scanty reference to the history of their evolution. Sanskrit poetics is going to be an honourable exception in this matter. While scholars like Dr. S. K. De were, in their pioneer and monumental works, principally concerned with furnishing an elaborate account of the literature and a general treatment of the subject, host of scholars have seriously taken up detailed historical investigation of various individual theories and doctrines expounded and elaborated by numerous writers at different times.

The work under review gives in eight chapters a comprehensive and scholarly account of the history of the growth and development of the ideas about Riti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Poetics, from Bharata (beginning of the Christian era) down to Jagannātha (17th century). The views of different writers have been clearly set forth and fully explained with profuse quotations from published as well as unpublished works. As 'the works of most of the writers who came after Jagannātha are merely short-cuts or manuals for beginners rather than original treatises' (p. 270) they have not been dealt with in the present book. It is well that the learned author has drawn attention in the concluding remarks to some of his principal conclusions. Of these the two that will be of interest to the general reader are:



(1) The *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra* existed in two recensions.

(2) 'Viśvanātha who is held in high esteem as a theorist of remarkable merit, was indebted considerably to Caṇḍidāsa (author of the *dīpikā* commentary of the *K. P.*) for some of the views where he differed from his master Mammaṭa, and for which he has so long been regarded as somewhat an original writer' (p. 272).

The topics dealt with in the work are interesting to all students of literature. A brief *résumé* divested of technical terms as far as possible would have extended its appeal even to non-sanskritists who are apt not infrequently to be disappointed by the abundance of unavoidable technicalities in a book which is otherwise of absorbing interest.

Reference may be made here to two small but keenly felt omissions, removal of which is essential for making the book complete in itself, *e.g.*, non-indication of the generally accepted or possible approximate dates of the authors referred to or treated of in the work, and absence of small descriptive notes on them, which could as well be included in the Index of Authors.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. III, part I

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*R̥gveda-vyākhyā* (I, 44-55). Mādhava's commentary on the *R̥gveda* is being edited in instalments.
- T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR.—*The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads*. The *Akṣyupaniṣad* and a part of the *Adhyātmopaniṣad*, two minor treatises belonging respectively to the Kṛṣṇa and Śukla Yajurveda, have been translated into English in this issue.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Ālambanaparīkṣā and Vṛtti by Diṇnāga with the Commentary of Dharmapāla*. Sanskrit text of this work on Buddhist logic has been restored from the Tibetan and Chinese versions.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra with Devasvāmibhāṣya*. The edition of the Sanskrit text continues.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Commentaries on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Manuscripts of three commentaries on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* by Govindasvāmin, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, and Śaḍguruśiṣya are deposited in the Adyar Library. The first named ms. has been described here.
- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*A Note on the Date of Kauśika Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara*. A new reading of a verse in the colophon of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's *Jñanayatna* found in a ms. in the Adyar Library suggests that Bhāskara could not have been later than the 12th century.

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. III, part I, (1938-1939)

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Śākuntalacarcā*. The *Śākuntalacarcā* is a commentary in ms. on Kālidāsa's drama *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*. The article continued from the previous issues of the journal gives a summary of the introductory portion of the work containing an interesting discussion on the Nāndi verse of the play.

- T. R. CHINTAMANI.—शरीरकन्यासंग्रहः The edition of the *Śārīrakanyāyasamgraha* a work by Prakāśātmayati on the *Brahmasūtra* is completed with this issue of the journal.
- S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—तत्त्वशुद्धिः The *Tattvaśuddhi*, a treatise on Advaita Vēdānta by Jñāna-ghanapāda is being edited.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Anekasandhānakāvya*s. Sanskrit poems written with the purpose of conveying more than one meaning are dealt with in this paper. A poem is mentioned yielding twenty-four meanings and a verse one hundred.

Archiv Orientalni. vol. X, no. 3 (December, 1938)

- JAROSLAV PRŮSEK.—*The Narrators of Buddhist Scriptures and Religious Tales in the Sung Period.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IX, pt. 4

- H. W. BAILEY.—*The Jātaka-stava of Jñānāśraya*. The Sanskrit original of the *Jātaka-stava*, a short Khotanese text published some time ago has been found with an interlinear Tibetan gloss in the Sde-dge (Derge) Bstan-hgyur deposited in the Library of the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai. This treatise attributed to Jñānāśraya has been edited in this number.
- ALFRED MASTER.—*Koḷi or Dhārāḷo, etc.* The sense of the Maratha word *Koḷi* applied to a tribe residing in Western India has been discussed.
- BETTI HEIMAN.—*Plurality, Polarity, and Unity in Hindu Thought: A Doxographical Study.* In the opinion of the writer, the idea of unity in the philosophical systems of India admits of actual plurality in their concepts of unity.

Indian Culture, vol. V, no. 3 (January, 1939)

A. B. KEITH.—It is argued that it cannot be proved that there is an idea of the absolute and immutable as the back-ground of the Buddha's conception of the world. Evidences are adduced to show that the teachings of the Buddha really point to negative doctrines like nihilism or agnosticism.

S. M. KATRE.—*Materials for a Dhātupāṭha of Indo-Aryan*—II.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*The Vaiṣṇava Cult in India*. Aspects of the Bhakti Cult in Vaiṣṇavism have been discussed and particular features of its development in Southern and Northern India explained with a special reference to the emotional side of the Bengal school.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJI.—*A Note on Provincial Government under the Sultanate of Delhi*.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*The Date of the Rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq*—II. In opposition to the evidence of Ferishta's chronology, the year 737 A.H. or 1336-37 A.C. has been arrived at as the date when the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila broke out.

ASOKANATH SASTRI.—According to the writer of this paper the Śūnyavāda propounded in the *Mādhyamakaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna is absolute negativism and has not in it any concept of a positive ontological principle like Brahman held to be of the nature of absolute existence, absolute consciousness, and absolute bliss.

AZIZ AHMAD.—*Central Organisation of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*—II.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*The Vedas and Adhyātma Tradition*. In regard to the interpretation of the Vedas, it has been suggested that more importance should be attached to the study of the mystical Vedic terminology, the explanations of which are found in the ancient exegetical works. The Brāhmana literature that

preserves the tradition of the Adhyātma school of Vedic interpretation can be of much help in this direction.

P. K. GODE.—*Prābhākaraḥṭṭa, the Brother of Ratnākaraḥṭṭa, the Guru of Sevai Jaising of Amber.*

NALININATH DAS GUPTA.—*On Vainyagupta.* After a discussion of the various problems connected with the identity of Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar inscription, the suggestion has been put forward that he might have been the immediate predecessor of Bhānugupta, a son or a brother of the former.

H. C. SETH.—*Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other Dates in Ancient Indian Chronology*. The conclusions reached in the article are: The Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha took place in 487 B.C. Aśoka was coronated 218 years later in 269 B.C. He reigned for 37 years upto 232 B.C. Before the first 26 years of his reign, Aśoka had displayed no bias for the Buddhist faith. After the period he gradually took increasing interest in this religious order, but did not embrace Buddhism till about 7 years more had elapsed.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*The Jaina Theory of Existence and Reality.*

AMARNATH RAY.—*The Date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.* The writer of this note is in favour of fixing the date of the birth of Madhusūdana, the author of the *Advaita-siddhi*, approximately at 1500 A.C.

DASARATHA SARMA.—*The Śaka Rival of Rāmagupta.* Literary evidences show that Rāmagupta, son of Samudragupta, was made a captive by a certain Śaka chief and put to much ignominy which was later on avenged by Candragupta, another son of Samudragupta. This Śaka chief was, he infers, a Kuṣāṇa ruler.

N. N. DAS GUPTA.—*Karṇasuvārṇa and Suvarṇakudya.* The writer holds that *Suvarṇakudya* mentioned in the *Kauṭīliya* cannot be identified with Karṇasuvārṇa in Bengal, and that the place should be located somewhere in Assam.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. VII, no. 2 (March, 1939)

- A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIYAR.—*The Passive Voice in Tamil*.
 B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Certain Philosophical Bases of Madhva's Theistic Realism*. The Svatantrādvaita doctrine or the philosophy of 'the One Independent Transcendent Reference, as promulgated by Madhva has been explained and compared with the Advaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrines of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. Madhva's views on the nature of souls in bondage and release have also been discussed.
 R. RAMANUJACHARI and K. SRINIVASACHARYA.—*Vedārthasaṃgraha*. The *Vedārthasaṃgraha* of Rāmānuja is being edited with English translation and notes.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. VI, nos. 3 & 4

- E. T. D. LAMBERT.—*Human Sacrifices in Assam*. The writer is of opinion that the Rangpang Nagas in the Tirap and Namchik valleys practised human sacrifices but the Naga tribes have full belief in the soul and its existence after death.
 K. L. BARUA.—*History behind a Phonetic Difficulty*. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* records that king Śiśunāga of Magadha prohibited the pronunciation of the cerebrals *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh* and the sibilants *ś, ṣ* and *h* and also *kṣa* in his household. It has been suggested that the throne of Magadha was at the time occupied by the Alpine settlers from Iran who had not yet been accustomed to the correct pronunciation of the variety of cerebrals and sibilants of the Sanskrit Alphabet introduced by the Vedic Aryans. The Alpines had come to Eastern India prior to the advent of the Indo-Aryans and brought with them an Aryan language of the Dardic or Piśāci stock in which *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ* and *ḍh* were absent and *ś, ṣ* and *s* had one uniform sound.
 K. L. BARUA.—*Some Noted Mediæval Kamarupi Authors and their Works*.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON.—*Description of Assam Coins*. This is a report on the coins of Assam prepared in 1828 by H. H. Wilson.

PREMADHARA CHAUDHURY.—*Identification of a Sculpture in the Gauhati Museum*. A sand-stone image so long believed to have been the *anantamūrti* of Viṣṇu is identified with the Maheśa aspect of Śiva.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXIV, part IV (December, 1938)

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet*.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*A Palm-leaf Manuscript of Viṣṇupurāṇa dated 1464 A.D.* The importance of the ms. lies in the fact that it was transcribed by Pakṣadhara Miśra, the celebrated author of a number of works on the Nyāya Philosophy.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI AND SUBHADRA JHA.—*A Note on Pakṣadhara Miśra*. Pakṣadhara, the author of the *Cintāmaṇyāloka* and many other treatises on logic is believed to have been identical with Piyuṣaṇḍa Jayadeva, the author of the *Candrāloka* and *Prasannarāghava*. It is known from the colophon of a ms. of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that Pakṣadhara was a native of Mithilā and transcribed the ms. in the 15th century while residing in Berar.

SYED HASAN ASKARI.—*Dastur-ul-Imla—a Collection of Letters of Historical Interest*. *Dastur-ul-Imla* is a work compiled by Mohan Lal for preserving the literary production of his father Lala Kewal Krishna. It contains, among other writings, letters addressed on behalf of Raja Dhiraj Narain, the Naib Nazim of Bihar Subah and other dignified chiefs to persons like Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla, Mir Jafar, Nanda Kumar, Clive, and others.

K. K. BASU.—*History of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur*. A portion of Fuzuni's *Fatuhāt-i-Adil Shāhī* in Persian dealing with the leading incidents of Ibrahim 'Adil's reign has been translated into English.

DHARMENDRA BRAHMACARI SASTRI.—*Dairya Sabab of Bihar and his Works.*

D C. GANGULY.—*The Pratihāras and Gurjaras.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVII, pt. 3 (December, 1938)

H. C. SETH.—*Chronology of Aśoka's Inscriptions.* Definite dates have been proposed for several inscriptions of Aśoka, the Barā-bar Hill Cave Inscription nos. 1 and 2 being assigned to 256 B.C. and the Minor Rock Edict to 232 B.C., the last year of Aśoka's reign.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE.—*The Gupta Era.* This is a reply to the criticism of the writer's theory that the Gupta Era is identical with the Vikrama Saṃvat of 57-58 B.C. and that Fleet's assumption that the era started from 319-20 A.C. is based on wrong calculations.

SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR.—*The Kāḍavarāyas.* It has been asserted that the Kāḍavarāyas of South Arcot held only subordinate positions from the time of Kulottuṅga I to the reign of Kulottuṅga III and cannot be connected with the Pallava Kopperunjinga.

ABDUL HALIM.—*Sultan Bahlul Lodi—The place of His Death and Duration of His Reign.*

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (from October 1759 to September 1760).

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. VII, pt. 4
(January, 1939)

H. D. SANKALIA.—*Rare Figures of Viṣṇu from Gujarat.*

G. R. PRADHAN.—*Folk-songs from Malwa.*

B. L. MANKAD.—*Rabaris of Kathiawar—A Social Study.*

Man in India, vol. XVII, no. 4 (October-December, 1938)

MANUBHAI N. MEHTA.—*The Bhils of the Gwalior State.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. III, no. 4 (January, 1939)

HARDUTT SHARMA.—*Contribution to the History of Brāhmaṇical Asceticism*. The thesis deals with various topics associated with the institution of *Samṇyāsa* of the Brāhmaṇical order such as the time for taking up *saṃnyāsa* and the people qualified to enter it, different kinds of ascetics, their appearance and outfit, their daily life and initiation, women in *saṃnyāsa*, the position of an ascetic in law, the death and last rite of an ascetic.

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Magic and Miracle in Jaina Literature

Magic occupies an important place in the Jaina literature. It ranges from the gross and crude practices to avert the evil eye for affording protection against malignant men and spirits to the subtle process of discovering one's thoughts, or inducing a magic sleep, going through the air, causing invisibility and compelling obedience of human and divine beings by means of the dreadful black art.

The four quarter-maidens of the Rucaga mansions made fire by fire-drill (*aranim ghaḍettā*), threw into it sandal wood, made *aggiho-mam*, performed *bhūikamma*, and tied a protective amulet (*rakkhā-poṭṭaliyaṃ bamdhamti*) to the new born Rṣabhadeva, the first *Tirthaṃkara*.

Bhūikamma (*bhūtikarman*) means smearing the body with holy ashes and binding threads as a protective charm.¹ Thread was worn round the waist as a charm against the evil eye.² Other *Tirthaṃkaras*, viz., *Supārśvanātha*, *Pārśvanātha* and *Mahāvira* were similarly protected by *rakkhāpoṭṭalikā* (variant, °*paṭṭolikā*),³ for *jīyameyam* 'it was the custom'. A wristlet was also used as a talisman,⁴ against *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*. As in other countries the evil eye was

1 *Ovaṇāya*, *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, commentary of *Pravacanasāroddhāra*.

2 *Nāyāddhamma-kahāsutta*, p. 277 (Āgamodayasamiti ed.)—*Sonisuttaga*; *Sama-vāyāṅga* (Āgam. 183); Cf. Pāli *Kaṭṭisutta*, *PVA.* 134, *Vin.* II. 107, 271; *Karpūra-mañjari* (Skt.); *paḍisara* (*Pratijñā*. Act. I), *Parittasuttam* (*Mhv.* ch. 7).

3 *Supāsānābhacaria*, p. 43, *Pārśvanātha* (Bloomfield ed. 5. 75).

4 *Kumārāpālapratibodha*, p. 112.

greatly dreaded.⁵ Diseases in children were attributed to possession by spirits, such as *revai* (*revati*).⁶ R̥ṣabhanātha is also reputed to have introduced *koua* and *maṅgala* rites. We frequently come across the stock phrase—*ṇbhāyā kayabalikammā kayakoua-maṅgala-pāyaccittā...*⁷ *Koua* means the making of black marks (*maṣī-tilaka*), e.g. of soot, black pigment, or collyrium on the body as a protective charm (*rakṣābandhanam*). *Kautuka* included also burning of incense to bring good luck.⁸ *Maṅgala* signs or objects were drawn or exhibited to bring good luck. They are—(1) *dappaṇa* (mirror), (2) *bhaddāsaṇa* (auspicious seat), (3-6) the mystic signs of Vaddhamāṇa (Vardhamāṇa), *Siribaccha* (Śrīvatsa), *Sotthiya* (Svastika) and *Naṃdāvatta* (Nandyāvarta), (7) *Macche* (fishes) and *Kalasa* (pitcher).⁹ Some *maṅgala* objects used at the time of the anointment of Prince Ānanda included, besides the above, big lotuses (*mahā-pauma*), white mustard (*siddhattaya*), bull (*vasaba*), hide of a lion, secretion of elephant in rut (*gayamayo*) etc.¹⁰ The commentary of *Kalpasūtra* renders *pāyaccitta* as *pāda-cchupta* (°spr̥ṣṭa), “touched with the feet,” as a charm against the evil eye. Another magic practice, viz. the asking of questions, is attributed to R̥ṣabha: *Imkheṇiyādiruṇaṃ vā pucchā puṇa kiṃ kaḥiṃ kajjaṃ*.

This refers to the once prevalent practice of asking questions of some seeress. She jingled bells at the root of her ears, then some yakṣas came and whispered the answers. Possessed by spirits

5 *Upamitibhavaprapaṇca-kathā*, p. 158, *durjanacakṣurdōṣa*. Cf. *JRAS.*, (Oct. 1937)—“Shafta d Pishra d Aina” (A Mandeian Magical Text translated by E. S. Drower, The Scroll for exorcism of the eyes—Evil Eye, Blue Eye etc.).

6 *Kupra*, p. 44, *Parīṣṭaparvan*, canto VII. śloka 14-23. *Sukhabodhaṭikā* (2. 19) to *Uttarādhayana*.

7 *Kalpasūtra*, p. 51, *Ovavāyīya*, 17, *Uvāsagadasāo* (Dr. Hoernle's, ed.), pp. 6, 122; *Nāyā*; *Vivāgasūya* (Vaidya's ed. paras 68, 78, 112, 138-40), *Paesikabāṇayam* (p. 6), *Paṇha*. 1.2; *Sirikummaṇṇaputtacaria* (Sl. 106). etc.

8 *Vavabāra*, I; *Nāyā*. 1.14. Cf. also *Rāmāyana*, 1.73.9; 2.437; *Pratijñā* Act. 1; *Svapna*, Act II.

9 *Supā.*, pp. 51, 52, śl. 284; *Nāyā*, p. 54; *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 588 ff.

10 *Samarāṇicakabā* (Jacobi's ed. pp. 22, 77; 124, 125).

she gave oracles. In Pāli literature we find parallels.¹¹ It was even believed that a deity or a particular disease could be made to be reflected in a mirror (called *addāa-vijjā* in *Vavahāra*).

Sakka put to magic sleep (*osayanim dalai*) the mother of Tirtha-
nikara Ṛṣabha and those of Supārśvanātha and Pārśvanātha. Harihṇgameṣi did the same thing while transferring the foetus of Mahāvira from the womb of Devānamdā to that of Trisālā. Many such instances will be found in *Ṇāyā.*, *Supā.*, *Pari.*, and the Buddhist text *Divyāvadāna (avasvāpanam)*.

The *tāluggbhādanivijjā* (the art of opening locks) enabled one to open locks, and was used by thieves. Cilāe, the robber-chief, recites the spell, sprinkles water on the eastern gate of Rāyagiḥa and opens it (*Ṇāyā*, p. 237). Each verse of the *Bhaktāmara stotra* of Mānatuṅga was claimed to break open a locked door.¹² A thief obtained this *vidyā*, also the *ākāsagāmini vidyā* (flying through the air) which he lost by telling a lie.¹³ The Jaina saint Pādalipta acquired the magical power of flying by applying medicinal ingredients to his feet.¹⁴ Vajra obtained this lore and the *Vaikriya* spell from some Jṛmbhaka gods.¹⁵ He transported the monks by his magic carpet (which flew through the air) from Northern India which had been dreadfully affected by famine.¹⁶ He was a *payānusāri*; by his magic power he could trace a missing word in a spell. Vidyādhara Hemakuṇḍala had lost the faculty of flying through the air; Dharāṇa traced for him the missing word,¹⁷ which restored to him the faculty.

11 *Deva-pañho, Kumāripañho* etc. in D. 1. 11=D.A. 1. 97; also the word *Devadāsi* in Jogimara Cave Ins., JBORS., vol. IX; *Proc. Fourth Oriental Con.*, vol. II, pp. 699 ff., *Pasiṇavijjā in Ṭhānāṅga* etc. 12 Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 80.

13 *Pārśva*, 8. 158, *Samarā*, p. 230. The Buddha condemned this as *uttarimanussa dhamma* in C.V., v. 8. 2.

14 Jhaveri—*Nirvāṇakalikā*. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, fn., p. 78; *Kaṭhakoṣa*, p. 95.

15 *Pari. C. XII*, Śls. 140-60. See *Samarā*, pp. 339, 413, 414; *Kupra*, p. 126; *Paumacaria*, 7, 144; *Ovaūiāya* for *nahagāmini, nahaṅgana° gayanagāmini, āgāsāuvāi; uyomagāmitā*. 16 *Pari. C. XII*, Śls. 375-88; Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

17 *Samarā*, p. 407; See also *Ova.*, *Br̥ha. 1; Paṇḍa*, 21.

Vikurva (Pkt. *Viuvva*) means 'to make by magic.' *Devas* and *Vyaṃtara* gods by their own divine power could assume any form. In *Uvāsagadasāo*, *Kāmadevavajjhaṇayam* a deva assumes the form of a *piśāca*, an elephant, a serpent, etc. to frighten Kāmadeva.

In *Upamiti* a *Vyaṃtara* god and his wife assumed respectively the form of *Mugdha* and his wife *Akuṭilā*. Magic spells and ointments enabled persons to assume or change forms (*rūvaparivattinī vijjā*).¹⁸ Two girls of exquisite loveliness were changed into camels by application of white collyrium, and restored to their original forms, by black collyrium. *Ṛṣidattā*, by a magic herb, became a man, and by another herb recovered her womanly form.¹⁹ Magic pools or places were reputed to have similar metamorphic virtue (in *Pari.*, *Pārśva*, etc.).

Manoharadatta gave his friend Sanatkumāra a magic shawl which rendered the wearer invisible (*Samarā*, p. 329). Caṇḍarudra had a magic pill named *paraditti-mohaṇī*, which would make one invisible even to the thousand-eyed Indra (*Samarā*, p. 428).

[Other examples are cited in *Kathā* (p. 103), *Pari.* (pp. 60, 61), *Kupra* (*adissikaraṇa-mantaṃ*, pp. 37-39). See *Sūyagadaṅgaṃ* (2.2. 15) for *antaddhāni vijjā*, and *Skt. Vikramorvaśī*, *Avimāra* (Act. IV), *Sakuntalā* (Act. VI), *Mṛcchakaṭikā* for *tiras-kariṇī vidyā*, and *Pāli Milindapañha* for *antardhānaṃ mūlaṃ*].

In *Ṇāyā*, *Poṭṭilā*, in order to regain her husband's lost affection, tries some remedies (pp. 186-87), viz. *Cuṇṇajoe vā mantajoe vā kammanajoye vā hiyauddāvane vā kāyauddāvane vā abbiogie vā vaṣikarane vā kouakamme vā bhūikamme vā mule kande challi valli siliyā vā guliya vā osabe vā.....* All these contrivances were for magically effecting *vaṣikaraṇa* (submission).²⁰ A miraculous herb healed all wounds (*Samarā*, pp. 415 ff., *Supā*, *Samrobinī mantra*).

Gems such as *Cintāmaṇī* had magic virtues (*Kupra*, p. 88; *Kummāputta*, śls. 72 ff.).

¹⁸ *Kupra*, pp. 126, 244, 336; *Supā*, p. 151. * ¹⁹ *Kathākośa*, pp. 130, 110.

²⁰ Cf. *Sarasundaricaria*, 8, 201; *Samarā*, p. 108; *Kupra*, p. 43; *Pañcāsaprakaraṇa*; *Vivāga*, 23; *Upamiti*, p. 185.

Serpent-lore (*sarpavidyā*), demonology (*devajanavidyā*) and magic (*māyā*, *asuravidyā*) are mentioned in *Śatapatha* (13.4.3). Disease was regarded as an evil spirit, hence a physician had to learn *bhūyavijjā* or the science of warding off evil spirits which is included in the *aṭṭhāṅgānuveda* read by Vejje Dhannantari in *Vivāga* (para. 134). Of course there were special spirit-doctors or medicine-men. Besides the comprehensive *jaṅgola* or *jaṅgoli-vijjā* (*Tṭhānaṅga*, 8), or the science of cure for poisons, *gāruḍamantra* was also learnt, which magically cured persons bitten by snakes, and even taken as dead and brought to the burning ground.²¹

The *Sūyagadaṃga* (2.2.15) mentions some occult sciences, which people acquired for attaining success, but which are condemned as evil sciences, the practice of which would but result in evil consequences. Some of these are—subhagākaraṃ, dubhagākaraṃ, gabbhākaraṃ, mohanakaraṃ, āhavvaṇiṃ pāgasāsaṇiṃ, dabbhahomaṃ, veyālīṃ, addhaveyālīṃ, osovaṇiṃ, tālugghādaṇiṃ, sovāgiṃ, sovaṇiṃ, dāmilīṃ, kāliṅgiṃ, gorīṃ, gandhārīṃ, ovayaṇiṃ, uppayaṇiṃ, jambhaṇiṃ, thambhaṇiṃ, lesaṇiṃ, āmayakaraṇiṃ, visallakaraṇiṃ, pakkamaṇiṃ, antaddhāṇiṃ, āyaminīṃ, i.e. "the art to make one happy or miserable, to make a woman pregnant, to deprive one of his wits, incantations, oblations of substances, the *vaitāli* and *ardhavaitāli* arts, the art of casting people to sleep, of opening doors, the art of Caṇḍālas, Śabaras, Draviḍas, Kālīngas, Gauḍas, Gandhāras; the spells for making somebody fall down, rise, yawn, or making him immovable, or cling to something, for making him sick or sound, making somebody go forth, disappear or come. They practise a wrong science."²² Jacobi explains, ".....the *Vaitāli* art teaches to raise a stick (? , perhaps to lay a punishment on somebody) by spells and *ardha-vaitāli* to remove it (the commentator Śīlaṅka says: *Vaitāli.....sā ca kila katibbirjapaib daṇḍaṃ utthāpayati tathā ardhavaitāli tameva upaśamayati*). In

21 *Supā*, pp. 217-19; *Kupra*, p. 140.

22 *SBE.*, vol. XLV., p. 366.

Pāli, *Vetālam* means the magic art of bringing dead bodies to life by spells.²³ *Sovagī* is *Svapāki* or belonging to Caṇḍālas who play an important part in magical and *tāntrik* rites. *Caṇḍālī* is mentioned in *Paumacaria* (7, 142) and *Māyaṃgī* in *Āvaśyakacūṛṇī*. The commentary (*contra*, Jacobi) renders *sovarim* as *Śāmbarī*, meaning sorcery. I am inclined to take this view, and connect it with Asura Śambara and regard it as *Asuravidyā*, *Māyā*, magic in the same way as *Pāgasāsani* is connected with *Pāgasāsana* or Indra (*indajāla vijjā*). Is *māyā* connected with Asura Maya? (see Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, trsln. of KSS., vol. IV). Jacobi takes *Gorī* to mean the art of Gauḍas, which to me seems doubtful. In the *Santikarastotra*, *Gorī* is a *Vidyādevī*, so also Gandhārī, Rohiṇī, Paṇṇatti (*Santi*, 5, 6) and all of them are mentioned together as *Vijjā*, *Mahāvijjā* in *Āvaśyaka* (pt. 1, p. 215).²⁴ *Gandhārī nāma vijjā* is mentioned at *D.* 1, 213 as a charm, also at *I.* IV, 498, where it renders one invisible. *Māyā* in the sense of *indrajāla* is mentioned in *Upadeśapada* (*gāthā*, 823). It was often shown as a didactic device for spiritual purposes.²⁵

Vidyādhara Cakrasena acquired a *mahāvijjā* (great spell) by practising austerities. He imparted to Sanatkumāra the spell Ajita-balā. But to acquire this the latter needed an assistant (*uttarasāhaya*) and had to go through *puvvasēvā* and *pacchāsēvā*. Descriptions are given in *Samarā*, *Pārśva*, *Upamiti* and *Supā* of the most horrible practices performed for the acquisition of spells at *peyavaṇa* (*masāṇa*) on dark Caturdaśī night, when *homa* is done, in which at the end of each recital of mantra (*vidyājāpa*) slices of flesh dripping with blood are cut off the back of persons (male or female) endowed with auspicious marks and thrown as *āhuti* into the fire-pit. If the *sādhaka* remains unperturbed by the dreadful apparitions created

23 *D.A.*, (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, i., p. 84,.....mantena mataśarirutthāpanamti). Cf. *Milinda*, p. 331, *indajālikā vetālikā*.

24 Cf. *Goripannatti* in *Kupra*, pp. 265-67.

25 *Supā*, p. 199; *Pārśva*, p. 46; *Samarā*, p. 486; *Upamiti*, p. 967, *Kupra*, pp. 133-6.

by the Vidyādevī herself, he acquires the spell. Yogis, Vidyādharaś, and Kāpālikas usually resorted to such practices; and many of them pretended to possess the supreme science of shaking the earth.²⁶

In *Samarā* (p. 330) a *Siddhaputra* (magician) makes by his spell, a beautiful *Yakṣakanyā* descend from the sky.²⁷

Goddesses *Kālī*, *Mahā Kālī* are also *Vidyādevīs*. In *Supā* there is mention of the *Morī Vijjā*; she is probably the famous *Māyurī* or *Mahāmāyurī Vidyā*.²⁸ Jayasawal in his *Imperial History of India* p. 18, (*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, śl. 492) says of Nāgārjuna that "he will possess Māyurīvidyā." Mora in *Deśi* means *Caṇḍāla*, *Śvapaca*; therefore *morī vijjā* is in effect the *Caṇḍālī* or *māyaṅgi vijjā*. The *Mātaṅga* connection seems to be very strong from Lévi's article²⁹ from which I am quoting: "(In Kuchean).....Kālī! Kālī! Mahā Kālī! (In Sanskrit) Homage to the Mātaṅgas, to the Mātaṅgikas... boys...girls...clan...family...ancients....Vidyādharaś....Viśvāmitra... Triśaṅka...Having worshipped I shall employ this Vidyā...Thā! hā!...Caṇḍī! Mahākārī! Māyurī...Vetālī! Citraketu! Prabhāsvarā! Ghorigandhurī! Caṇḍālī...Vegavāhini!...Who these Mātaṅgas are is evidenced by the mention of Triśaṅka Mātaṅgarāja along with Viśvāmitra Mātaṅgarāja. The Mātaṅgas are Caṇḍālas; therefore we are dealing here with those lowest forms of worship where untouchables are acting as priests. This is the same world where we are carried on the Buddhist side with the celebrated Mātaṅgi-sūtra, a Chinese translation of which dates as early as the end of the second century and another dates in the twenties of the third century....."

We find in the extract some of the *Vidyās* mentioned above, viz. *Kālī*, *Mahākālī*, *Vetālī*, *Māyurī*, *Caṇḍālī*. *Ghorigandhurī* may in all probability be *Gorī* and *Gandhārī*. There is a *Mātaṅgīśa* inscription

26 *Bhuvanakkhobaṇi vijjā*. Cf. Pāli, D. 1, 9; Db. i. 259, *bbūmicāla vijjā*.

27 Cf. *Śrī Guhyasamājantraṃ* (G.O.S., vol. LIII), Ch. XIV where *sarva-mantrākaraṇaṃ* attracts even *daitya-kanyā*, *Vidyādharamahākanyā* etc.

28 Cf. *Sādhana-mālā*, vol. II., pp. 407 ff.

29 *IHQ.*, vol. XII, pp. 198 ff. esp. pp. 201-02.

of Ādityavarman, king of Sumatra (1269 Śaka Era). Dr. B. R. Chatterji (in *India and Java*) says: ".....Mātangiṇī...means a girl of low caste who acts as Yoginī in the *Cakra*...Ādityavarman's queen was the daughter of a tribal headman....." M. Moens supposed her to be the Mātangiṇī of the inscription. In ch. XVIII of the *Guhyasamāja*, a Buddhist Tantrik work of the 3rd-4th century A.D., mention is made of *prajñābhīṣeka* or initiation of the disciple with *Prajñā* or *Śakti*.—an agreeable, beautiful girl, adept in the practice of *Yoga*—the *Vidyā*—belonging to the caste of Caṇḍāla, washerman, Nāṭa, Brahmakṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra, to be used as helping the *sādhaka*.³⁰ Magical practices, attainment of minor *siddhis*, such as *māraṇa*, *uccāṭana*, *vaśikaraṇa*, *stambhana*, *ākaraṇa* and *śānti* rites, are treated; also *mantras* for destroying enemies, compelling rain, reviving persons stung by snakes etc.

There is a reference to the art of entering another's body in *Parapurapraveśanīśedhe Vikramāditya-kathānakam* in *Kupra*. (pp. 437-40). Bloomfield has thoroughly treated the subject in *Proc. Ameri. Philo. Soc.* vol. LVI, 1927 and in *Pārśva*, pp. 74-83; see also Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, vol. IV. p. 46.

Saints know things by *manapajjava* (*manah paryāya*) or *avadhi* which cannot strictly be called magic. There is the *maṇapasīṇa-vijjā* which enables one to answer questions which one puts in his own mind without disclosing it (*Paṇha*. 2.1., *Ova.*), and may be regarded as thought-reading.

KATIPADA MITRA

Rudra-Śiva—as an Agricultural Deity

The great god Śiva appears in an interesting light in medieval Bengali literature. He is represented as a cultivator who ploughs his fields, sows seeds, takes out weeds, cuts grass and binding it into a sheaf, carries it home on his head. While he thus works hard on his land like a humble farm lad we should not suppose that he has forgotten his own divine origin. At his command Viśvakarmā, the divine architect, hastens to prepare a golden plough and a golden sickle for his use and Indra, the mighty king of heaven, hastens to pour down water from the clouds to irrigate his lands. The poets are careful to explain why Śiva has to take to agriculture. He is rather an impecunious god. In truth, mendicancy is his only means of subsistence. The miserable condition of his household is further aggravated by his fondness for drugs and low company. Domestic quarrels naturally break out often, in these circumstances, and in these quarrels the poor old god is worsted by his young wife. His misery arouses deep pity in the heart of a devotee who requests the god to take to agriculture,—to sow paddy so that he may have food, and cotton so that he may not have to go naked or wear skins for want of cloth.¹ There are different accounts. In another account it is Pārvatī, Śiva's wife, who persuades her husband to take to agriculture and sends him to Indra for grant of a suitable land for cultivation. After he has received from Indra such lands as he wanted he is in difficulty about implements and bullocks. Viśvakarmā makes him a plough and a goad from his trident and Pārvatī advises him to yoke his own ox and her vehicle, tiger, to the plough. This he does and ploughs his fields with the help of Bhīma and sows paddy etc.²

1 *Śūnya Purāṇa* by Ramai Pandita, D. C. Sen, *Vaṅga Sāhitya Paricaya* (Cal. Univ.), pt. I, pp. 112 ff.

2 *Dharma-Pūjā Vidhāna* by Ramai Pandita, edited by N. G. Banerjee (*Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*) pp. 227 ff.

Śiva is also spoken of in some part of this literature as the garden-keeper of Dharma.³ In the half-Buddhistic and half-Sīvaite Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals which appear to have originated at an early date and must have preceded Ramai Paṇḍita's work, there are references to the agricultural rôle of Śiva. On the day of Ahara Pūjā, a feature common to both Gambhīrā and Gājana festivals, cultivation by Śiva is represented by the *bhaktas* or devotees before the spectators. In the Vandanā or salutation ceremony verses are recited containing references to cultivation by Śiva.⁴ In the later Bengali literature this rôle of Śiva disappears. Curiously enough, an elaborate account of cultivation by Śiva appears in the work of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭācārya who lived as late as the first half of the 18th century. The language of this poet is archaic and it seems that his work is, in a large measure, a collection of old folk songs about Śiva. In the same literature in which Śiva appears as a cultivator there is another feature in the representation of Śiva to which reference has been made and which gradually rose into prominence as the conception of cultivator Śiva faded. He is a typical vagabond god as well as a god of vagabonds. One poet calls him *Bādiyār Po* i.e. son of a Bēdiyā, a well-known, wandering gypsy tribe in India. He is also called *Bhāṅgara* (i.e. addicted to *bhāṅg*), *Bāul* (i.e. a wandering mendicant singer), *Pāgala* (i.e. crazy).⁵ He keeps low company and his partiality for Koch women is notorious.

From the above we find that Śiva appears mainly in two aspects in the medieval Bengali literature and folk-songs and festivals—a cultivator god and a mendicant, crazy, a god of the lowly. Of these two conceptions, that of the cultivator god is the earlier. We propose in the present essay to enquire into the origin of this cultivator god

3 *Dharma-Pūjā Vidhāna* by Ramai Pandita, edited by N. G. Banerjee (*Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*) pp. 227 ff.

4 See *Ādyaer Gambhīrā* by Haridas Palit (Jātiya Śikṣā Samiti, Malda) and *Folk Elements in Hindu Culture* by Benoy K. Sarkar, pp. 57, 90.

5 *IAS*, vol. 1, 3, pp. 181 f.; D. C. Sen, *Vaṅga Sāhitya Paricaya*.

of the lowly rustics and for this purpose we shall examine, first, some instances of the worship of Śiva in Brahmanical society and then in non-Brahmanical society that is, among the semi-Hinduised tribes, and tribal peoples and next examine some of the references to Rudra-Śiva in the early literature. It should be added that we do not propose to consider sectarian worship of Śiva, that is, his esoteric worship by the Śaiva sects.

In Brahmanical Society

Non-sectarian worship is offered to Śiva as a household or family god, an *iṣṭa-devatā* or deity specially revered by a particular person or a *grāma-devatā* (village deity). Apart from general worship of Śiva in any of these forms special worship is also offered to him in Bengal and other provinces for such specific purposes as obtaining of offspring and cure of diseases, mainly chronic, while special worship of Śiva by young unmarried girls for obtaining suitable husbands appears to be confined to Bengal. The worship of a local form of Śiva known as *Peñco* (পেঁচো) connected with infantile disease is existent in Bengal. The only instance of the worship of Śiva which may be brought into indirect connection with agriculture is reported from Sylhet where Śiva is worshipped in the cattle-shed for the purpose of protection of cattle.⁶

Śiva-worship among semi-Hinduised Tribes and Tribal peoples

Among Jashpur Kiṣāṇs each village has two or more sacred groves one of which is sacred to Mahādeo who is specially invoked at the festival of harvest home.⁷ An effigy of a man is sacrificed annually before Mahādeo by the tribes living near Lohar'daga for rain and plentiful harvest. A similar offering is made by the Gonds

6 Folk Customs and Folklore of Sylhet District by P. Bhattacharya (*Man in India*, vol. X, 2-4, p. 261).

7 Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 132.

to Baradeo.⁸ Baradeo appears to be variant of, Mahādeo. On the occasion of the Arwa or Kharway, that is, harvest home festival, the Binjhias offer a sacrifice to Mahādeo, the Baiga officiating.⁹ Among the Biyārs two stone pillars representing Dhārti-Mahādeva are propitiated when harvest is gathered, with burnt offerings. Vows are also made to them by people in trouble.¹⁰ To Bhairo and seven sisters who scatter cholera, small-pox, cattle-plague, etc. a rude shrine is erected by the Rautias in the centre of every village consisting of a raised plinth covered by a thatched or tiled roof. The god and his sisters are represented by small mounds of earth.¹¹ The Rajputana Bhils worship Bābā Deo who has his seat at Deogarh Bariya in Rewa Kantha Agency at the time of harvest home.¹² The function of Dārwa Gosain worshipped by the Māls of Rajmahal is that of the guardian deity of village or its gate-keeper.¹³ He seems to be allied to Dārḥā of the Oraons who is connected with agriculture.¹⁴ Bir-nātha is worshipped by the Āhirs as a protector of cattle. Occasional vows are also made to him in sickness and distress. Worship is offered in the morning when the cattle are sent to jungle in hot weather.¹⁵ Crooke is inclined to think that this cult has been borrowed from the Kols. But the fact that the cult obtains among the Āhirs who are Hindus and among Hinduised tribes as also the fact that Birnātha is regarded as a protector of cattle tend to show that he is probably a local form of Mahādeva.

The name Nattan Kāl is given in the Tamil country to a post set up and worshipped in a nuptial booth as well as a small stone set

8 Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 259.

9 Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 136.

10 Crooke, *Tribes and Caste of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. 2, pp. 136-37.

11 Risley, *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 203.

12 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Provincial Series—Rajputana, p. 88.

13 Risley, *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 58.

14 Dalton, *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

15 Crooke, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 63.

up at the entrance of a village. Bishop Whitehead is of opinion that the Nattan Kāl set up in wedding booth may represent the spirit who presides over the procreation of children and may possibly be a phallic emblem.¹⁶ Iyyappan or Saṣṭha according to Mr. Iyer¹⁷ is believed to be the supreme god among the non-Aryan aborigines in South India. He is the chief of the *bhūtas* and is identified in this respect with Śiva. He is the favourite god of the lower castes in the rural parts in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin and is represented as riding with a sword in hand, clearing the country of all obnoxious spirits. According to the popular legend of origin, Saṣṭha is the result of the union of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the form of Mohini. Mr. Iyer thinks that this is a piece of invention of the Brahmin priesthood to destroy the old idea of non-Aryan gods which still influences the masses. "As people especially the Śūdras and lower castes were largely agricultural and fond of hunting and they had to live and work in forests they began the propitiation of this deity for protection against demons and illness." This Iyyappan is also known as Iyenār or Ayenārappan in the Tamil country.¹⁸ He stands in the open under a tree with clay images of horses, elephants, dogs and warriors (*vīras*). In Vandipaliam, Cuddalore, when animals and fowls are sacrificed, a bottle of arrack, a pot of toddy, some cheroots, some gāñjā and opium and dried fish are presented to the god. After recovery from sickness or to commemorate any piece of good fortune the villagers place fresh clay horses round his shrine. Every year after harvest time a festival is held in his honour when animals are sacrificed and the images of the god are drawn about the village streets on rude clay horses.¹⁹ A deity called Muni is worshipped by the Eravallens in Cochin in order to protect cattle and to have

16 Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, pp. 41, 42.

17 L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, pp. 1, 312-313.

18 Whitehead, *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

19 Monier Williams, *Religious Thoughts and Life in India*, pt. I, pp. 220 f.

a good harvest. “Kāli and Muni are worshipped in forests. Offerings are made to Kāli and Muni when the tribe plough and sow and reap. They protect corn from destruction by wild beasts.”²⁰ The same god is also worshipped by the Pulluvans and by the Kaniyanas for protection of cattle.²¹ From his association with Kāli and connection with agriculture and cattle as well as from his name it may be reasonably inferred that Muni is a variant of Śiva.

Thus, Mahādeva and various other local gods whom it is possible to affiliate to him either on account of their names or similarity of functions or association with certain deity or deities are connected with agriculture, cure of illness and protection of cattle. They are also connected, though in a lesser degree, with protection from wild beasts and the function of a guardian deity of village or its gate-keeper. The clearly local character of these gods and their worship is shown by the animal sacrifices (including vicarious human sacrifice) offered to them and by the fact that the officiating priest is invariably a tribesman.

In the R̥gveda

We shall have now to direct our investigation into the ancient literature. The R̥gvedic Rudra is a fierce, wrathful, malevolent god.²² He is a ‘destroyer and is connected with death.’²³ He is also the best among physicians and distributes medicines.²⁴ He is Paśupa or protector of cattle.²⁵

In the Later Vedas and Vedic Literature

Rudra is clothed in skins and dwells in mountains.²⁶ He is the lord of pilferers and robbers.²⁷ He is called Paśupati.²⁸ He is

²⁰ Iyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

²² *R̥g Veda*, 11, 33. 9, 11.

²⁴ *R̥v. vii.* 46. 2.; 11. 33. 2, 12

²⁶ *Vāj. Samhitā*, 3. 61.

²⁸ *Vs.* 39, 8

²¹ Iyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

²³ *R̥v.* 1. 114. 7, 8, 10.

²⁵ *R̥v.* 1, 114. 9.

²⁷ *Vs.* 16, 18, 28.

connected with the Vrātyas or outcastes, serpents, birds of evil omens and howling dogs.²⁹ Direct mention of his name is to be avoided.³⁰ Offerings are prescribed to Rudra for the sake of cattle.³¹ Rudra's hosts the gaṇas attack men with death and disease and to appease them the bloody entrails of victims are offered in sacrifice.³² Obeisance and prayer to Rudra are prescribed for safety in the course of journey by a man and also when a man comes to a place where four roads meet or crosses a river or enters a forest.³³ The sacrifice of a bull to Rudra to appease him (the Sūlagava sacrifice) is mentioned in many of the Gṛhya Sūtras.³⁴ This sacrifice is to be performed in a cattle-shed for averting cattle disease. Rudra dwells among cattle as well as among serpents.³⁵ Rudra is thus a terrible god having connection with wilderness, cemeteries, mountains, old trees etc., i.e., with dangerous places and inauspicious things and with thieves, outcastes, Niṣādas, etc. In the Upaniṣads the conception of Rudra-Siva is provided with a philosophical basis. Rudra-Sivas's connection with yoga appears in some of the later Upaniṣads, e.g., *Atharvaśiras*, *Śvetāśvetara*.

To sum up: In the *R̥gveda* Rudra is a malevolent god of death and destruction and at the same time a benevolent physician who cures diseases with his healing remedies. He is also connected with cattle, though this connection is not prominent. In the later Vedic literature his malevolence increases, his connection with cattle receives prominence and though his connection with diseases is maintained his healing power is almost forgotten. His connection with forests and trees receives some attention. He deposited his weapons on trees. When a man came near an old tree specific for-

29 *Atharva Veda*, xvii, liii, 26, 27; xi, 2, 2, 11; xi, 2, 30.

30 *Ait. Br.*, ii, 34, 7.

31 *Pañcaviṃ. Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 9. 18.

32 *Gṛhya Sūtra Saṅkṣ.* 4. 19

33 *PGS.* 11. 15. 7 f.; *HGS.* 1. 18. 8 f.

34 *AGS.* IV. 8. 9, 40 *PGS.* III. 8. etc.

³⁵*GS.* I. 5. 16.

mulae in his honour had to be recited. It has been suggested^{35a} that the suspension on trees of the offerings at the Tryambak offering of the Śrauta ritual is probably a vegetation or tree ritual.³⁶ He also appears in the midst of new surroundings, such as, hills, forests, deserted places, outcastes, thieves, vāgabonds, savages clothed in animal skins, serpents, demons, etc. The picture is that of a sombre, malevolent, inauspicious, disreputable god.

In the Epic

In the *Mahābhārata* the more popular names of Rudra are Śiva, Mahādeva, Śaṅkara, Paśupati, etc. He is as of old, connected with death and disease. The battle-ground of death is his playground.³⁷ His wrath produces fever.³⁸ He is connected with serpents and his ornaments are Nāgas worn as earrings and girdle, his clothes are of snake-skin. He dispels fear of snakes. His connection with cattle continues.³⁹ The bull, his favourite animal in Śūlagava sacrifice, becomes his vehicle. Low company still delights him. When Arjuna worshipped Paśupati in the Himālayas for obtaining the Pāśupat weapon he appeared before Arjuna in the form of a Kīrāta. His outlandish characteristics are recognised when he is given such names as Kumbhakarṇa, Śaṅkukarṇa Gokarṇa, etc.⁴⁰ He is Gaṇakartā, Gaṇapati.⁴¹ He wears tiger-skin.⁴² He is Nīśacara, Pretacāri, Bhūtacāri.⁴³ He is almost a rākṣasa having a distorted face, sword-like tongue and taste for raw flesh. In fact, he is greedy of flesh as a jackal.⁴⁴ Being a god

35a *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, IV. 5. 10, 11.

36 A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, vol. 31, p. 146, fn. 5; Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 106 ff.

37 *MBh.* Droṇa P., ch. 18.

38 *MBh.* Śānti P., ch. 282.

39 *MBh.* Anuśāsana P., ch. 14.

40 *MBh.* Śānti P., ch. 287.

41 *MBh.* Anuś. P., ch. 17.

42 *MBh.* Droṇa P., ch. 201.

43 *MBh.* Anuś. P., ch. 17.

44 *MBh.* Śānti P., ch. 284, cf. Saup. P. ch. 6.

of the outcastes the god had himself lost caste among the gods. When asked why he had not invited Maheśvara to his sacrifice Daṣa said,—I know the eleven Rudras but I do not know who Maheśvara is.⁴⁵ He tells his consort that following the old custom, the gods did not assign him any share in sacrifice.⁴⁶

Manifold are the new attributes that are given him. He is a sort of incantation god⁴⁷ fond of dancing and music.⁴⁸ He is an ascetic and a Yogī.⁴⁹ He is a giver of offspring. Thus he grants Kṛṣṇa the boon of a worthy son. To Anasūyā, wife of Atri, he granted the boon of a son.⁵⁰ The most important new fact in connection with Rudra-Sīva in the epic is his worship in the phallic emblem.

The epic gives him several epithets which are indicative of his association with trees. Thus he is described as *Nyāgrodharūpo nyāgrodha* etc. Again *Vṛkṣākāro vṛkṣaketu* etc.⁵¹ He is *Gavāmpati* as well as *Vṛkṣānām pati* and *Vanaspatinām pati*.⁵² As a forest-god it is natural enough that these epithets should be given to Rudra Sīva. But there are other epithets which show him in the light of a giver of food. He is the creator of food, giver of food, lord of food.⁵³ As a giver of food he comes to be connected with the process by which food is produced. He takes care of the seed and the field and is the creator of both *Vijakṣetrābhīpālāya* etc.⁵⁴ His connection with vegetation is clearly brought out when it is stated that the plants (auśadhi) were produced from him.⁵⁵

Nearly all the old attributes of Rudra remain to the epic Rudra-Sīva but they pale into insignificance before the

45 *MBh. Śānti P.*, ch. 282

46 *Ibid.*

47 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, chs. 14, 17.

48 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, ch. 17, *Śānti P.*, ch. 283.

49 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, ch. 17 *Droṇa P.*, ch. 201.

50 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, ch. 14.

51 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, ch. 17.

52 *MBh. Droṇa P.*, ch. 201.

53 *MBh. Śānti P.*, ch. 284.

54 *MBh. Anuś. P.*, ch. 14.

55 *Ibid.*

multiplicity of the new attributes that are given him; the new god is vastly more important than the old god. Among his more important new attributes are his power to grant offspring, his asceticism and yoga, his assumption of the *liṅga*-form and his connection with vegetation; among his old attributes which are not forgotten but which are relegated to the background are his connection with cattle and his healing power. Rudra-Śiva is no longer an inauspicious, injurious god, he is Śiva i.e. auspicious, Mahādeva and Maheśvara, the great god.

In the Purāṇas

No notice is taken in the Purāṇas of this connection of Rudra-Śiva with vegetation while the other aspects of his character are accentuated with this difference that his fearful attributes are transferred to his consort who already comes into prominence in the epic. The food-giving attribute is also taken away from him and transferred to his consort as a virtue more appropriately adorning a female. In fact, the emergence of the worship of the *Liṅga* into prominence in the epic so effectually cast into shade other affiliations of Śiva that it is not surprising that his unimportant connection with agriculture should be lost sight of in the Purāṇas.

Conclusion

In the medieval Bengali literature Śiva is, as we have seen, a cultivator-god, but he is not a vague, impersonal lord of fields and seeds, of forests and trees and of food but a real cultivator driving the plough, turning up the soil, sowing seeds, weeding fields, returning home with a headload of grass after a day's work. He is not a divinity worshipped from distance for increasing the fertility of the soil or prayed to grant bumper crops or keep away pests but a personal, anthropomorphic god actively engaged in agriculture. Such a conception of god is quite early, certainly pre-Epic and apparently

pre-Vedic. As this cultivator-Siva first comes to notice in a literature of which the earliest date cannot be earlier than the 10th century, it must be clearly assumed that the worship of this god prevailed among a people who had no use for vague, impersonal gods, who did not understand gods who were removed from their everyday concerns. That such was the fact is proved by the evidence of medieval and later Bengali literature. He appears definitely as a god of rustics, vagabonds, low-caste people and despised outcasts living on the fringe of respectable society. He recalls associations of vagabond gipsy, mendicants, crazy minstrels, half-savage tribes etc. There are, thus, two aspects of the medieval Bengal Siva,—he was a rustic, cultivator-god and a half-mad mendicant god of the lower folk. It is this hali-mad mendicant god taking active interest in agriculture that holds the imagination of rural Bengal and is sung in folk-songs. He is the god of all, high and low. No barrier of caste restrictions exists in his worship.

The malevolent, destroying Rudra and the benevolent, healing Rudra of the *R̥gveda*, apparently a syncretism of different deities cannot probably be the prototype of this rustic cultivator Siva. The vagabond god of the hills and forests and of the Vrātyas and skin-clothed savages of the later Vedas has some features in common with him. Rudra has, however, pronounced inauspicious, sinister associations and demoniacal features in the later Vedic literature and this aspect of Rudra can be traced to the *R̥gveda*. The vagabond Rudra is not only a god later than the sinister Rudra but also different from him. An important point which requires to be noted is that Rudra's connection with vegetation appears in the Sūtra period. The evidence of both, *Śrauta* and *Gr̥hya-Sūtras* proves that this aspect of Rudra was regarded as of some importance. In the epic this connection with vegetation is further developed. From being the lord of forests and trees, origin of plants, creepers, grass and giver of fruits and flowers he comes to taking care of fields and

seeds. Next, he is conceived of as the lord and giver of food. The sectarian spirit of the staunch Śivaite is already apparent in the epic in the discourses of the sage Upamanyu. It is, however, curious to note that even a fiery propagator of liṅga-worship like Upamanyu who initiated Kṛṣṇa into his favourite cult should ask from Mahādeva such a boon as rice and milk in plenty. As we do not find any pre-epic connection of Rudra with agriculture, though connection with vegetation or vegetation-spirit may be inferred, it is a plausible hypothesis that there was a local god of agriculture who syncretised with the epic Mahādeva with a considerable loss of local features and that it is in this unknown local god that we should try to find the cultivator-Śiva of medieval Bengal. He has, however, other pronounced features which lend strong support to the view that the cultivator-Śiva in both his aspects, that is, a cultivator and a mendicant, half-mad god, may have been derived from the epic Mahādeva. It has been seen that the cultivator-god of medieval Bengal is also a god of the lowly, a mendicant, crazy god who dances and sings. The epic, gives Mahādeva such epithets as *unmādaḥ* (crazy),⁵⁶ *bbikṣukaḥ*⁵⁷ (mendicant), and represents him as having dishevelled hair,⁵⁸ clothed in rags⁵⁹ etc. These are curious epithets for a god who is identified with the highest spirit of the yogīs and who grants boons to and orders all other gods including Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā! This mendicant crazy Mahādeva of the epic, essentially a god of the lowly rustics was, it would appear, the source or copy of the medieval Bengal Śiva in one of the two forms, namely, the crazy, mendicant god of the lowly and the rustic cultivator god. This wandering, crazy god of the lowly appears to have an unbroken tradition from the times of the *Yajur Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*. This tradition was embodied

56 *MBh. Op. cit.*, Anuś. P., ch. 17.

58 *MBh. Śānti P.*, ch. 284.

57 *MBh. Ibid.*

59 *MBh. Droṇa P.*, ch. 201.

in Rudra in pre-epic times in Śiva in Epic and Purāṇic times and in Bholā Maheśvara or Budo-Śiva in medieval Bengal. In the non-sectarian special worship of Śiva in Brahmanical society we find no trace of this cultivator, mendicant god. Among semi-Hinduised tribes and tribal peoples, is worshipped a number of local gods whom we have affiliated to Śiva for the following reasons:—

- (1) On account of their names which may be brought into connection with one or other of the various names under which Śiva is known.
- (2) Similarity of their functions with the functions attributed to Śiva, and
- (3) Association with deities having known connection with Śiva.

On an examination of their various attributes the following results are obtained:

- (1) Connection with agriculture
- (2) Cure of maladies
- (3) Protection of cattle
- (4) Removal of such pests as wild beasts which attack men and cattle and destroy crops
- (5) Keeping watch over a village as its guardian deity or gate-keeper.

Of these, curing of maladies and protection of cattle are early traits; removal of pests is connected partly with agricultural aspect and partly with the aspect of a guardian deity. Of all the attributes mentioned above connection with agriculture and diseases is more in evidence. Offerings are made to the god at harvest, and animals and such birds as 'fowls, pigeons etc. are sacrificed. In two instances, human effigies are sacrificed, clearly a substitute for actual human sacrifice. The purpose of such sacrifice is to get seasonal rains and rich crops. Animal sacrifices were offered to Rudra in the Sūtra period not for crops but for

prevention of cattle-plague, and raw flesh-eating is a trait of epic Rudra-Śiva who as a Kāpālī also appears to be connected with human sacrifice. It is obvious, however, that the Mahādeva worshipped at harvest with animal sacrifices cannot be the rustic cultivator-god; his conception indicates a more developed notion of the deity, more akin to the epic lord of food who takes care of fields and seeds.

We are inclined, therefore, to the view that the cultivator-Śiva may have been partly derived from a local god of agriculture and food who syncretised with the epic Mahādeva, but it is more probable that this aspect of the epic god was a development of the connection with vegetation which he inherited from the Vedic Rudra. We are, further, inclined to the view that the other aspect of the cultivator-Śiva namely, the aspect of crazy, mendicant god of the lowly, is also derived from the old Vedic Rudra. This being the more prominent aspect, embodying an old, uninterrupted tradition, we are persuaded that in the medieval Bengal Śiva we see the old, wandering god of the outcaste and semi-savage tribes of the Śatarudriya hymns of the *Atharva Veda* and the Mahādeva of the epic; his intensely realistic agricultural aspect was probably a local development under the special conditions of medieval, rural Bengal, the basic tradition having been derived from the Vedic Rudra connected with vegetation and the epic Śiva connected with vegetation, food and the process of production of food.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

The Soma Plant

Many attempts have been made to identify the Soma plant of the Vedic literature. The plant is not indigenous to the plains of the Punjab, its description is meagre, and there has been no Soma sacrifice during the last two millenaries. The word 'Soma' primarily denoted the moon, and secondarily the plant. But the Vedic scholars of the West took it to mean the plant only and descriptions which are appropriate to the moon were wrongly applied to the plant. This confusion gave a wrong lead to the botanists. Again, many scholars were misled by the name Soma which was applied in later times to several plants. Some, with Sāyaṇa, took it to be Soma-latā, a climbing plant having milky juice. Others insisted on the unwarranted assumption of fermentation to which they thought the Soma drink was subjected.

It will be shown that the Soma plant is the present Bhaṅgā, the Hemp plant, the *Cannabis sativa* of the botanists.¹

Bhaṅgā

The Bhaṅgā plant is an erect annual, growing to a height of three or four feet or more preferring loamy soil and moderate rainfall and temperature. Leaves are divided so as to resemble the hand with three, five or seven fingers. Flowers are without petals. Male and female flowers are borne on separate plants. The female plant produces seed as small as Arhar seed (*Cajanus*). The seed is an article of diet and an useful oil is expressed from it. The inner

¹ I am indebted to late Mr. Brajalal Mukherjee, M.A., M.R.A.S. for the suggestion that Soma might be *Cannabis sativa*. He wrote and published in Calcutta in 1922 a small pamphlet on the Soma plant. The information collected is valuable but unfortunately incomplete and the evidence unconvincing. Besides the author like others laboured under the confusion arising from the double denotation of the word Soma.

bark of the plant yields a strong fibre, fit for strings and ropes, and a coarse cloth, canvas, is woven. The green leaves develop a narcotic principle for which they are used in preparing an intoxicating drink called Bhāṅg. The dried flowering tops of cultivated female plants form Gānjā which intoxicates when smoked dry.

Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu, the earliest dictionary of Indian medicine compiled before 500 A.C., describes the drug as antiphlegmatic, heating, exciting, intoxicating, bitter, constipating, digestive, causing appetite and talkativeness, and inducing sleep and hallucination. Its names are Vijayā, Bhaṅgī, Gaṇjīkīnī, etc.

The original home of Bhaṅgā is believed to be Central Asia from which it spread to the east, west and south. Hooker included North-Western Himalayas in the habitat and Sir George Watt was inclined to this view. But other botanists disputed it, and the Hemp Drugs Commission in their Report (1893-94) were of the opinion that the plant is not indigenous to India. But this fact does not affect our problem. For they say that the wild growth is prevalent throughout the Himalayas from Kashmir to the extreme east of Assam, disappearing at an altitude higher than 10,000 feet. It extends down the southern slopes of the mountain into the Punjab and the Gangetic plain to a limited extent. (*Report*, p. 33). The seed germinates at the elevation of Simla in May and June and the plant ripens in six or seven months.

The Bhāṅg leaves have to be collected just before the flowering of the plant, or the narcotic will be nearly absent. They also deteriorate with age. The seeds lose the germinating power quickly. Further, every plant is not capable of developing the narcotic, which is found in a class growing in a particular climate and soil.

Bhaṅgā and Śaṇa

It is well-known that (1) one and the same plant may have more than one name, and (2) one and the same name may denote

more than one plant. In Sanskrit each name is derived from some particular character of the plant, and since the same character may be present in more than one species the same name is applied to all. This is a fruitful source of confusion. When the plant is common enough, tradition ensures its identification. But it does not follow that it is known by the same name everywhere. For instance, the common tree *Ficus religiosa* is known as *Aśvattha* in Bengal, but as *Pipal* in Northern India.

The *Amarakośa*, the earliest Sanskrit lexicon extant (300 A.C., United Provinces) mentions *Bhaṅgā*, and *Mātulāni* as its synonym. In his commentary *Kṣīrasvāmī* (1100 A.C. Central Provinces) explains it by saying that it has no equal. This is not satisfactory. The word 'Mātula' denotes the *Dhutura* plant (*Datura*) which was known to be an intoxicant. It seems probable the word *Mātulāni* also meant an intoxicant, this being the female form of the word *Mātula*. *Kṣīrasvāmī* adds that *Bhaṅgā* is also a name of *Śaṇa*. *Sarvānanda*, another commentator (1200 A.C. Bengal) accepts this synonym and remarks that *Bhaṅgā* is well-known in Kashmir, and that its fruit is like that of the field-pea. *Hemacandra* (1200 A.C. Deccan) removes the doubt by giving *Śaṇam* as one of the three names of *Cannabis*, the other two being *Mātulāni* and *Bhaṅgā*.

In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (800 A.C. Assam) is enjoined the offering of *Bhaṅgā* along with other food grains to *Durgā* (70.21). There is also mention of *Śaṇa* cloth, in the same *Purāṇa* (69.6). Here *Bhaṅgā* is the seed and *Śaṇa* the fibre plant.

This distinction was not maintained everywhere as shown above. The name *Śaṇa* was used both for the seed and fibre plant under cultivation. Thus the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (I. 6.22) enumerates *Śaṇaḥ* (masculine) as one of the seventeen food crops of villages. *Kṣīrasvāmī* also mentions under the word *Vrihi* (summer rice) seventeen *dhānyas*, foodgrains, one of which is *Śaṇa*. The word also

denoted the intoxicating Bhāṅg. Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa* (15.37) forbids the offering of Śaṇa and Dhuturā to the Fathers, evidently because they are intoxicants.

In Caraka, the earliest medical work (1000 B.C. to 200 A.C., Punjab), the flower of Śaṇa is said to be constipating (I. 27.78). Its seed is prescribed in chronic diarrhoea (VI. 19.54).

In Suśruta, another standard medical work (500 B.C. to 500 A.C. Bihar) the leaf of Śaṇa is said to be constipating (I. 46.259). Its flower is also mentioned (I. 46.298). Śaṇa thread is used as ligature (I.25). To prevent aging one is advised to eat with milk the fruit of Śaṇa which has been cooked with milk (IV. 27.11).

The fruits of *Cannabis* become agglutinated with the resinous narcotic which becomes responsible for their intoxicating property. The seed is, however, largely consumed in India in various forms on account of its oil just like the poppy seed. In Persia the seed is called Shāhdānāh, 'Emperors' seed,' by reason of its containing the narcotic. There is thus not the least doubt that the Śaṇa of Caraka and Suśruta is *Cannabis*.

In his *Arthaśāstra* Kauṭilya (400 B.C., Bihar) produced poisonous smoke in warfare by burning many ingredients, one of which was Bhāṅga (XIV. 2). It is worth noticing that the word used is Bhāṅga, and not Bhaṅgā. Bhāṅga or Bhāṅg is the vernacular form of Sanskrit Bhaṅgā.

Kauṭilya mentions also Śaṇa as a fibre-yielding plant of forests (II.17). Among other fibrous plants of forests Atasi (*Linum*) was one, though it was largely cultivated for its fibre (flax) and seed (linseed). The grammarian Pāṇini (400 B.C., Punjab) gives rules for deriving words to denote fields under Śaṇa and Umā (a name of Atasi). In the *Amarakośa* both are denoted as cultivated plants. It is therefore certain that Kauṭilya meant by Śaṇa wild *Cannabis* used for extracting fibre. Probably his Bhāṅga was a cultivated plant. In the Pāli *Vinaya-piṭaka* (*Mahāvagga* 8.3.1)

are mentioned fabrics made of Śaṇa and Bhaṅgā fibres. Following Kauṭilya we have no hesitation in taking Śaṇa as a form of *Cannabis*. Similarly the Śaṇa thread and fabric mentioned by Manu (II. 41) were prepared from the fibres of the same plant.

In current language the word Śaṇaḥ (masculine) denotes the well-known fibrous plant, *Crotalaria juncea*. But its seed is not edible and its fibre is too stiff to be used in wearing cloth. Besides, the word does not occur in this sense in the *Amarakośa* and *Dhanvantarī*. The plant is believed to be indigenous to India, but is not wildy grown. It was, however, known to them. For they mention a plant named Śaṇa-puṣpī, 'having flowers like those of Śaṇa' which is undoubtedly *Crotalaria*. It seems certain that the name Śaṇa was applied to *Crotalaria* on account of its possessing fibre like that of Śaṇa or *Cannabis*. *Rājanighaṇṭu*, a late medical dictionary, mentions this Śaṇa as an emetic.

Śana and Soma

The *Arthaśāstra* speaks of forests of Brahma-soma given to Brahmins and to ascetics (II. 2), so it is evident that there were forests of such Soma in 400 B.C. They were not far away from villages (III. 9). The empire for whose welfare the work was composed extended from the Punjab to Bihar. As the Soma plant was usually found in mountainous regions the forests of Soma might be in the sub-montane tracts of the Himalayas from the Punjab to Bihar. Brahmins were forbidden from drinking any kind of alcoholic liquor. There was no restriction to Soma. From Manu (III. 180) and Yājñavalkya (I. 223) it appears that there were Brahmin vendors of Soma drink. Bearing these facts in mind it is inconceivable that forests of wild growth of Soma disappeared altogether from their former situation. No cultivation was necessary

to save the plant from extinction. The probability is that the plant has been and is there under a different name.

The words bhaṅgā and bhaṅgī are feminine forms of bhaṅga. It occurs in the *ṚV.* (IX. 61. 13). Prof. Macdonell takes it as an epithet of Soma, "presumably in the sense of intoxicating." (*Vedic Index*). Hence, the word bhaṅga would be a synonym of Soma, and Soma C a n n a b i s.

In the *Śukla Yajurveda* (IV. 10) *mekhala*, the girdle, is described as the tying front knot of Soma. The stuff is not mentioned. But the point is, Soma cannot be made into a knot unless there was fibre in the plant. This is an important question. In the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (VI. 1.1) Soma is said to be the deity of the linen garment and its body. This shows that Soma yielded a textile fibre like that of Kṣauma (linen). In the *Atharvaveda* (II. 4) Śaṇaḥ (masculine) is a fibrous plant as well as a remedy against Viṣkandha, a kind of rheumatism. Whitney translates the passage: "Let both the hemp (Śaṇaḥ) and *jāngida* defend me from the Viṣkandha: the one brought from the forest, the other from the juices (*rasa*) of ploughing." Here Śaṇa is taken to be a forest plant. But Sāyaṇa takes the opposite view. According to him Śaṇa was a cultivated plant and furnished the string to tie *jāngida* with as an amulet. He seems to be right. Śaṇa was a cultivated plant for fibre in the time of the *Atharvaveda*. It furnished fibre for cloth in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

There is a passage in the *Atharvaveda* in which the words Soma and Śaṇa occur together. But we have seen that Kauṭilya had Brahma-Soma or Soma, Śaṇa and Bhāṅga, the names of the three forms of the same plant.

The word 'Soma' is derived from the root *sū*, to bring forth. Soma, the moon, brings forth *amṛta*, ambrosia for the gods. So does Soma the plant for men. The process of production is *abbhisava*, a word derived from the same root. The word, bhaṅga, comes from the root *bhanj*, to break. Bhaṅga breaks sameness. It is a wave, a

flow of speech, a wit. But what is Śaṇa? Its etymology is unknown. The *Ś.Br.* (III. 4.3.13) says that "the body of Soma is the same as the mountains and rocks; thereon grows that plant called Uśānā, so said Śvetaketu-Auddālaki, that they bring hither and press, and by means of consecration make into Soma." The words of Śvetaketu are repeated in IV. 2.5.

In Tibetan, Bhaṅgā is known as *So-ma-ra-rtsa* which is undoubtedly Soma-rasa of Sanskrit. It is a singular survival of an ancient name which has been long forgotten in the mother country. It is, however, not an isolated word.

The Soma plant in Vedic Literature

As has been already pointed out the word Soma in the *RV.* has the double denotation of the moon and the plant. In most of the hymns the Ṛṣis begin to praise the moon and end with the plant. One must therefore be careful in discriminating the descriptive words applicable to a plant. It has been distinctly stated that no one can drink the Soma whose praise is sung by the poets (X. 85.3).²

Soma is *oṣadhi-pati*, 'lord of oṣadhis,' annuals or medicinal herbs (IX. 114.2). It is also *vanas-pati*, 'lord of the wood' (IX. 127). Soma is therefore an erect plant. Sāyaṇa takes *vanaspati* in this sense. In one passage Soma is said to be a *vīrudh*, which generally means a climbing plant. But the plant cannot be also a *vanaspati*. The word *vīrudh* is used in the sense of *oṣadhi*. It excludes large trees. In his *Vedic Index* Prof. Macdonell quotes the character *naicāśākha*, 'having branches hanging down.' This is a character of Bhaṅgā also.

The plant has *aṁśu*, 'hair' (IX. 95.4; 96.2). The word properly means rays. The moon has rays and is thousand-cyed (IX. 60.1). Applied to the plant *aṁśu* may convey the sense of fibre as in

2 The figures in brackets without the name of the text refer to the *Rgveda*.

later Sanskrit. The presence of useful fibre is surmised from the passages in the *Yajur Vedas*. In view of the vast period covered by the *RV.*, it would not be surprising if the Aryans spun threads of fibres of the plant and wove cloth as they undoubtedly did of wool. In the *RV.* the moon is invoked to bestow all kinds of desirable things, including children. In IX. 62.2 he is said to be giving wonderful clothes. In IX. 58.4, the priests are happy at the fact that they received from two kings thirty thousand pieces of cloth. This may be an exaggeration, but the connection of this gift with the preparation of the Soma drink may not be accidental. The allusion is likely to the plant.

The colour is frequently described as *bhari*, green or greenish yellow. (Prof. Macdonell renders the word as tawny and adds *babbru*, brown, *aruṇa*, ruddy). There are a few other words of similar meaning. The plant has strong smell (I. 23.1; II. 44.14)¹ which is also described as pleasant (IX. 97. 19; 107.2). In *Ś.Br.*, it is ill-smelling (IV. 1.3.6).

The plant grew on mountains, that growing on the Muñjavat mountain being renowned. The Muñjavat mountain lies in the North-west Himalaya. On the other side is the abode of Rudra (*Śukla Yajurveda* III. 61). Traditionally it is the Kailāsa mountain. But the plant came to grow on the banks of the Sarasvati and Ārjikiyā and in Kurukṣetra (IX. 65.22-23; 113. 1-2). The banks of rivers issuing from the Himalayas are exactly the situations of the wild growth of Bhaṅgā. The seeds are carried down by floods and germinate on the rich loamy soil of the banks. Kurukṣetra was a famous place lately inhabited by the *Rg Vedic* Aryans who were instrumental in the dispersal of the Soma seed. They had therefore two sources of supply, one from the hills of the North-west Himalaya, and the other from the river banks of the plain of the Punjab. But soil and climate influence the quality of drugs. If Soma is Bhaṅgā, the twigs bearing leaves were cut before flowering. There were no

seeds brought to the plains. This was the reason why Soma had to be procured from a distance. Parjanya is the father of Soma (IX. 82.3; 113.5). He increases it (IX. 113.3).

The method of preparing the Soma drink is exactly the same as that of Bhāṅg. The leafy shoots of Soma whether procured from the Himalayan hills or locally were necessarily dry, especially in summer when Soma sacrifice for favour of Indra had to be performed. It is therefore absurd to speak of Soma "juice" for Soma drink. In the *A.Br.* (I.3.) we are told that the plant lost much of its potency on the way. The shoots bearing leaves (IX. 82. 3) were first cleaned and next moistened with, or steeped in, water when the stalks would swell (IX. 31.4). The mass was then crushed and ground between a pair of stones (IX. 67.19) or in a mortar and pestle (I. 28.1). The ground paste was next mixed with water in a jar and the mixture poured from one jar into another causing sound (IX. 72.3). Then it was strained over sheep's wool (IX. 69.9). Thus prepared it was 'pure' drink. Often it was mixed with milk or *dadhi* (IX. 71.8), sometimes with honey and barley meal (IX. 68.4).

The effects of the Soma drink are exactly the same as those of Bhāṅg. Soma used to be drunk between eating of food (IX. 51.3). It is nourishing when taken with milk and food (IX. 52.1). It is exhilarating (VIII. 48), exciting (II. 41. 40) and intoxicating (IX. 68. 3; 69. 3). It stimulates the voice and impels the flow of words (IX. 95.2; 101.6). It awakens eager thought (VI. 47.3), and excites poetic imagination (IX. 67.13). It induces sleep (IX. 69.3), and desire for women (IX. 67. 10-12). It bestows fertility (IX. 60.4; 74.5). It cures diseases (VIII. 48.5) and was believed to prolong life (VIII. 48.5). None but the strong can tolerate it (IX. 53.3; 81.1). It is constipating (IX. 18.1), but sometimes causes bowel complaints. It was drunk before military engagement (IX. 61.13; 85.2) and after victory (IX. 101.1), for which Indra's favour was prayed for.

It is to be noted that Soma sacrifice was always accompanied with animal sacrifice. It was a feast and the 'drink added hilarity. At first Indra was the only god to whom Soma drink was offered. The reason is the belief that Soma, the moon, is the controller of the celestial water and that Indra, the rain-giver, is dependent upon Soma for supply. It was for Indra that the moon was invoked to appear in the right phase. Prayerful appeals were addressed to the moon for shedding rain. The Maruts and Vāyu and friend Viṣṇu and Mitra and Varuṇa with Uṣā came in for their share but no others. In course of time even the *Āśvins* of winter and *Rudra* of spring were offered Soma more as consolation than necessity. Three oblations were made on the day of Indra sacrifice, the first being in the early morning. There was therefore no possibility of fermentation. All the 120 Soma hymns in the *RV.* (114 in the ninth book and 6 in other books) have double meaning. Even the seven priests and ten sisters (IX. 8.4), the sheep's wool, the vat and mountain are celestial. It was the moon, which Śyena, the eagle, brought from heaven to the horizon for Indra. This legend supplied an answer to the question why the Soma plant grew in the mountains and not in the plains. The metre Gāyatri also flew up to heaven and fetched Soma (*A.Br.* III. 13.2). The number of syllables contained in it helped in computing the age of the moon.

Soma, the variety of Bhaṅgā prized for use in sacrifice, was not common everywhere in Northern India. Its place had been slowly taken by *Surā* even in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. There might be scarcity of supply and the priests had to think of substitutes. It will be noticed that the question of substitutes arose in later *Brāhmaṇas* when Aryan colonization had spread far away from the Punjab. In a passage (IV. 5. 10) *Ś.Br.* names some substitutes one of which is *Dūrva* grass, another *Kuśa* grass. A common substitute in many *Brāhmaṇas* is *Pūtikā*. It is therefore no wonder that Soma became a mythical plant to Caraka (VI. 1.67) and Suśruta (IV. 29). They thought that

the plant gives fifteen leaves one by one during the bright half of the lunar month and sheds them one by one during the dark half resembling the waxing and waning of the moon. Suśruta mentions twenty-four varieties, but the majority of the names are of the moon, and some 'descriptive of the Vedic plant. The Purāṇas thought that it was *amṛta*, ambrosia, obtained by the churning of the milky sea. It was, however, the moon who rose in an evening in the Milky way in the Mṛga nakṣatra of which he became the regent. The moon was confused with the plant.

To sum up. The Soma plant agrees with Bhāṅgā in the habitat in the North-west Himalaya. Both are annuals coming up at the beginning of the rainy season. Both have shining green leaves and the ends of the branches hanging down. Nowhere in Vedic literature Soma is a climbing plant and a leafless plant with milky sap. Indeed the word Soma is masculine, while *latā*, a climber, is feminine. There is mention of milk and honey poured down by Soma. These are figurative expressions of rain-water caused by the moon. The method of preparation of Soma and Bhāṅg is the same, and the effects of the drink on the consumer remarkably agree. Soma drink was a part of the ritual of certain Vedic sacrifices. Bhāṅg has been in use on similar occasions.

JOGES-CHANDRA RAY

The Silk Trade of Patna in Early Seventeenth Century

In the first half of the 17th century, Patna was famous not only for the production of raw cotton and manufacture and supply of cotton cloths of various kinds,¹ but also for being an important centre of silk trade. In 1620-21, under orders from the English E.I.C's authorities at Surat, the First Commercial Mission to Patna² was organised under Messrs. Hughes and Parker to procure *Ambati* calicoes and other cotton goods. It was then that Hughes discovered, for the E.I. Company, that Patna and its neighbourhood was a market for silk, skein and manufactured, imported from different parts of Bengal and Orissa and observed that "the two main props which must uphold this (Patna) factory.....were *ambati* calicoes and raw silk," which could not be provided, in the condition desired by the English E.I. Company, without a "continuance" (continual residence) at Patna.³

In order to understand the real significance of this discovery, it is necessary to explain the various extra-Indian and Indian circumstances which influenced the activities of the English traders.

Up to about 1250, large quantities of silk were imported to England, and even in the middle of the fifteenth century, the silk manufactures of England were confined to ribbands, laces etc. Owing to a complaint, made by the silk-women of London to

1 I have discussed the details relating to these in my article on 'The Cotton Trade of Patna in early 17th century.' *IHQ.*, XII, No. 4, 1936.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, (henceforth abbreviated as *IA.*), XLIII, 1914; *Travels of Peter Mundy*, (henceforth abbreviated as *TPM.*), II, Appendix D.

3 Letters of 30th November, 1620; 14th August, 1621; *IA.*, XLIII, 83, 108. The English E.I.C's connection with Bengal silk commenced as early as 1618. Foster, *English Factories*, (henceforth abbreviated as *FEF.*), 1618-21, p. x. See 'The Silk Industry in Bengal in the days of the John Company by Abdul Ali, *Bengal Past and Present*, XXIX, Pt. 1, Serial no. 57; Jan-March, 1925, pp. 30 ff.

Parliament in 1454, that the competition of foreign imported silk articles was depriving them of their honest employment, several acts were passed under Henry VI, which were followed by others under Edward IV and Henry VII, by which importation of wrought silk articles was prohibited (1454, 1481, 1504). Even in the early 16th century no manufactures of broad silk piecegoods were made in England. The foundation of silk manufactures in Southern France with Milanese workmen, and the success of Henry IV of France in extending silk manufactures through workmen from Flanders, stimulated James I in England to propagate silk in England, while the persecution of the French Huguenots and their immigration to England in the reign of Elizabeth had already led to the introduction of the art of weaving silk in England. Very soon the manufacture of raw silk into broad silkgoods began and although the efforts of Charles I (about 1629) to acclimatise mulberry trees in England failed, the silk manufactures of England became 'a national object of much importance' by 1655.⁴ To feed this growing silk industry of England, it was necessary to get cheap and good raw silk. As early as 1558 some Persian silk was imported through Russia by Russia or Muscovy Company, but this project was soon dropped. Before the beginning of trade between England and the East Indies, England depended on silk from Turkey.⁵ In the beginning of the 17th century serious and expensive efforts were made to secure regular supplies from Persia⁶ of which we get numerous references in the English factory records.⁷ But the scarcity and

4 Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, (henceforth abbreviated as *MOC*), II, 244 ff.

5 Other sources were Persia, Syria, Sayd (Saida), Beyrout.

6 *Ibid.*, The Czar had become less favourable to the English traders in the reign of Elizabeth. The Co. was denounced in the Commons' *Report* (1604) as a most shameful monopoly and by 1615 the trade was practically extinct. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry & Commerce*, Mod-Times, Pt. I, 240.

7 Foster, *English Factories*. See also Peter Van Den Broecke in *JIH.*, X, 235-50; XI, 203-18.

dearness of Persian silk,⁸ worth 15s. a seer, among other things, induced the English factors at Agra and Masulipatam to attempt to procure raw silk from Bengal in 1618-19. After some futile endeavours it was found by William Methwold (December 7, 1619) that its price would conform to the Company's desires, being about "15 or 16 pagodas per maund" (26 lbs.) or 5s. a lb., while Francis Fettiplace, Robert Hughes and John Parker wrote from Agra (December 15, 1619) that as the Company desired a "great store" of Bengal silk (in long skeins) "at or under 7s. the pound," they would try to get as much as they could."

Thus, considering in the light of the foregoing facts, the attempts of Hughes to secure raw silk from Bengal must be regarded as a bold and imaginative plan, the value of which the E.I.C.'s authorities did not fully realise at that time.

Silk cocoons, skein (yarn) and cloths of different varieties were then available at Patna. Raw silk was imported into Patna in large quantities from Murshidabad and (adjacent) Saïdabad in Bengal, which was universally considered to be the best variety of unwound silk or *serbandy* silk (i.e. cocoons). Some idea of the amount of imported raw silk can be formed from the *Remonstrantie* of the Dutch factor, Pelsaert (1620-26), who observed that Patna yielded

8 Due probably to:

- (i) the organisation of the silk industry of Persia being a royal monopoly (Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, henceforth abbreviated as *MAA.*, 40) and the refusal of Shah Abbas to bind himself to a fixed price for silk.
- (ii) Perso-Portuguese conflicts. *FEF.*, 1618-21, Introduction, xxv ff.).
- (iii) competition of the Levant & the E. I. Companies. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 254.

and (iv) rivalry between Persia and Turkey.

9 *FEF.*, 1618-21, 46, 52, 127, 153, 161. *MAA.*, 336. Thomas Munn wrote that the selling price of Persian silk in England was 20s. and further "1629. From the regular supply of raw silk, which was now received from India, amounting to near £100,000 per annum, and the demand for silk goods in London, the silk manufacture was much extended." *MOC.*, II, p. 247

"annually 1000 to 2000 mds. of raw silk."¹⁰ Though a considerable quantity of raw silk came from Bengal, a certain amount might have been imported from certain other parts of Bchar.

In July 1620, the price of *serbandy* silk at Patna was Rs. 100 gross a maund (of 40 seers, each seer weighing 34½ pice). Deducting 25% for the *savoie* or *sawai* (an excess of a fourth), the net price would be Rs. 75 a maund. This included a brokerage of ½% from the buyer and 1% from the seller. Pelsaert wrote that the best raw silk available at Patna sold (evidently at Agra) at 16 or 17 *mohurs* a maund (of 50 lbs. i.e. an Akbari md. of about 55 lbs. avoirdupois). This would come to Rs. 110 to 120, taking a *mohur* equivalent to Rs. 7. On November, 14, 1632, Mundy observed that raw silk could be procured much better and cheaper elsewhere.¹¹

Serbandy silk was wound into skeins of various sorts. In 1620 Hughes despatched '*musters*' or samples of these to Agra, for being sent after inspection, to Surat.

No. 1—two skeins of the first and second sorts (1 coved long), demanded by the E.I. Company and provided by the English at Agra. The price of these two sorts at Patna was then Rs. 5-8-0 gross a seer (of 34½ pice weight) and deducting a discount (*Kessure*, *Kasar*, *distury*) of 17%, Rs. 4-4-0 net.

No. 2—two skeins of the third and fourth sorts, usually purchased by the English in Agra, "not wound of aparte, for want of time." The price of these two sorts at Patna was then Rs. 4-4-0 gross a seer and deducting the discount, Rs. 3-9-0 net.

Commenting on the cheapness of the Patna price, as compared to that at Agra, Hughes wrote to Surat (12th July, 1620): "These

¹⁰ *Serbandy* or *Sirbandi*, head winding or, cocoon, usually called *koya*, pilah Carnac Temple's note, fn. 1A., XLIII, 70-71; TPM., II, 155-56, 371; FEF., 1618-21, 194n; Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign* (henceforth abbreviated as SAR.), 279; *Jahangir's India* (henceforth abbreviated as II.), 7.

¹¹ 1A., XLIII, 70-71. Hughes and Parker at Agra sold 'the best of the silk from Patna at 5¼ rupees the seer which was 15% more than it cost.' (Letter to Surat, January 3, 1622); FEF., 1622-23, p. 9; II., 7. & fn., TPM., II, 151.

are their present prices, between which and that we buy in Agra. You will perceive a great difference in price for these four sorts, to say, one-third of the sort No. 1 and two-thirds of the sort No. 2 cost us together in Agra about Rs. 5-12-0 net the seer (or 30 pice), while here half the one and half the other may be bought for about Rs. 4 net the seer (of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pice weight) and I am promised at about these rates to have (them) delivered in from the silk-winders 10 or 15 mds. a month.....and doubtless a greater quantity thereof may be procured, but then we must venture out some money beforehand, which I resolve upon, finding sufficient security for performance; and hereupon have advised them at Agra to desist further in its investments there, which per computation is at least 35% dearer than here it may be bought."¹²

After sending the musters of Bengal skein silk, Hughes made further enquiries into the matter, which led him to try a unique experiment in winding skein silk from '*serbandy*' or cocoons. He found that the sale of skein silk was a monopoly of the Governor, and it had to be purchased through the local *kotwal* or town magistrate as the Nawab's agent, at rates 25% $37\frac{1}{2}$ % higher than what the *kotwal* had paid to the dealers, though the quality was not good. Hence he purchased a maund of *serbandy* for trial and had it wound into seven sorts of skeins. Four of these (second, third, fourth, and fifth) would sell at Rs. 4-4-0 net the seer (of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pice weight), including all charges of winding (from 5 as. to 6 as. a seer); of the other three, the first would be sold in ready money at Rs. 4-9-0; the sixth at Rs. 1-8-0, and the seventh at Rs. 0-14-6 a seer.^{12a}

12 Letter of July 12, 1620. *IA.*, XLIII, 70-71. I have tried to give a modern form to the old English of Hughes. Cf. the letter of November 30, 1620: "Samples of raw silk sent. They can provide it cheaper than in Agra by 30 per cent, viz., Rs. $4\frac{5}{10}$ the seer of $33\frac{1}{2}$ pice (which seare is neare about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds English or haber depoiz)' against Rs. $5\frac{3}{4}$ the seer of 30 pice in Agra." *FEF.*, 1618-21, 213.

12a For the proportion of the seven sorts of silk *vide IA.*, XLIII, 73-4, 81, also *FEF.*, 1618-21, 217. The approximate profit would be 450%—500% on the outlay involved.

Hughes concluded that the cheapest and surest course would be to buy the *serbandy* and to get it wound on behalf of the Company, which process was expected to meet the exact requirements of the Company. He purchased 6 maunds of *serbandy* and started a *karkhana* (filature, winding house) with 30 silk-winders as an experiment. Encouraged by its results he increased the number to 100, and intended to employ 200 or 300, working for the whole year if the scheme and the price would be approved of by the Surat authorities.

So samples of the seven sorts of wound silk were sent by him to Surat *via* Agra (August, 1620); but the Agra authorities, on being instructed from the Surat council, discouraged the scheme (September). This naturally led Hughes to moderate and practically suspend his silk operations. But as he had already given advance money to the winders, which could not be recalled, it was impossible to close the filature suddenly. Hence, in order to avoid loss and work up the advance money, he proposed to have wound 10 or 12 maunds of *serbandy* at the most.

But he remained confident and optimistic of the commercial benefits of his scheme and wrote back to Agra that the sample he would send would "confirm its future provision, its price being considered." On November 11, 1620, he wrote to Surat that owing to a recent fall in the price of *serbandy* silk, he would be able to supply wound silk threads at a better rate than before, and that with the proceeds of a sale of English goods to the Nawab, he had purchased about 10 mds. of *serbandy* silk and re-started its winding, for which he demanded some monetary help. So late as March 31, 1621, we find him engaged in purchase and winding of 30 mds. of *serbandy* (at Rs. 70-80 a md.) and appealing to Agra for permission and pecuniary help to persist in the investment.¹³ Hughes main-

¹³ Hughes to Surat, (6th August, 11th November, 1620); Hughes to Agra (3rd September, 1620); *IA.*, XLIII, 73-4, 75, 79, 81, 82, 99, 108; *FEF.*, 1618-21,

tained his optimism till the last. Even only a month before the dissolution of the Patna factory, he wrote to the Company that the supply of 1621 would be better and cheaper than last year's and would "yield in England expected profit."¹⁴

Another scheme of Hughes was to convert a part of the skein silk to floss or sleeve silk (or silk thread, capable of being separated into smaller filaments for use in embroidery). From his letter of August 6, 1620, we know that Hughes proposed to dye and dress some of the coarse varieties of *serbandy* silk into sleeve silk, for profitable investment in England. The process would involve a loss of 25% in weight and cost about 5 annas a seer. The price of ordinary floss silk was Rs. 2-2 a seer (? 33½ pice weight). Floss silk was generally made out of *shikasta* and *katwai* skeins, dyed in several colours; and in the provisions for England sent to Surat on trial in 1620, there was a small bale of sleeve silk, prepared from *Katwai*, except one skein of a "Watchet" (pale blue) which was produced from *shikasta*. This sample was, however, much inferior in quality to what might have been provided at Patna in large quantities. Best floss silk, dressed and dyed in several colours, would cost Rs. 4 net a seer (of 33½ pice weight).¹⁵

Hughes was, however, conscious of the difficulties involved in making silk-investments, and probably it is these difficulties which led the authorities to discourage his experimental scheme. In the first place, wound silk¹⁶ was not available at Patna in the condition

198, 204. "The silk wound of (f) you will perveave to falle out in price as formerly advised, and by us expected. For its future provision wee shall not be overhastye, onlye worke out our monye delivered the silk winders, wherein their can be no losse but gayne in its present sayle here" (Letter of October 6, 1620; *IA.*, 78).

14 *IA.*, XLIII, 108.

15 *Ibid.*, 73-74, 74 n. 78, 81. "The crimson is died in Lack, and all the rest of the colleres *carrarye*" (*karari*, firm; stable, fast, ingrain.) (Letter, 6th October 1620, *IA.*; 78); *FEF.*, 1618-21, 199 n., 204.

16 The customary length of Bengal skeins was 1 covered of 33½" to 40" but for the purposes of the English market Hughes made it 1 yard. *TPM.*, II, App. D.

desired by the E.I. Company, as the silk dealers were so poor and beggarly that they could not supply goods without *dādan* (advance money) and even with it they did not give any guarantee for supply. Consequently the English factors did not follow the practice of *dādan*.

In the second place, the silk wound in the Company's filature at Patna did not turn out to be as good as in Agra and Lahore, where there was tradition for such work, in which Patna was lacking, the art being newly introduced there by Hughes.¹⁷ Hence Hughes thought (January 31, 1621) that it would probably, in the ultimate analysis, be more advisable to have the silk wound at Agra, from the 'original *serbandy*', available there in 'thousands of maunds'. But as the *serbandy* available at Agra was dearer than that at Patna or in Bengal, Hughes suggested to the Surat authorities that, if they were induced, by the samples he had sent, to think of drawing large provisions in silk, the cheapest and most advantageous course would be to get the *serbandy* at the source i.e. at Murshidabad, "which would be worth both labour and charge", for assuredly there it might "be provided in infinite quantities at least twenty per cent cheaper than in any other place of India, and of the choicest stuff, wound of into what condition" the Company required it, as it came from the worm, and where were also "innumerable silkwinders, expert workmen and labour cheaper, by a third than elsewhere".¹⁸ Consequently the Patna factors "ventured" to make another experiment,—to invest Rs. 500/- in attempting, to procure the abundant cheap samples of silk, from Murshidabad, though they admitted

17 Manucci (II, 83-84) writes that 'besides cloth of cotton, much fine silk' was woven at Patna. The development of silk weaving industry at Patna remains yet to be written.

18 Letter of Hughes and Parker to Surat, January 31, 1621, *IA.*, XLIII, 97-98; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 229-30.

that it was done "rather for experience of that place than the necessity thereof".¹⁹

Thirdly, unforeseen variations in prices was one of the reasons why the silk experiments were not approved of by the Company's authorities. Thus, on March 3, 1621, Hughes regretted that the raw silk sent to Agra for sale was in "so little esteem" but he was not surprised at it, as after its despatch, the original (*serbandy*) had fallen in price by almost 30%. So the Patna factors preferred selling the *shikasta* a rupee a net a seer, as offered to them locally, to "troubling" the Agra factors with it; but they decided to "detain" the *katwai* and *gird* (*garad?*) varieties till the sanction of his superiors. On April 11, 1621, Hughes again wrote to the Agra authorities that he would abide by their directions about the disposal of the coarse varieties of wound silk, provided there were no hopes for selling them at Agra at better rates (including the transport and incidental charges). But there had been again a change in the price and as the *serbandy* had fallen by 25% in price, the silk could be wound much cheaper than before. It appears further from this letter that the Agra price was a factor which determined whether the silk experiment in Patna was to be continued or not. Thus Hughes enquired of the prices of raw silk in Agra:—"In your next I pray advise us of their (coarse sorts of wound silk) true value with you, for thereby will we govern ourselves either or its detention or sale here, for by merchants that purposely come from Agra to make their provisions in these sorts we are informed that Agra vends great quantities thereof, and at much better rates than here it can be sold".²⁰

In the fourth place, lack of sufficient and timely supply of funds was one of the standing difficulties of the English Company's factors

19 Letter to Agra, April 11, 1621, *ibid.*, 102. The time of journeying to Murshidabad and back was two months then.

20 *LA.*, XLIII, 99, 102; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 236, 253.

in pursuing their schemes of investments in silk and cotton. On November 11, 1620, Hughes wrote to the Surat authorities that the maximum amount of *serbandy*, fit for Eugland, he could provide was 30 mds. a month and this would require a good supply of money, so that the factors would be continually "in employment" (occupied); but that he could easily supply 300 mds. a year at Rs. 4/ a seer (of 33½ pice weight). He estimated that at least Rs. 50,000 would be required for accomplishing the provision of that amount. But, although the authorities approved of the schemes for a year and promised to send a "speedy supply of money" for making investments in silk and calicoes, there are clear references to show that such promises remained unredeemed and that the Company's Patna factors had repeatedly to appeal for pecuniary help; sometimes to Agra and sometimes to Surat. On December 22, 1620, they informed Agra that want of money had reduced them to idleness. Loss of about 4 months' time, caused by 'want of means', was also referred to in a letter to Surat, dated January 30, 1621, and as the provisions must be despatched by May before the rains, the time at the disposal of the Patna factors was very short. A letter of Hughes and Parker to the Company, dated August 14, 1621, clearly shows that the Surat authorities themselves were placed in various financial difficulties, due to the late arrival of the fleet from England in 1620, and other causes, which stood in their way of sending the promised money to Patna before March 1621. Agra sent the first supply of funds in bills of exchange for Rs. 5000/- (in February 1621) and future supplies amounting to Rs. 32,000 in all, came in dribbles.²¹

This deficiency in financial equipment was sought to be made good by the Patna factors by employing the proceeds of sale at Patna (i) of diverse "*brayed*" (damaged) goods, sent from Agra,

for Rs. 4000,²² and (ii) of English goods to the local Nawab.²³ They expected a further supply of funds after the return of last year's ships from the Red Sea voyage.²¹ It may therefore be inferred that such financial stringency of the Company's authorities at Surat led them to discourage the Patna factory.

A new light on the dissolution of the Patna factory is thrown by the letter of the Surat factors to the Company dated November 7, 1621, which runs as follows: "Your prohibition of Bengalia silke we have made knowne; as also of your desires of more than three or four thousands pieces amberta cloath yearly. Whereby we have also dissolved the factorie of Puttana, and will write to Masulipatan that they proceed noe further in providinge Bengala silke, although wee finde their prices to agree with your desires".²⁵

In the light of all these details we need not exaggerate the influence of the unfavourable prices of Bengal silk due to charges of transport and the cost of the factory,²⁶ on the dissolution of the Patna factory, though it must be admitted that the Company regarded the attempt from their own point of view to be uncommercial in character. This consideration also led Peter Mundy to disapprove of the idea of establishing a factory at Patna in 1632. But these should not lead one to belittle the importance of Patna as a commercial centre.

We cannot say how far the experiments, if logically followed, would have been successful, but the triple scheme of silk-winding,

22 This shows that Patna was used as a dumping ground of Agra for some articles.

23 Nawab Muqarrab Khan had a great passion for English goods. On the subject of the weakness of the aristocracy and high officers for European novelties or "toys," which had a great political and commercial bearing, see *MAA*, 68-71.

24 *IA*, XLIII, 107. Regarding the supplies of treasure from the Red Sea trade, see Moreland, *op. cit.*, 38-39, 64 etc.

25 *FEF*, 1618-21, 327. For failure of supply of Bengal silk at Masulipatam due to Portuguese competition, see *Ibid.*, 264.

26 *Ibid.*, Intro. xxiii, *IHRC*, 1930, XIII, 163.

converting skein into floss silk, and finding raw silk at Murshidabad came to an abrupt close, as the Patna factory was discouraged and ultimately dissolved. The orders of the Surat Council for dissolution of the factory, to be effected as early as possible, compelled the Patna factors to stop further provisions of Bengal silk and wind up their business with the silk winders. Referring to the silk experiments of the First Commercial Mission to Patna and the reasons of their failure, Pelsaert (1627) observes: "Formerly the English had a factory at Patna for the purchase of raw silk, but, owing to heavy losses, the trade has been discontinued, for 6 or 7 years, and does not appear likely to be resumed; besides they are now getting Persian silk at a more reasonable price."²⁷

Silk manufactures, available at Patna, may be classified under two heads, viz., (i) those imported from outside and (ii) those produced locally or in the neighbourhood and exported outside.

Among imported silk manufactures were imports from Lower Bengal—Satgaon quilts and Tasar silk goods. The Satgaon quilts seem to be what we call "down quilts" now. It is generally known that their use in European countries is derived from the Orient. But there are clear references in the Patna-Surat and Surat-Agra factory correspondence of this period which show that Bengal had a share in setting the fashion for using such quilts in Europe and other parts of India. Silk quilts were not made at Patna but brought "from the bottom of Bangala." On 12th July, 1620, Hughes wrote to the Surat authorities that he would provide some quilts of Sutgonge (Satgaon), prepared with yellow silk, at "reasonable rates." By that date he had already secured ten such quilts and had been promised more daily as they would come to the town. This expected

27 Letter to Surat, August 3, 1621; *IA.*, XLIII, 105; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 258; *II.*, 7. I intend later on to give details on the interesting subject of the development of the trade in Persian silk. In November, 1619 the Persian Shah gave a *farman* granting the sole trade in silks by the sea route to the English. *FEF.*, 1618-21, Intro. xxviii.

supply did not come, for on 3rd September, 1620, Hughes's supply of Satgaon quilts had not exceeded a dozen. However, he trimmed them up with silk fringe, tassels, feathers, etc., and lined them partly with *taffeta* and partly with *tasar*. He did not want to send more in 1620 unless he had definite orders of approval from the Surat authorities. All these quilts despatched were brought "at such reasonable rates" that Hughes expected a good *muzera* (or profit). Further he suggested to the Company (30th November, 1620) that if these sample would be approved of and find a good market in England, then they might be provided annually in large numbers. Any other kind of quilt was not available at Patna.²⁸


In their letter of March 16, 1619, Thomas Kerridge and others at Surat enclosed directions to the Agra factors regarding the supply of Bengal quilts. In some the lining and upper part were to be of one kind of chintz: in others they were to be of different chintzes such that either side might be used: the sides of some were to be of one colour, but their borders (1 covered long) were to be of different colours, and they were to hang by the bed-side on all sides alike. The Surat factors observed that the last variety was "most used in India" and considered that it would be "most pleasing in England," provided they were made a little thicker and stronger stitched than the ordinary varieties, for durability. They further remarked; "Lawne quiltes wee do"²⁹ conceive soe fitt for England as if they were of semianoe, amberttes or Sahume cloth, which will be much more lastinge, stichte with birdes (feathers), beastes (furs) or

²⁸ As a matter of fact 22 such quilts were sent. *IA.*, XLIII, 71, 75, 77, 82, 82n, 83; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 126 n; 195-198; *TPM.*, II, 372-73. The word "Muzera" is either *masarrat* in Persian, 'joy,' or preferably Persian 'mazra,' lit. 'a place of seed produce and hence used unmistakably to mean produce or profit. *FEF.*, 1618-21, 84-5, 235, 250.

²⁹ Sir William Foster puts a (not ?) in bracket between 'do' and 'conceive,' but that does not fit in the context and sense of the passage. See my article in *IHQ.*, XII, No. 4 for explanation of terms like semianoe, amberttes, sahume.

worke very thicke, such as used by the Mores instead of carpitts. Of this sorte there comes, itt seemes, from Bengala. His Lordship had three or four which he bought as *lasker*, *stichte* with cullered silk, that will (give) good contente in England; and wee doubt not, by bespeakinge, you will procure them to be made of such sizes as the companies letter doth mencion."

The trade in Satgaon quilts carried on at Patna seems to have existed quite independently of the activities of the English factors and throws light on the standard of life and comfort at that time. It must have had its basis either in local needs of Patna or in the demand of other traders, Indian or European, for needs elsewhere. For, we find that even after the failure of the First Commercial Mission of the English in Patna (1620-1), the trade in this article continued, and Peter Mundy (II, 156) mentioned among the names of sundry commodities available in Patna, "Bengal quilts from Sategame" (Satgaon).

Tasar is a kind of coarse or inferior, dark coloured silk, prepared from *tasar* worms. From time immemorial, the people of Bengal and other adjacent provinces have got a considerable supply of this silk, which is woven into *dhooties* or other goods, and exported outside. The Italian traveller Cæsari dei Federici mentioned *tasar* silk as "erba" or "herba" (1565), while a later usage of the word denotes a fabric of silk and cotton. Thus in the *Ain-i-Akbari* we read of *tasar* selling at Rs. $\frac{1}{3}$ to Rs. 2, a piece. In 1620-21 the *tasar* (*tussore*) silkgoods were described as being of "half silk, half cotton." Hughes quickly observed the value of such *tasar* goods, which were imported to Patna at the rate of ".40 or 50 corge" (score) (800 or 1,000 pieces) every year from Lower Bengal. So he invested Rs. 400 in them  trial; but the attempt did not succeed, and it was left to Streyntsham Master to start the trade in that valuable commodity in 1679.³⁰

30 MOC., 303, II, 244; Hobson-Jobson, 720-21; Watt, *Commercial Products*,

From Malda in North Bengal, three varieties of silk-goods came to Patna (1632):³¹

- (a) *Ornees* or *Orhnis*, or women's veils, ornamented with silk and gold. 16 coveds long.
- (b) *Ballabands* or *balaband*, turban band, wrought with silk and gold, 3 coveds long.
- (c) *Alachah* or *Ellachas*, a silk striped stuff or silk cloths with a wavy pattern running lengthwise, 16 coveds long. Abul Fazl refers to Alchah or alachah, also called *Tarhdars*, meaning a kind of corded stuff, priced at 1/5 to 2 Rs. a yard.

From Sherpur (Sherpur Murcha, or Scrrpore Mercha) in Bogra district, which in the 17th century was noted for its Tasar silk, there came to Patna a very thin variety of coloured silk cloth, (*Tiffany* or *Taffeta*), manufactured there, called *Ambar* or *Jettalees*, or variegated, spotted or striped piece-goods used for female apparel, (4 × 7/8 coved) (1632).³²

1002 ff; *Dictionary of Econ. Products of India*, Vol. VI, Pt. III, 98 ff; *IA.*, XXIX, 339-40; Blochman, I, 94; Letters of 6th August and 11th November, 1620, *IA.*, XLIII, 73-4, 81; 73n; *TPM.*, II, 362-3; *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (henceforth abb. as *DSM.*), I, 112, 136; II, 296n; Bowrey, *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, 162n. The word 'erba' or 'herba' means grass, and from a false etymology, it led to a belief that tassar goods were made from some kind of grass and not silk. *DSM.*, I, 136. In 1676 Hugli and Balasore were important centres of production of Tasar or Herba goods. Hedges, II, ccxxix, ccxl; *DSM.*, I, 54; II, 81, 82, 84-5. *SAR.*, 279-80; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 112.

31 *TPM.*, II, 155; *FEF.*, 1630-33, 4n; Blochman, I, 91n., 94. Malda (Maulda) was variously known in latter part of 17th century as English Bazar, Angrezabad, and Engishavad; *DSM.*, I, 25, 26, 398n. The word Alachah probably means a stuff from Turkistan called in Turki *alachah*, *alajah*. Hobson-Jobson, sv. Alleja, p. 8.

32 Jettalees may be a corruption of *chital*, variegated, spotted or striped. *TPM.*, II, 155-6n; Sherpur Murcha described by Peter Mundy as "100 course eastwards" has been identified with Sherpur in Bogra district. It was different from Sherpur in Mymensingh and it was not a port, as mentioned by Peter Mundy. Carnac Temple's note in *TPM.*, II, 152; *DSM.*, I, 482; II, 299; Streynsham Master described Ghoraghat as a centre of Tasar or Eri cloth manufacture and Sherpur as a place where the "worms are kept as silkworms." (*op. cit.*)

From Orissa, came to Patna varieties of linen, called *Ambarrees* (canopy) and *chareconnaes* or *charkhanas*, or chequered muslin, which were striped with white silk, 16 coveds long and 1 broad.³³

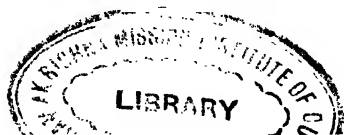
Probably the best variety of silk-goods, available at Patna was what Mundy calls by the name of "*Curtabees* or *Aghabanees*." The late Sir Richard Carnac Temple took them to mean *Cuttanees* (*Katani*, the finest linen) or *Atchabanees* (Achchabani, fine fabric or fine silk thread). They refer to a fine cloth, embroidered with silk, silver and gold, flowers, and spotted, 4 coveds long.³⁴

Regarding the second group of manufactures, produced locally or in the neighbourhood, I have not yet found any reference to silk goods manufactured at Patna in early 17th century; but Baikunthpur, described to be about 10 miles east of Patna, seemed to have been an important centre of silk manufacture, producing, "in infinite quantities," what were called Baikunthpur *alachah* and *tuckrees* or *becutpoorees*, both intended for being used as women's petticoats.

Speaking of the Baikunthpur *alachahs*, Hughes informed the Surat authorities on August 6, 1620, that he had invested some money in "Bicutpoore layches," purchasing 320 pieces, at 12, 10, 16 rupees a score (of 20) (i.e. at prices varying from 8 as. to 13 as. each). Taking Rs. 13 as the average price for a score, the sum invested would amount to about Rs. 210. Being about "5 1/4 coveds long and somewhat more than 3/4 broad" (i.e. about 5 1/2 yds. x 27 in.) they were regarded as of fit lengths for petticoats. They were

33 *Ambari* is a vulgar form of *amari*, a canopy of an elephant or camel *bowda*. Abul Fazl mentions among silkcloths *Anbari*, selling at 4d. to 1/2 R., a yd. Blochmann, I, 94.

34 *TPM.*, II, 155-6. The word *Kuttan* in Persian means flax or linen cloth, Hobson-Jobson, S. V. *Cuttancee*, 224. *Kutan* seems to be a Persian cloth. It was so thin and delicate that "it tear when the moon shines on it." Abul Fazl mentions among silk cloths (i) *Qutni* or stuff made of silk and wool, @ 1 1/2 R. to 2 R. a piece, (ii) *Katan*, from Europe, 1/2 to 1 R. a yard. Blochmann, I, 94n.



generally purchased by the "Mogolles" (Mughal traders) for Persia (i.e. for petticoats of Persian ladies). Hughes was confident that on account of their cheap price, these would "doubtless sell in England to good profit," and so sent somea patterns of these to Surat in 1620, adding that they could be made to order. In 1632 Peter Mundy referred to *tuckrees* or *becutpoorees*, a variety of silk petticoats for women; these were thin, striped silk stuffs, 4 coveds long and $\frac{7}{8}$ broad, also manufactured at Baikunthpur.³⁵

Certain details about the distribution and organisation of the silk trade at Patna in the early part of the 17th century are available. Patna was then a meeting place of merchants of different nationalities, the Portuguese, the Armenians, the Mughals, the Pathans, the Persians and the *Praychaes* or East Bengal traders, besides the English factors and there was a cosmopolitan *sarai* (Saif Khan's sarai) for the benefit of these traders. There was possibly a local consumption of the imported silk cloths in Patna, while some amount of raw silk must have been utilized at Baikunthpur. As no purchaser could be found at Patna, the coarse silk was sent to Agra (May 1621). Merchants from Agra used to come to Patna for purchasing Bengal silk. A considerable portion of it was consumed in Gujrat especially at Ahmedabad, where brocades and flowered silk were woven; only a small amount was used in Agra. Thus, on October 6, 1620, the Patna factors sent a bale of silk containing *gird*, *katwai* and *shikasta* varieties, for sale in Agra. But a part of this silk must have flowed to Surat where carpets of silk or of silk and gold and silver thread were manufactured. Sleeve silk was expected to have a market in England. Manufactured silk goods were partly sold in

35 *IA.*, XLIII, 73-4. Both Hughes and Mundy locate Baikunthpur 10 miles east of Patna, but the Orme Mss. India, XVII, 4699 gives it as 15 miles from Patna; *TPM.*, II, 155 n. The road map of Patna Dt. shows a place, Baikatpur (north of Khusrupur) about 22 m. from Golghur, Patna. The word *Turki* means silk for women's petticoats but the Tuckryes or short baftas of Anmadabad appear to have been cotton goods being included in linen investments. *FEF.*, 1621-23, 68.

Agra and exported to England and Persia. The 'Mughal' merchants generally purchased the Baikunthpur *alachahs* and *tukris*, for being used as petticoats by Persian ladies, and the English factors of the First Commercial Mission expected that they would prove a very profitable investment in England also for similar uses. The Satgaon quilts were lined with *taffeta* (silk) or *tasar* and given silk fringes and tassels for the English market.³⁶

Some idea of the amount of silk-goods and raw silk, provided by the English factors in 1620-21 may be gathered from the following figures. The silk provisions for 1620 (collected from August to October) included 12 scores (i.e. 240 pieces) of *Tussar*, 22 quilts of Satgaon, 334 pieces of Baikunthpur *alachah*, 270½ seers (i.e. about 7 mds. of Bengal silk), and Malda wares for Persia, worth Rs. 600. In May 1621, the Patna factors sent to Agra 13 bales of Bengal silk, 6 of which contained 18 mds. 12 seers of wound skein silk (1 yard long), as desired by the Company's authorities, the rest containing coarse varieties for sale in Agra. Owing to discouragement, the silk provisions for 1621 were not expected to exceed 25 mds. of varieties useful for England, as against the directions to purchase 100 maunds of Bengal silk.³⁷

As already noted above, the sale of skein silk was a monopoly of the Governor, and merchants had to buy it through the Kotwal in Patna, at rates 25%—37% higher than what the Kotwal paid to the dealers.³⁸

36 My article on 'The Cotton Trade of Patna in early 17th century' in *IHQ.* XII, No. 4, 1936, 656-660; *SAR.*, 279; *IA.*, XLIII, 73-4, 78, 81, 102; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 198, 253, 256; *II.*, 7; *TPM.*, II, 373.

The Dutch opened the Japanese market to Bengal raw silk (1641-1653). *MAA.*, 66. Investment for silk was ordered in England in 1648.

37 Letters of October 6, 1620, and August 14, 1621; *IA.*, XLIII, 77, 107-8.

38 This throws some new light on the Kotwal's functions. He was of course expected to regulate prices, but here he was acting as the agent of the Governor who had a monopoly in the sale of skein silk.

The trade in silk was complicated as in the case of cotton trade 'by the system of dealing.' There was a business discount of 25% on settling accounts. Thus the gross price of *Serbandy* silk was Rs. 100 a md., but after deducting the '*Savoye*', *sawai* or 25%, the net price was about Rs. 75. Moreover, there was a legal brokerage. [As Hughes wrote to Surat (12th July, 1620) that the brokerage on *serbandy* silk and all other sorts of silk was, "by the Nabab's command," "but 5 annas of a rupye per cent from the buyer and 10 annyes from the seller," but that the brokers usually took "one half per cent from the buyer and one per cent from the seller."] Further there was a discount (*Kessure* or *Kasar* and *distury*) of 17%, which was deducted from the price of skein silk.³⁹

Variations in weight increased the difficulties in dealing. The weight of the seer varied from 30 pice at Agra to 33½ and 34½ pice at Patna.⁴⁰ Such variations also existed in other trades at that time.

The correspondence of the Patna factors throws some incidental but interesting light on some aspects of the economic life of Patna at that time.

(i) We note in the first place the adverse influences exerted by high administrative officers. Muqarrab Khan 'a liberal purchaser (of Company's goods) and a good paymaster,' was succeeded by Prince Parviz, Jahangir's second son, as Governor of Behar (in 1621). But Patna proved "too narrow" a place for his entertainment, and he "liberally bestowed" on his "great retinue," the abodes of the inhabitants and merchants.⁴¹ The English factors were put to great hardships, and they had to wander about for shelter-

39 Letter of July 12, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, 70-1. It is difficult to state definitely as the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple has done, that this discount of 17% referred to the commission of the Governor.

40 *Ibid.*, *TPM.*, II, 371-2.

41 Cf. the billeting of soldiers on private houses in England about the same period. See Jahangir's Edicts. Rogers & Beveridge, *Jahangir's Memoirs*.

ing themselves and their goods from the inclemencies of weather (the time being May-June and the rains being in excess). After some difficulties they succeeded "through the help of Mr. Monye" (i.e. by paying a high price) in placing the silkwinders in a house, but they wrote to Agra (June 2, 1621) that they could not send additional supply of investments.⁴²

(ii) Secondly the silk dealers were so "poor and beggarly" that they could not furnish goods without advance money, and even, if given, they could not guarantee the supply.⁴³

(iii) In the third place, the fact that Hughes gave advance money to the silk winders to work in the Company's *karkhanas* throws some light on their economic position. Possibly they were unwilling and had to be given some material inducements to work in the Company's factories; but since the Patna factors nowhere allude to the unwillingness of the workers, it may be that the winders insisted on prior payment. This would tend to show that the system of *begar* or forced labour or ill-paid labour as referred to by Pelsaert⁴⁴ and Bernier,⁴⁵ had already set in and the workers wanted to save their position by taking advance wages.

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42 *LA.*, XLIII, 104; *FEF.*, 1618-21, 256; *Travels of P. Della Valle*, I, p. 57. An earlier misfortune which befell the Patna factors was a fire which occurred in the Company's factory at Alanganj (March 24, 1621). Except the account-books and the money, everything else was destroyed, including the proportion of the silk taken and the portion of the silk, that had been wound off and the cocoons still lying in the tanks. *LA.*, XLIII, 101n.

43 *Vide ante.*

44 *II.*, 60-1.

45 Constable, 228, 255-6. See also Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*.

The Kolis in the Marāṭhā Empire

The Kolis played in the history of Mahārāṣṭra as important a part as the Bhils¹ and they are often classed together in Marāṭhā records. It has been observed that "historically the Kolis came into prominence more during the second to fourth decade of the 19th century than at any other period."² This statement is by no means correct, for the Kolis came to the fore as a people of political consequence even during the pre-Marāṭhā period and their political importance can be traced with some sort of continuity from the 16th century.

The Kolis during the pre-Marāṭhā period

As early as the 15th century the Kolis became a source of irritation to the Muhammadan rulers. Their home appears to have been the wilds of Gujarat and it is but natural that they came often into conflict with their sovereigns. Sultan Muzaffar died in the latter part of the month of Safar in the year A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410). Though the other historians are silent about it, in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar the *Mirati Sikandari* relates how "the Kolis of the village of Asawal, having thrown off their allegiance, took to brigandage and highway robbery. Muzaffar sent Ahmad Khan to subdue them with an army that was present at the capital."³ This wild life of brigandage seems to have appealed to the Kolis who continued to remain a ferocious people in the 16th century as well. In the year A.D. 1525-26 news arrived that "Latif Khan had taken shelter with Bhim, Raja

1 See my article "The Bhils in Mahārāṣṭra" in the *New Indian Antiquary*, I, No. 5, pp. 322-36.

2 Enthoven, *Castes and Tribes of the Bombay Presidency* (1922) II, p. 248.

3 Sikandar, *Mirati Sikandari*, or the Mirror of Sikandar, (Trans. Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi) p. 10.

of Mung, in the hill tracts of Sultanpur and Nazarbar, and that several amirs were in correspondence with him. Sultan Sikander (of Gujarat) invested Malik Latif with the title of Shirzah Khan, and having given him 3000 well-equipped horses, sent him to expel Latif Khan from the hills. When Shirzah Khan entered the defiles, the Rajputs and Kolis, occupying the heads of the narrow passes, commenced to fight, and Shirzah Khan with some famous nobles and 1200 men were slain. When this news reached the Sultan, he appointed Kaisar Khan to take the field at the head of a large army."⁴ The result of this second expedition is not recorded and it is possible that no notable success was achieved, for the fiery Kolis five years later became active once more. In A.D. 1530-31, when the nobles Alif Khan, Ikbal Khan and Asaf Khan with other members of their entourage arrived near Dohad, which was on the Gujarat frontier, "Rainsingh, Raja of Pal with his Kolis fell upon them with the intention of rescuing Sultan Mehmud from their hands. The guards who were at that time round the Sultan's palanquin slew him in the tumult, and carrying his sons to Muhammadabad, confined them there."⁵

These restless Kolis once again on the 8th of August 1535 showed that little trust could be imposed on them. The *Mirati Sikandari* tells us that "the favoured of God," Sayad Jalaluddin Bukhari, surnamed Munawar-ul-Mulk, used to say that the fortress of Champaner was such that, if an old woman threw stones from

4 Sikandar, *Mirati Sikandari*, p. 142. In the *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 322 it is stated that on this occasion 1700 men were slain but no authority is cited in support of this statement. Mr. Faridi says on p. 141: "Although the author places Munga in the hilly tracts of Nandurbar and Sultanpur, there is reason to believe that the place is Mohangad or Chota Udeipur. Rana Bhim of Mung and Rana seem to be the same person." As these remarks are unsupported by any sort of evidence they are unacceptable and more so especially because in Marāṭhā times as will be shown in this article, Sultanpur and Nandurbar continued to remain the great haunts of the Kolis.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68

above, the bravest men in the world could not take it, and wonderful was the good fortune of the Sultan Humayun that he conquered it so easily, especially with the help of the Kolis. "One night the besieged sent down two hundred Kolis from the fortress to bring grain, although provisions were so plentiful that they would have sufficed for a ten years' siege. But when good fortune forsakes men almost all their acts prove ruinous mistakes. When the Kolis came below and arrived near the batteries they were all captured and taken before the emperor who ordered them to be killed. When seventy or eighty of them were killed, one of the survivors said: 'If you do not slay us, I shall take you up by a way which none of the garrison are aware of.' This speech they reported to the emperor, who encouraged them and their chief men and sent some of his brave men of tried valour with them. The Kolis that very night took them up by such a path, as was not only unknown to Humayun's army, but even to the garrison. As soon as the band arrived, they descended on the battlements of the fortress and with cries of "Allah! Allah!" fell on the besieged, who were astonished as to whence this calamity had dropped upon them. Some threw themselves over the walls of the fortress, some were slain, and others fleeing with Ikhtiyar Khan took shelter in the citadel known as the Maukia, and the fort was won."⁶

Later in the sixteenth century the Kolis continued to work havoc wherever they went. It is stated that in A.D. 1535 they pillaged the baggage and books of the emperor Humayun.⁷ In A.D. 1584, evidently as the Moghuls could not any more tolerate the depredations of these Kolis, the emperor Akbar ordered his general Khawaja Nizamuddin to attack their strongholds. This

6 Sikandar, *Mirati Sikandari*, p. 194; cf. the capture of Citradurga by Hyder Ali. In this connection see my paper on this topic in the *QJMS.*, XXIX, No. 2, pp. 171-88.

7 Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 443; *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, Pt. I.

commander observed: "I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Girassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep them in check.....Having put Chait Rawat to death, I removed Karmi Kolī, Krishna Kolī and Lakkha Rajput who were the principal Girassias of these parts and left garrisons in their places."⁸

The Kolis and the Marāṭhās

Nevertheless in the seventeenth century the Kolis continued to remain as destructive a people as before. If the Marāṭhā ballads can be relied upon as reflecting to some extent contemporary history, then according to one depicting the death of Afzal Khan at the hands of the great Śivāji, the Kolis appear to have been employed in the Marāṭhā service. This ballad⁹ relates how twelve Kolis formed a troop under a Kolī *sardār*, whose name was Khandōji Nayak. This captain appears to have been paid a monthly salary of rupees three evidently by the State. The poem adds that he removed his (*toḍa*) anklet and gave it to Viṭṭoji Kolī. Then he removed his (*caukada*) and handed it over to Maloji Kolī. After handing over these ornaments, he is recorded to have made the attack, probably on the neighbouring Muhammadans, who must have formed the forces of Afzal Khan.

About this time the Kolis seem to have taken to piracy as well. In the year A.D. 1648 they infested the sea-ports of Dabul, Anjanwēl, Ratnagiri and Rajapur. Grant Duff observes that "the

8 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V. p. 447.

9 H. A. Ackworth and S. T. Shaligram, *Āitiḥāsaka Prasiddha Purnāncē vā sriyance Povādē*, p. 41.: *Bāra bārajaṇ Kōlī/pahilya darwājāci geṭakarī/bāra āsāmīca tōn sardār sāngāva/āben mi Khandōji Nayak bārānca sardār/āiyak Khandōp Nāyak/Tumaci tayināt sāngāvi/tin rupayānci taināt/māla milatī sardārālā milatī hyānēn tōḍa jō kādīlā/dili khandōji Nāyakāla'tyanēn jō kādīlā/dila Viṭhōj Kolyāla/Caukada kādila i dila Māloji Kolyāla/bāra Kolyānce bāra/ārysā vastā tyānē dilyā/Kōlī pbitūr nē kēle/jāk āik pāṭil bōvā.* Note: Caukada is a four ringed ornament, each having a pendant of pearl.

principal hereditary chiefs (of the ancient possession of the Bijapur State in the Konkan) were the Sawunts (of Waree) they were Deshmooks and Jagheerdars of the very strong tracts adjoining the Portuguese territory at Goa, and their harbours were the resort of pirates, early known by the name of Kolles."¹⁰ As will be shown presently, these Kolis later on took to a sea-faring life during the rule of the Pēśwās by enlisting themselves in the Marāṭhā navy. In fact this passion for the sea has remained with the Kolis to the present day for even now the Kolis are ardent fishermen.—It did not take long for the shrewd Śivāji to realise that it was necessary for him to consolidate his conquests by conquering the petty Koli chiefs in the neighbourhood, before he prepared himself to meet his stronger adversaries, the Muhammadans. Merely enlisting them in his service evidently did not lead to any material benefit, or at least, the consolidation which he probably expected to result from the adoption of such a policy. Therefore, about the year A.D. 1672 "during the rains, Sivajee possessed himself of several places in the northern Concan, which had belonged to Kollé Rajas or petty Ploygars, whom he compelled to join him. As he was at war with the Portuguese and was threatening to drive them from the coast, unless they paid him tribute, it was expected from the vicinity of the Koole possessions that he would attack the forts of Damaun and Bassein."¹¹ From this it is clear that Śivāji in conquering the Koli principalities had two aims in view: first to extend his dominion by enlisting the conquered Kolis and secondly to attack his alien neighbours from close quarters. Such threats to drive the Portuguese from the coast must have brought Śivāji an increasing source of income in the shape of tribute.

The Kolis of Cambay attracted the attention of De Laet, the scholar and statesman. He observed that "in the mountains also,

¹⁰ Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I, p. 109.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

between Amamdanor and the town of Trape (Traj), there lives a certain Rajha, who can put seventeen thousand horse and foot into the field. His followers are called Colles or Quillees, and live in solitary places, which render them immune from attack on the part of the Mogol Empire. Further to the east lives another Rajha who can gather ten thousand cavalry. He dwells in an impregnable fortress situated on a deserted plain, and though he is a vassal of Gydey Caun, frequently refuses to pay him tribute."¹² They were, according to De Laet, not ruled by leaders who led them to battle but he tells us how they lived. These Colles or Kolis not only maintained themselves "by plunder and rapine" but they extorted tribute from the kingdom of Camboya or Cambay as the price of immunity from their raids. "The neighbouring kings" he adds "have never been able to subdue them, for they are very bold and warlike."¹³ Though this was the case, the rulers of the locality always attempted to crush them whenever they found an opportunity. Once, between the years 1608 and 1614 A.D. on learning that a 'Lael Kolī' had cut off and plundered a caravan, a Muhammadan general Abdul Khan is said to have moved against him. The Kolī, accepting the challenge, advanced with a force of two thousand or three thousand cavalry and ten to twelve thousand infantry. The Kolī was killed in the battle, his head cut off and fixed above the gate of Ahmadabad.¹⁴

From this time onwards the Kolis became very prominent in the politics of Mahārāṣṭra. In 1732 A.D. Dilla *Dēsāye* (Desāi) of Padra, near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Pilāji Gaikwād, on hearing of his death instigated the Kolis and Bhils

12 De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogal*, pp. 20-21. (Trans: Hoyland and Mukerji) Gydney Caun evidently refers to Ghaznin or Ghazin Khan of Jalore; cf.: *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 493, Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, p. 440.

13 De Laet, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 185. Thi Lāl Kolī allying himself with the Raja of Idar, and trusting to the trackless wilds in which he lived, had refused to submit. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

to rise all over the country.¹⁵ This observation of Grant Duff appears to be correct for the Bombay Factors recorded on the 31st of March 1733 A.D. thus: "As Ahmadabad is at present invested by the Ganims, they cannot at present contract for the *lammanees*, that being the place where they are usually made."¹⁶ These Ganims appear to have had in Baroda two leaders, one of whom was Baburao and the other was Dāmaji Gaikwād.¹⁷

The Kolis embroiled themselves in contemporary politics, now joining this party and now another. In 1734 A.D. Saikji Yākub, a descendant of the Kolī Rajas of the Konkan and a hereditary *paṭel* of "Goagurh" is said to have been made the commander or rather the admiral of the fleet of the Sidis of Janjira through the influence of the *Pratinidhi*, Jivaji Khandērāo Citnis.¹⁸ But their predatory habits never gave them any peace. Some years later in A.D. 1759 the Nizam too appears to have begun a policy of aggression against them, for his commander, Muzaffar Khan, is recorded to have "just returned from an expedition against a Kolī Raja, near Surat."¹⁹

But the Marāṭhās, who were never let alone by the Kolis, always tried their best to win them over by adopting a systematic policy of conciliation. Even when they conquered the Kolis, they dared not refuse their claims for certain privileges. On July, 14, 1739 the Kolis of Nagāon presented certain claims to their conqueror Cimāji Appa, after their territory was conquered, some of the claims being three *khandis* of paddy (*bhāt*), two hundred pieces of wood and again twelve *khandis* of paddy.²⁰ Very likely these privileges were granted to them, though it is not expressly stated anywhere.

15 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381.

16 Ghense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, I, (English Documents) p. 13.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

18 Grant Duff, *op. cit.* I, p. 387.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 505.

20 *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, (henceforth abbreviated a *Selections*) No. 34. (197), pp. 151-52.

This desire for adopting a conciliatory policy should not be interpreted to mean that the Marāṭhās tolerated any incursions on the part of the Kolis. This attitude of the Marāṭhās can be illustrated by their relations with the Koli principalities of Jawhar and Rām-nagar. The Pēśwa was informed on 6-5-1739 that if the Koli fort of Jawhar were captured, the fort of Gambhirghaḍ and the lands below it were as good as captured.²¹ In the month of May, probably of the same year, similar importance was attached to another stronghold. Discussing the affairs of the Queen of Jawhar, the Koli refuge, and Bhāskerghaḍ, Śankarji Kēśav remarked that if Bhāskerghaḍ was lost then the whole kingdom was lost.²² From this allusion it is possible that Bhāskerghaḍ was probably a key position the conquest of which sealed the fate of the Jawhar principality, which itself does not seem to have been completely conquered by the Marāṭhās, who actually made a pact with the Queen of Jawhar. She seems to have been approached by the Marāṭhā diplomats with a request to yield the fortress of Bhāsker. The record continues that without the authority of the Pēśwa the Marāṭhās reported that they had decided not to raise the siege of this citadel, especially on the capture of which they appear to have been very keen.²³ Moreover Vikram Patangrao, the Rāja of Jawhar at this time, informed the minister of the Āngrias, Raghunāthji, that one Nānāji Pant was sent to meet Cimāji Appa.²⁴ This reveals how the chief of Jawhar was watching events and was informing the Āngrias of what was going on in the ranks of the Pēśwa.

21 *Selections*, (198), p. 152.: *Jawārkārani killē vāghera nave mulūk udhvas karāva, mhanjē Ghambhirghaḍakbāḷil mulūk udhvas boyil.*

22 *Ibid.*, No. 40, (13) p. 11.: *Bhāskerghaḍ gēlā thēnvā rajyācē budalē.*

23 *Ibid.*, No. 40, (13), p. 13: *rānāñi āmci pahili bōli ki bhāsker dēte kwrāg sōdāh yaisē āhe, svamīci ājñevmā vedā ūṭavit nābin vā bhāskergaḍhāsāñi balakvaḍe yāni sēvēsi libile.*

24 *Ibid.*, (18), p. 15: *rājasrī āpācē sēvesi rā nānājipant majakūr paṭavilē āhēt.*

When this was the attitude of the Kolis of Jawhar, their neighbours of Rāmnagar became restless and they too commenced to harass the Marāṭhās. A letter reveals how, simultaneously with the disaster which occurred at the time of scaling the walls of Gambhirghaḍ when several people perished, the Kolis of Rāmnagar looted the *parganā* of Bāhē, informing their chief that they committed this as a measure of revenge, the nature of which, of course, cannot be known.²⁵ These skirmishes between the Marāṭhā forces and the Kolis continued until, on 1-1-1759 Karnāji Śindhiā reported that a fight took place between his battalion and the Kolis at Khodaḷē in the Svardā *tāluka*, in which twelve Kolis and two *Rauts* were killed, while among the Marāṭhās, two were slain and seven wounded. He also added that Azam Muzafar Khan had captured Jawhar, the Koli centre and in this fight two soldiers fell, while those who were wounded were granted compensation in the shape of an allowance.²⁶

During this period, the Kolis of Gujarat began to play an important part in contemporary politics. One of the Bombay Factors wrote to these compatriots at Surat that it would be inadvisable for them to join the ranks of the Kolis, in case these triumphed. "You do not take notice to me in any of your letters, what is to be apprehended from Damaji's being admitted into the city, viz. whether or on what terms he will leave it, should Achind (Ahi Cand) carry his point in driving out Šafdar Khan; and the like in respect to the Kolis whom the latter has called to his assistance. Whichsoever party prevails, if the Ganims or Kolis should share in the government, it would be absurd previously to side with either party, as great asperisons would afterwards ensue....."²⁷ The Surat Factors must have watched the situation, especially in view of the advice

25 *Selections*, No. 40, (21), p. 18: *Tysās Rāmnagar kāras libile ki sāvkaracē kasid māṛile, paikā nēlā mbanūn he karthavyā prāpta jhāle.*

26 *Ibid.*, No. 40, (112) pp. 102-03: *kharcās.*

27 Ghense and Banaji, *op. cit.*, I, p. 60.

given to them by their Bombay friend, and they soon found that the Kolis only brought nothing but destruction in their wake.

Forseeing this, the Surat Factors offered to become mediators chiefly in order to save the city of Surat from virtual carnage. So they wrote to Bombay on 17-2-1748 about their new move in these words: "Kolis brought in one side and Ganims on the other nothing but desolation desolating the whole city, we only became mediators between them (and that at their request) with an eye chiefly to save from ruin so great a city as Surat."²⁸ What transpired later is not known at present, but they found, most probably that the Kolis were after all the same old destructive people and so a punitive expedition was sent against them two years later. This was because the Kolis of Sultanpur had taken to piracy and had evidently attacked some of the ships of the Surat Factors. So on 11-12-1750 they informed Bombay as follows: "Last spring our cruisers in company with those of the Dutch went in search of the Bilimora piratical gallivats; but not falling in with them held a consultation, and judging themselves strong enough, went to Sultanpur and destroyed fifteen sails or vessels belonging to the Kolis."²⁹ Such being the policy of the Surat Factors no wonder there was little love lost between them and the Kolis.

These Kolis generally sought service under some Marāṭhā chieftain. This was what Robert Erskine found and informed Charles Crommelin on the 5th of May 1753, when he discovered that from Dholka the Marāṭhās marched towards Limbdi, a considerable way inland "the country he was to pass being much infested with Kolis."³⁰ If this was the situation a little further from Cambay in A.D. 1753, four years later the desperate Kolis ventured to storm the walls of this city itself. This was what the Surat Factors reported to their Bombay friends on the 25th of

²⁸ Ghense & Banaji, *op. cit.*, I, p. 61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

August 1757: "Of very late the Governor of Petlad has got together two or three thousand Kolis with whom and an aid of 600 horsemen, sent him from the Marāṭhā army, he makes frequent excursions sometimes almost to the very walls of Cambay, so that it is very dangerous for any of the inhabitants here to venture a distance from the town."³¹

The Kolis of this period not only began to storm cities but they also became a menace on the high seas. From a letter, dated the 8th of April 1758, despatched from Surat by the Factors there, it is clear that certain boats, belonging to some Bhavnagar merchants, were according to their agent "manned by Kolis" and for this reason these "grabs" (gurrabs) were "condemned" on the 12th April for the "benefit of the captors."³² A similar policy was followed by these factors two years later, as can be made out from the instructions issued by the Bombay Factors to Captain Henry William Bally. These directions were as follows: "Having come to a resolution of sending the Hon'ble Company's cruisers to Sultanpur to endeavour the destruction of the Koli boats, which we are informed are laying at the Bar with most of their effects, on account of their country being invaded by some troops belonging to Damaji, we have accordingly ordered a detachment of military, artillery and sepoy to be embarked on the several vessels employed on this service, and thought proper to appoint you to the command thereof."³³ The English Factors found that it was Damaji's son who attacked Sultanpur in this year. Therefore they recorded in a letter of A.D. 1760 thus: "Damaji's son with twenty thousand (20,000) horse and a like number of foot had invested Sultanpur, upon which the Kolis with their families and effects valued above a lakh of Rupees retired to their boats."³⁴ It is not known why the Marāṭhās, who always entertained the Kolis in their service, took this extreme step

31 Ghense & Banaji, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

of attempting to turn them out of their homes unless they had caused the Marāṭhās some very serious losses.

But nevertheless the Marāṭhās and the Kolis appear to have made this up again for, once more two years later, just as in former times, they joined the Marāṭhā ranks. William Bowyear informed his Bombay friends on the 15th of February 1762 about this matter thus: ".....the Marāṭhā army has received a very considerable reinforcement from Gujarat under the command of Bhagwan Havaladar and that their troops daily increase from the adjacent parts; some Kolis are also arrived, and more are very soon expected. They serve on promise of the free plunder, when taken."³⁵

But the Kolis, despite the friendly attitude shown to them by the Marāṭhās, became the source of not a little trouble to them. One of the ways by which the Kolis used to harass the Marāṭhā government was through insurrections at unexpected moments. In A.D. 1762-63 a letter states that a government order had previously been issued to the officer concerned to reduce the force at *Subha Kawani* by one hundred, but owing to a disturbance created by the Moghuls and an insurrection of the Kolis (*Kolyāncē dang*), the order was held in abeyance.³⁶ This administrative practice of rushing troops to affected areas, practised by Marāṭhā statesmen in the case of dealing with the incursions of all wild tribes, was constantly resorted to in the case of the Kolis as well. In A.D. 1763-64, a serious incursion was caused by the Kolis in the fort of Rājmaṇi in the district of Māwāl and consequently a party of 170 soldiers was sent to Nāro Trimbak, who was ordered to have their musters recorded and duties assigned to them.³⁷ If this was the general system of quelling a Koli insurrection, an individual Koli, if he proved as great a menace, was never spared by the Marāṭhā

35 Ghense and Banaji, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 161-62.

36 *Selections*, 40, (112).

37 *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (324), pp. 297-98.

government and at times a price was set on his head. In A.D. 1765 Luhu Barav Kolī committed thefts and caused some commotion in the country. Sadāśiv Somnāth was authorised to entertain fifty extra soldiers, each of whom was to be paid six rupees per month, in order to punish this Kolī. If any one succeeded either in bringing his head or in producing him alive before Visāji Kēśav, he was offered a reward of two golden and ten silver bracelets.³⁸

In fact the year A.D. 1765 seems to have witnessed a number of Kolī risings in the Marāṭhā country. The fort Jiwadhar which was captured in A.D. 1763-64 by the Kolīs was recaptured from them in A.D. 1764-65.³⁹ On 29-5-1765 Bālāji Janārdan requested Nana Faḍnis to make inquiries regarding the question of returning all the articles carried away from the house of Bapu Sakhāji by the Kolīs in the fort of Purandhar, in which pickets were also ordered to be placed and to put an end to all sources of such disturbances.⁴⁰ This matter was apparently not so quickly settled, for on 14-9-1765 Mahādāji Narayan Divekar submitted to Nāro Āppāji lists of ornaments, jewels and other valuables secured in the rising of the Kolīs of Purandhar and requests for the same.⁴¹ It was probably in this scuffle that the father of Bhagwat Khanderao fell, for in a letter dated 3-6-1765 Bhagwat Khanderao was confirmed in the office of his father who is reported to have fallen in a scuffle with the Kolīs of Purandhar.⁴²

*An Agreement between the Pēśwa Madhavrao and
the Kolīs on 22-8-1765.*

The result of this fight was an agreement between these Kolīs of Purandhar and the ruler of the Marāṭhās. The fort of Purandhar

38 *Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (326), p. 299.

39 *Ibid.*, (327), p. 327.

40 *Selections*, 43, (133), pp. 208-09; *sārāṅś 17yā gōṣṭṇenupadrav nā dēt tē karāṇe*.

41 *Ibid.*, 39, (56), p. 42.

42 *Ibid.*, 45, (30), p. 105.

was from 22-8-1765 placed under Marāṭhā government control. The Kolis begged pardon and asked for government protection. They promised not to commit any mischief within the fort and added that they would be content to have as a commander of the fort one in whom the government had faith. They promised to give an account of all belongings within the fort and desired that the government should grant a compensation to them in respect of articles lost and that, on receiving government permission, they would hand over the remaining articles to their respective owners.

The Kolis were granted a general amnesty and were promised a compensation for all articles lost within the fort. The Kolis had to respect those in whose charge the *saranjāms* of the fort (grants of land) were given and these were to be supervised by the government clerk, specially appointed to look after them. The government clerk would stay within the fort and he would render to the fort authorities an account of the existing property. The government agreed to place over them as an administrator a straightforward and clever (*saralśāhaṇā*) official who would be benevolent towards them.

The Kolis promised unswerving loyalty to the State, especially as the government warned them not to be disloyal. Consequently the Kolis stated that they were eager to do any work while clerks for sundry work were to be appointed.

The government directed that over fort Purandhar, Srikēdār-lin Cheria and Bahiri Cheria and over fort Vajraghaḍ, Rudrēśwar Jagatya were appointed as commandants and being illustrious, they would look to the interests of the Kolis. For them were sanctioned three palanquins, beds, pillows and horses and a salary of rupees 700 each for ten months. The *jamātdar* in the fort, it was stated, was an honest and good man and he would look to the granting of the palanquin allowance (*aftagīrā*), torch allowance (*divāṭyā*), and also a valet (*porgēsūdhān*) to the respective people. If any of the old

servants of the fort were dead, their pay, if in arrears, was to be granted to their children. Soldiers for the garrison of the fort, even for long service, being one thousand strong, had to give security bonds for one year and the same arrangement was to be made with the seven hundred and fifty soldiers in the new fort. If any relation of the Kolis offered to stay with the *Sāheb*, Visaji Kēśav, he and his family would be fed and paid by the State. If the Kolis assisted in conquering a fairly big place, they would be rewarded with a gift, ranging from three hundred to three hundred and fifty rupees, but for the present they would only receive their pay. According to the order of the government two hundred and fifty men and clerks would be employed within the fort and after making inquiries and just as the government clerks of the State used to come and go in days gone by and effect a settlement, the new servants were expected to fulfill their duty.⁴³

From these few details of an agreement between a benevolent ruler and a fiery people, it is very interesting to observe how the Kolis made specified demands to their government and how the administration, in its turn, judiciously considered these requests. This spirit of conciliation, shown by Marāṭhā administrators shows how they could deal with disturbances and maintain, despite apparent odds, the public peace which was necessary for the welfare of the state.

To such recalcitrant Kolis stern punishments were administered by the Marāṭhās as a salutary measure. Some Kolis did not behave properly and consequently their wives and children were imprisoned in the year A.D. 1765-66. When these rebels surrendered to the government, their families were ordered to be released

43 *Selections*, No. 19, (32), pp. 31-37: *tumbāvari māya mamatā kari yēsacē nēmūñ dēu.....ēkniṣṭes antar kādībih karnār nāhi.....antar karūñ naye. Tumacā kbātārjamā pramāñē nisā kelā asē-tarī sarkār aṇṇe pramāñe vartat jāñēñ.*

on furnishing proper securities for good conduct, after the usual recovery of fines. The names of these miscreants are also given as follows:

(a) Wife of Abāji Pāṭil; (b) Navji Sirkā; (c) Ramji Dāgliā; (d) Dhvāji Vhekhandya's children and men; (e) Mālingā Kolī's relations.⁴⁴

Besides this punishment these militant Kolis were also fined heavily. In the year A.D. 1766-67 the following Kolis were fined as noted below:

<i>Name of the Kolī</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Amount of the Fine</i>
(a) Rāyāji Balingā	Kasbe, Tarfa	Rs. 2000
Dharmoji Bhaṭunga	Narsāpūr	
(b) Nāvāji Sirkā	Kalyān	Rs. 300
(was involved in a <i>phitūra</i> with Rayāji Balinga and Ratan Gaḍya.)		
(c) Khandoo Langhyā	Mauje	Rs. 100

The order of the government stated that not only were these fines to be recovered but for future good behaviour sureties were to be taken from all of them.⁴⁵

Besides enforcing such effective measures for improving the behaviour of the rebellious Kolis, the Pēśwā's administration generally tried to rule the land with an eye towards efficiency and economy, even in the tracts infested with the Kolis. In A.D. 1768-69 Viśāji Kēśav was directed to ascertain whether the fort of Bhōpaṭghaḍ near Jawhar was worth maintaining for the protection of this Kolī principality as well as a Kolī tract. If it was considered necessary to maintain it, an expert (*ṛek śāhaṇā māṇus*) was requested to be sent, with contingents from Jawhar and from Vasai (Bassein).

44 *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (328), p. 300.

45 *Ibid.*, (329), p. 300.

If a careful watch was not necessary, inquiries were to be made and a dismantlement of the fort was suggested.⁴⁶

When the Kolis were thus harassing the Marāṭhās on one side, on the other they did not hesitate to worry the English as well. In A.D. 1771 the English sent another expedition against the troublesome Kolis and this is evident from a reference to it in a letter to the Bombay Factors from Mir Hafiz-ud-din Ahmad Khan Bahadur, the Nawab of Surat, dated the 4th of March of that year, for he says that their army "lately marched against the Kolis and mastered their country."⁴⁷ This punitive expedition must have been despatched some time before the month of March for, on the 26th of March 1771, the Bombay Factors recorded thus: "We are inclined to hope from the great damage the Kolis have sustained in this expedition that they will not molest our trade in future."⁴⁸ But these pious hopes of the Bombay Factors were never realised for a number of years. On the 18th of December 1772 they observed thus: "We cannot avoid here remarking that the behaviour of Fatesing is mysterious and surprising; for by a letter from the Chief of Surat which is dated the 7th and was received here the 11th instant, he appears to be desirous of joining our forces on an expedition against the Kolis, and at the same time he himself at the head of his forces is insulting ours at Broach."⁴⁹ So there was another attack on the Kolis not only in A.D. 1772 but again in A.D. 1773 for it was recorded in Bombay thus on the 28th of August 1773: "The Chief and Factors.....proceeded to acquaint us that a considerable number of Kolis, subject to one Jalam Jalia, in the neighbourhood of Jambusar, had lately made an irruption into the Broach pargana; but on a detachment being ordered out against them, they had

46 *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (408), p. 363: *tyās bā killā lōk ṭhēvūn rābhilyānē jawbār vā kōlwān yēṭhil bandōbastācē apayogī.....ēk śāhanā mānus pāṭhavūn caukasī karūn.*

47 Ghense and Banaji, *op. cit.*, II, p. 4.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

instantly retired with the utmost precipitation to their own country about thirty *kos* distant from Broach."⁵⁰ In this year again the English had to fight the Kolis once more. The Nawab of Cambay, Momin Khan Bahadur, wrote to the Factors at Bombay: "Mumtaz Khan, son to the deceased Masud Khan, had been near Broach with a party of Kolis belonging to Dewan to trouble that country and William Shaw Esqr. wrote to me that he intends punishing him, desiring I would be ready to join the Company's people at a proper time."⁵¹

But this statement does not show that there was a campaign against the Kolis, although there is evidence to prove that Shaw ordered Col. John Brewer, commander of troops at Broach, to send a detachment to prevent the Kolis entering the town of Padra in Broach. On the 18th of September 1773 he had thus instructed Brewar: "Having received intelligence that a body of Kolis are arrived near the Broach pargana, and that they intend making an attempt on Parda, you are hereby directed to send out a party of observation consisting of 150 men to remain at that place and to prevent any body of men, whether armed or otherwise, from entering the town."⁵² Despite this precaution, the Kolis continued to harass the locality, if a letter from Fatesing Gaekwād can be believed, for he reveals the real reason of this Koli incursion. In this epistle, which was received by the Bombay Factors on the 7th of November, 1773, Fatesing says: "He (Lallubhai) has removed his family from the town and remained there alone, and has confederated with the Kolis privately. He has kept the Moghul's son (Mumtaz Khan, son of the Nawab of Broach) among them (the Kolis) with an intention to replace him in the government (of Broach) by using any means. The Kolis are, therefore, fighting with the town, whereby the whole

50 Ghensie and Banaji, *op. cit.*, II, p. 164.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

town is ruined.”⁵³ But Fatesing himself employed Kolis in his own army and William Shaw informed William Hornby on the 2nd of February 1774 that Fatesing had a number of Kolis in his army, which at present, was considered to range from eight to ten thousand and the Kolis were “more troublesome and dangerous to the villagers even than the horse.”⁵⁴ These nefarious Kolis continued to trouble the Factors again in this year. On the 18th of March 1774 the Chief and the Council of the Bombay Factors informed Hornby that one Rudraji was “disagreeable from his former conduct and later attempt to join the Nawab’s son and the Kolis to distress our parganas, for which purpose, as we formerly advised your Honour and etc., he had actually enlisted a number of troops.”⁵⁵

Entangled in this web of party politics, William Shaw realised that it was necessary to win over Fatesing from the party of the Poona “ministerialists” of the Pēśwā’s government. “As Fatesing and his dependants only are acquainted with all the passes and the people of this country (Baroda) of which the Ministers’ party is totally ignorant; and they would thus be left in the midst of Kolis and robbers, who would incessantly harass them if deserted by Fatesing.”⁵⁶ But Gambier, to whom Shaw had thus revealed his plans, found on communicating this proposal to the Pēśwā that, being much attached to Govindrao, who had taken up arms against Fatesing, the former would “on no account give up his pretensions to the Gaikwad’s provinces.”⁵⁷

Meanwhile the Pēśwās themselves adopted a policy of conciliation towards these Kolis, although they had often tried this expedient before. It may be recalled that the Marāṭhās had captured the Kolī principality of Jawhar in A.D. 1758-59 and afterwards its administration must have been in Marāṭhā control. A *sanad* was

53 Ghense and Banaji, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 267.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 268.

issued to Rudraji Viśvanāth in 1772-73 as he was then the administrator of this *sansthān*. He was instructed that the Kolis of Jawhār, having rebelled in A.D. 1758-59 and devastated a portion of government territory, were duly punished and their *thānā* was attached. Later their Rāṇi Mohan Kuvar had recently approached the government headquarters and manifested in various ways her loyalty to the Pēśwa. She was therefore permitted to adopt a son and the adopted son was installed on the *gadi*, but he was to be merely a nominal ruler. The whole management of this state was entrusted to Rudraji Viśvanāth on behalf of the government and he was consequently ordered to serve honestly, loyally and to do nothing without the sanction of government. He was commanded to maintain the *sansthān* well under control and to see that the Kolis respected the orders of the State. He had also to look to these matters by residing in this principality. His salary was fixed (for a year?) at Rs. 1,800 in cash, including Rs. 800 on account of a palanquin and clothes worth Rs. 400 besides other charges for his establishment.⁵⁸

But elsewhere the Kolis gave no peace to the Pēśwas. The Kolis raised a rebellion in the year A.D. 1774-75 in the *tāluka* of Pāṭa and some soldiers were hurried thither to quell the disturbance.⁵⁹ In *tālukas* Śivanēr and Pēṭa again in the same year the Kolis rose and to subdue them one hundred Gārdīs and two detachments of cavalry were despatched. The officers of Śivanēr and of Pēṭa, Udho Virēśwar and Bālakṛṣṇa Kēśav respectively, were further directed to attach the houses and the *paṭil-watans* of the Kolis of these *tālukas* and to confine all the *rāyats* of the *Koli* caste. The communique further observed that these Kolis called themselves *rāyats* during the day and took to their evil deeds at night and were

⁵⁸ *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IX, (269), p. 245 also (270), p. 246: *Kitēk āpali ēkanisṭhā darsavilī.....navas mātṛa ghāṇi karūn dilā*.

⁵⁹ *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (632) pp. 145-46.

consequently not to be left at large.⁶⁰ In this year again another detachment was sent against the rebellious Kolis of Pānēr.⁶¹ Once these disturbances subsided, the officers deputed for quelling such breaches of the peace, were permitted to revert to their former duties. Sonji Sawant and Santāji Sawant, Havalgars of the forts of Kujargaḍ and Hariścandra, who were ordered to assist the detachment sent against the Kolis, were allowed to revert to their former posts. In consideration of the cold climate of Kunjargaḍ, Sonji was permitted to serve for two months in the year at the *tāluka*, leaving his brother in charge of the fort, in A.D. 1775-76.⁶² New recruits were also entertained at times, probably to evade such constant transfers. In this year, owing to the disturbances of the Kolis in *prānt* Sangamnēr two or three hundred men were ordered to be newly recruited in the province.⁶³

Nevertheless the Pēśwa government offered to the Koli leaders terms of peace. Jivaji Nayak Bakhlē, Santāji Nayak Sirkandē, Khod Bhangārē and other Koli *sardārs*, desirous of reconciliation with the government, the following terms were offered to them, through Dhondo Mahādev, the officer of Trimbak:

- (a) That they should surrender all the places belonging to the government taken by them and that, on their doing so, all their previous offences would be condoned;
- (b) That all the Koli prisoners, male and female, at fort Pāṭa, should be released and made over to Dhondo Mahādev, who should send them back to government, if the above offer was not accepted.⁶⁴

Such a policy of conciliation and friendship was not entirely lost on the Kolis, for they sometimes offered assistance to their

60 *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (633), p. 146: *divasāt rayāt, rātri āple karmās parvatāt*.

61 *Ibid.*, (635), p. 147.

63 *Ibid.*, (637), p. 148.

62 *Ibid.*, VI, (636), pp. 147-48.

64 *Ibid.*, (638), pp. 148-49.

masters. In 1774-75 when the English for no apparent reason besieged Salsette, Bāji Gangādhār communicated to the Pēśwā government the desire of the Kolis of Belapur, that, as the English were at war with the government, they would, if directed, proceed to Bombay in their boats and burn all houses and huts outside the fort. They demanded the assistance of 100 to 150 men from the government and they prayed that, if they succeeded, the amount due by them to the State might be remitted. This request was granted and they were ordered to sail to Bombay and create a disturbance there.⁶⁵

Such a gesture on the part of the Kolis was only occasional, perhaps, especially during a crisis, for in normal times they were a source of great concern to the administration. In A.D. 1775-76 the Kolis of Rāmnagar captured the *sansthān* of Pēth and compelled its Raja to fly to Nasik. From this place he appealed to Raghupat Rao Narayan *Rājē Bahadur* for aid and promised, as he had no money, to pledge with him his forts and other assets of value till the expenses of the expedition were paid. This suggestion was accepted by the central government at Poona and the necessary permission granted to *Rājē Bahadur* to agree to this proposal.⁶⁶ The Pēśwā administration always attempted to crush rebellions. On hearing that Rāwaji Prabhu was in communication with the Kolis and was inciting them to rebellion, Rāmrao Narayan in the *tāluka* of Rājmači was directed to search his house at Siddheśwar in the Pāl *talūka* without previous intimation, attach and submit to the government all the papers which could be found therein. Rāmrao was further directed to ascertain from him full particulars as to how he had joined the Kolis, who had induced him to do so, what part he took in their activities and to submit all these details to the government.⁶⁷

65 *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (437), pp. 14-15

66 *Ibid.*, (559), pp. 89-90.

67 *Ibid.*, VIII, (74) pp. 76-77.

It may be suggested that even towards the end of the 18th century, the Kolis remained more or less independent. In A.D. 1781-82 Parvatsing Dalpatrao, the *sanathānik* of Peint, offered to win over the Kolis in the service of the English and with their assistance to lay waste the territory owned by their masters. With four of his attendants, he was sent to the fort Kohaj and the officer was directed to submit a detailed list of the Kolis who might be so secured by Parvatsing.⁶⁸ Though the Marāṭhā State permitted the employment of such strange expedients in political matters, sometimes, though rarely, capital punishment was also meted out to Kolī dacoits. In A.D. 1782-83 Sangam Nayak Mārya, a Kolī resident under the protection of the English Factors at Belapur, created a disturbance and committed thefts in the country. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to be shot.⁶⁹ Nevertheless in the next year a similar outbreak was announced. Satwaji Hojari Kolī was making attacks on the villages of the *talūka* Cās, levying blackmail and burning houses. Fifty soldiers were therefore dispatched from the *Huzur* and sanction was accorded to entertain thirty additional men at a monthly payment of Rs. 5, evidently per head, for the purpose of crushing these thieves.⁷⁰

Despite all these ravages of the Kolis, the policy of conciliation initiated by the Marāṭhās was always executed whenever the opportunity occurred. In A.D. 1784-85 Abai Rāṇi of Jahwar was residing at Kalyān with the English. The Kolis having created a disturbance in the country, the Rāṇi was brought to the Pēśwa with whom she made a treaty by which it was agreed to pay her and her *sardārs*, the following allowances, which were ordered to be disbursed :

68 *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI, (498), pp. 52-53.

69 *Ibid.*, (514), p. 61: *tōphāce tōṇḍi dēṇē mhaṇṇ*.

70 *Ibid.*, VIII, (963), pp. 134-35.

	Rs.
(a) Expenses for the Rāṇi for dinner ...	1,000
" " " " palanquin ...	750
" " " " clerks: Bāji ...	300
Mahādēv	
" " " " Viśṇu Mahādēv ...	150
	<hr/>
TOTAL ...	2,200

(b) Expenses for her Establishment:

	Rs.
10 <i>Sardārs</i> at Rs. 10 per mensem for 10 months: ...	1,000
50 <i>Gardis</i> " 8 " 8 " ...	3,200
40 <i>Hasans</i> " 7 " 8 " ...	2,240
12 <i>Rauts</i> " 5 " 10 " ...	600
	<hr/>
TOTAL ...	7,040 ⁷¹

Such measures do not appear to have had the desired effect, for the same old turbulence commenced to repeat itself. In A.D. 1817-82 the Kaira Kolis committed gang robberies⁷² and according to Hamilton were employed as professional housebreakers by persons from Surat, receiving as reward a share of the plunder.⁷³ But they appear to have been suppressed in A.D. 1819 and again in A.D. 1825 for causing disturbances. In this year Bishop Heber noted their rebellious tendencies, for he wrote thus about their activity in Gujarat: "Yet in no country are the roads so insecure, and in none are forays and plundering excursions of every kind more frequent; or a greater portion of, what would be called in Europe, the gentry and landed proprietors addicted to acts of violence and bloodshed.....On other occasions, however, their opposition to law has been sufficiently open and daring. The districts of Cutch and

71 *Satara Rajas' and Pehwas' Diaries*, VI, (582), pp. 103-4.

72 Hamilton, *Hindustan*, I, p. 692; *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, (I), p. 242.

73 Hamilton, *Hindustan*, I, p. 692; *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, (I), pp. 721-22.

Cattywar have ever been, more or less, in a state of rebellion; and neither the Regency of the former state, nor the Guicwar, as feudal sovereign, nor the English government in the districts adjoining to both, which are under his control, have got through a year without one or other sieges of different forts and fortresses.”⁷⁴ These impressions, it has been noted, were mainly of Kaira and it has been suggested that Heber obtained this information through hearsay.⁷⁵ Any how, soon on the heels of the ravages of the year 1825, came another Kolī outbreak in A.D. 1832, when they, mustering fifty to hundred strong, bent on plunder, infested the Kaira high roads. Three years after, the Collector of the place noted: “Some special regulations must be made about the Kolis. No means of ordinary severity seem to have any effect. We never hear of a Kolī or one whose mode of life places him above suspicion. All seem alike, rich or poor, those whose necessities afford them an excuse for crime, and those whose condition places them out of the reach of distress are alike ready, on the first opportunity to plunder.”⁷⁶

In A.D. 1835 there was a crisis in Kolī politics. On the death of Gambhīr Singh, the Raja of Idār, the refuge of the Kolis, a bad character named Caujārām, assisted by the Thakūr of Mundeti, usurped the power and succeeded in immolating as *satts* two of Gambhīr’s widows. Meanwhile in A.D. 1835 the Raja of Ahmednagar (mod. Himmātnagar) died. Mr. Erskine, the Political Agent, came to know that the heir to the *gadi*, Prithvi Singh with the help of Hammir Singh, also intended to immolate the widows of his father. Despite Mr. Erskine’s presence outside the town, three of them were immolated and a British officer shot dead. So in the words of the Bombay Government despatch dated 15th October,

74 Heber, *A Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, pp. 25-27. (2nd ed. 1828).

75 Enthoven, *Castes and Tribes*, II, p. 251.

76 *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, (I), p. 243.

1835: "There were three parties of insurgents in the Mahi Kantha : 1st; Pruthee Singh and his adherents; 2nd, the Thakur of Rupal and his associates, the Thakur of Ghorwara and his followers; 3rd, Soorajmai and his coadjutors."⁷⁷ By this date Sir James (then captain) Outram was 'dispatched to restore order and he accomplished this with the assistance of a British force called from the surrounding military posts and a detachment of the troops of the Gackwad.⁷⁸ By the middle of March 1835 the principal strongholds of Surajmall and the Thakur of Rupal were destroyed and Ahmadnagar was in the hands of British soldiers.⁷⁹ Though reported to be greatly subdued by A.D. 1884, the Chunawala Kolis and those of Viramgam were still liable to give occasional trouble.⁸⁰

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77 Cf. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, p. 526, (ed. 1878).

78 Goldsmid, *Life of Outram*, I, p. 114 (1880)

79 *Ibid.* p. 118

80 Enthoven, *op. cit.* II, p. 253, also pp. 142-148.

Some Political Aphorisms and Views of the Marathas

The British empire in India was brought into existence by Arthur Wellesley, Lord Lake and others after the defeat of several powerful Maratha Sardars such as Scindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, Bhonsle of Nagpur, and set on a firm footing by Sir John Malcolm. The Marathas had led their banners as far as Attock in the Punjab (near Peshwar) in the north and Seringpattam and Trichinopoly in the south, brought into subjection almost all the petty Chiefs and Rajas, throughout the length and breadth of India. The German historian *Herr Springel* wrote in the *Histoire de Marratore* in 1791 A.D. (i.e. before Grant Duff wrote and published his book *History of the Marathas*): "I have undertaken to write the History of the Maratha people because they alone had annihilated the most powerful Mughal empire and had afterwards successfully carried on warfare with the English. My countrymen should therefore know something of these people and their history."

The Maratha conquest of Hindustan raises the questions whether the Marathas had any political principles or were they mere plunderers and adventurers carrying fire and sword everywhere for plunder and gains?

Rāmdās, the poet-Saint of Mahārāṣṭra, the apostle of the doctrine of Mahārāṣṭra Dharma and the supposed guru of Shivaji, expressed some of the wisest diplomatic truths in his writings especially in his half politico-philosophical work *Dāsabodha*. He wrote, "statesmen should resort to big political and diplomatic problems, but,

"Speak not suggestively	Write not what you state
Tell not what you write	In any way positively.

Ramchandra Neelkanṭha Amātya, the Deputy Prime Minister of Shivaji wrote a book named *Ādnyāpatra*² or 'Political Principles.' The work contains valuable informations, based on practical experience in politics and diplomacy of these days; but unfortunately it is incomplete. It however resembles some of the ancient treatises on polity like *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, and *Sukraniti*. Chapters on 'forts and strongholds,' 'the test and appointment of ministers,' 'town-planning'; 'the meaning of policy' etc. contain a mine of useful information similar to that of *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*. Some of these aphorisms are as follows³ :—

1. "Enemy in the neighbourhood is like a disease in the stomach: and should be promptly uprooted."⁴—Amātya
2. "Heretic opinions should not be encouraged in the kingdom."⁵
—Amātya
3. "Navy is the body of the kingdom."⁶ —Amātya
4. "A country under the 'sphere of influence' should be gradually occupied by building new hill-forts and strongholds on the border-land and by pressing forward the civilizing policy."⁷ —Amātya
5. "A jageer should not be bestowed on any one. However valuable may be his services."⁸—Amātya
6. "The civil department shall always control military department."⁹
—Amātya

The author seems to be opposed to granting absolute *Amātya* power of the State into the hands of one man (evidently dictatorship): His opinion is that if the absolute power is vested in one man in the kingdom, others equally competent and capable become dissatisfied with the affairs of the Government. The ultimate result

2 See *IHQ.*, vol. XII, pp. 88 ff.: *The Maratha Political Ideas of the 18th Century* of Prof. B. K. Sarkar.

3 *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* by Dr. Shamshastry.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

4 *Ādnyāpatra*, p. 6.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

is the downfall of that dictator or the wreckage of constitution. He says,

"It is a gross mistake to hand over the reigns of the dictatorship of a State to one man. Those equally competent refuse to assist the Government and try to undermine the influence of the man, who has assumed office. The result is disorder and ruin of the State. *Therefore different duties must be assigned to different persons according to their talents.*"¹⁰—Amātya

With regard to political leaders of extreme opinions in the State, the author lays down,

"Extremists and independent political leaders in a State should either be befriended or severely dealt with by the king in order to put check over their refractory actions..... Every effort should be made to decrease their influence on the masses."¹¹—Amātya

After the death of Shivaji, Aurangzeb invaded Deccan. To him the Deccan problem was very serious. He saw the future danger to his empire from the rising Maratha Power of the Deccanies¹² under Shivaji.

Shivaji's sons Sambhaji and Rajaram found it extremely difficult to oppose such a vast, powerful and well-equipped army of Aurangzeb. The guerrilla tactics no doubt were useful to some extent in regaining the lost ground, but it did not create any serious handicap to the unwieldy forces of the Mughals. The Marathas were reduced to extreme straits. Like Spaniards in the Penninsular War, their national pride and spirits were roused to the occasion. To give encouragement to personal bravery and to unite all against the cruel invaders, Rajaram had to introduce a scheme of granting jageers, *mam* lands, prizes in the form of money and jewels etc. This gave rise to *Saranjami* or feudal system which brought to the forefront some brave and capable persons, who for the first time in

¹⁰ *Ājnyāpatra*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹² It can be said to be the credit of the English that they were successful for the first time in the history of India in conquering the whole of Deccan in 1818 without any resistance from the Marathas.

the history of India 'defeated and drove out the Mughals from several outposts in the Deccan'¹³ and regained their national independence.

After Rajaram's death, Shahu and his Peshwas continued the same feudal system as the large part of the country was still under the Mahommedans. Shahu and his Peshwas gave free hand to individual and independent enterprise, with the result that the notable sardars such as Scindia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Gaekwar, carried on Maratha conquest to the farthest corners of India. The Peshwa family gave to Mahārāṣṭra among the first Peshwas, Balaji Viswanath, Bajirao, Nanasahab and Madhavrao, capable and competent men, in succession, who ruled the destinies of the Maratha empire. During the Peshwa regime, the three and half wisest statesmen, Sakharam Bapu, Diwakar Pant and Nana-Farnavis; the three Fākarēs or bravest soldiers, Kanerao Ekbote, Manaji Scindia (the third was Captain Stewart of the English); three gentlemen soldiers, Gopalrao Patwardhan, Bhavanrao Pratinidhi, Murarrao Ghorpade; powerful soldier statesmen Mulharrao Holkar, Mahādaji Scindia (or Patilbawa) of Gwalior, Purashur Patwardhan, Vinchurkar, Visaji Krishna Bini Walle (the leader of the Vanguard of Maratha forces) — all these were responsible for the subversion and installation of many rajas and principalities in the whole of India. The talent, wisdom and capacity of Sakharam Bapu, Nana Farnavis, Mahādaji Scindia have been accepted even by the British Governor-Generals in their several despatches (both official and private). It may be questioned whether of course they knew as much as the English statesmen. From the vast number of letters and correspondence (including the recently published *Peshwa Daftar*) of leading persons, in Maratha politics, we can get a clear idea about their thoughts on political issues, principles of foreign policy, political instructions

and diplomatic truths, other currents and views in politics. The classification of such references will be found interesting and informative. These are grouped here under the following heads:—(1) unity, (2) loyalty, (3) dictatorship (4) politics and diplomacy, (5) public opinion, (6) fatalism, and (7) money.

(1) *Unity*:—The concerted action on the part of the Maratha Sardars and Jagirdars was responsible for the conquest of territories, levying of tributes and exaction of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Although independent Sardars such as Malharrao Holkar and Mahadaji Scindia had successes chiefly by their individual courage and enterprise, still big political problems such as Panipat campaign, Rajpurana affairs were solved by united efforts. Whenever the question of Hindu religion and Hindu *pād pādshahi* was at stake all of them joined hands. But later on selfish tendencies got the upperhand, disunion and disorder were the result. The post-Panipat history of the Marathas was an orgy of political intrigues and factions resulting in the decline and fall of their empire. References to union and unity of action are many.

1. "Division in our ranks is an indirect help to enemies."¹⁴
—Raghunathrao (or Raghoba)
2. "Ridicule and loss of prestige are the results of factions."¹⁵
—Ahalyabai Holkar
3. "Insurrections strengthen our foes and sympathisers become lukeworm and entertain doubts."¹⁶ —Mahadaji Scindia
4. "Enemies are always on "wait and see" of our difficulties and promptly seize such opportunities for an offensive. They try to foment domestic dissensions when apprised of the difference of opinion amongst us. These lead to ruin."¹⁷ —Sardar Shiv Dinkar
5. "Constant menace of men of our party and religion is a disgrace to our nation."¹⁸ —Chimnaji Appa.
6. "Success is obtained by unity in political issues."¹⁹ (United we stand)
—Govindpant Bundella

14 Rajwade, 5, 71.

16 Rajwade, 12, 13.

18 Rajwade, 6, 119.

15 *Maheswar Durbarchi bācamipatrē*, letter No. 51.

17 *Gwalior Papers*, V. 4.

19 *Ibid.*, 5, 163.

7. "Everything should be done to keep prestige. A mistake of one should be rectified by another."²⁰—Balaji Bajirao.
8. "Big projects are successful by united action. Insufficiencies and drawbacks of our sides should not be open secrets, ignorance and difference of opinion lead to failure."²¹—Sadashiv Dinkar
9. "The nature of work is known by types of persons."²²—Vinayak Bajirao
10. "Support of few honourable men will make a big work light."²³
—Sakharam Bapu

(2) *Loyalty*:—With the Marathas, loyalty did not mean loyalty to the State or Crown. The Western ideas of 'patriotism' or 'nationalism' were unknown to them. In Europe especially in England men have sacrificed everything for the cause of their country and its independence, political and religious differences were subordinated to major issues. Thus loyalty in those countries meant loyalty to the State or nation (i.e. to the institution) and not to the individual in power; the Maratha loyalty was always personal and individualistic offered to the man who gave them bread and money. Such was the notion of almost all the sardars, statesmen, servants and soldiers. On account of feudal system, the interests of several sardars clashed and everyone looked to himself throwing aside the ideas of religion and nationalism.

1. "God's blessing could be bestowed by devotedness and not by himself. The same holds good with a man in the State."²⁴—Vithal Sāmraaj
2. "We do not think of anything but the staunch adherence and loyalty to the Peshwa."²⁵—Sadashivrao Bhau
3. "We have no other protector except our Lord (Peshwa). The dishevelled hair rest nowhere but on the back."²⁶
4. "Great men never break up as far as possible from their masters and intimates; they separate themselves once and for all if something untoward takes place. That is a sign of greatness."²⁷

²⁰ Rajwade, 6. 19.

²² *Chandrachud Daftar*, 2. 24

²⁴ *Peshwa Daftar*, 20. 198.

²⁶ *Peshwa Daftar*, 2. 11.

²¹ *Gwalior Papers*.

²³ *Peshwa Daftar*, 5. 33.

²⁵ *Purandare Daftar*, 1. 48.

²⁷ *Tanjore Inscription*, p. 24.

5. "We shall never go over to another party, when once sworn in to adhere to one."²⁸

(3) *Dictatorship*:—A 'dictator' is one who becomes supreme and all-powerful in a State by blood and iron or with the help of the army. In ancient times the Roman Consuls used to name a dictator in times of emergency and he was given supreme power in the State (even of execution and death). During the Peshwa regime, when the famous Barbhai scheme was inaugurated after the murder of Narayanrao, the veteran old statesman Sakharam Bapu was chosen as a dictator and vested with all emergency powers in those troubled times. All sardars and prominent soldiers and generals agreed to obey his will and advice. We find an idea of the unity of command—'the first necessity in war,' according to Napoleon, when Sadashivrao Bhau was chosen as the Generalissimo of the Maratha forces of the North fighting against Ahmedshah Abdali. Thus the idea of dictatorship and unity of command were not novel to the Marathas. But the difference lies in the significations attached to it in modern civilized nations.

1. "There shall be one man of extraordinary ability supreme and dictatorial. All shall implicitly obey him."²⁹—Trimbakrao Mama
2. "It is beneficial to have the reins of Government of a country in the hand of agencies and a dictator."³⁰

(4) *Politics and Diplomacy*:—In politics much depends upon the correct and useful information of friends and enemies, the employment of clever spies has been considered as a chief factor in the foreign politics of a nation. Kautilya devotes some chapters to 'spies and their duty' in his book '*Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*.'

Maratha leaders and politicians seem to have some vague notions about the science of foreign politics and diplomacy as the following references will show.

²⁸ *Peshwa Daftar*, 23, 232.

²⁹ *Peshwar Daftar*, 5, 33.

³⁰ Rajwade, 5, 119.

1. "Keen foresight of intricate problems are the guiding principles in politics"³¹ (as in the administration also)."
2. "Awe is inspired by drastic measures in politics."³²—Sakharam Bapu
3. "The pros and cons, merits and demerits of the present political issues, the types of individuals concerned—should be thoroughly discussed and investigated before any action is taken to that effect."³³—Amātya
4. "Secret intelligence (of a friend or foe) is the backbone of politics. No matter how much money is spent in obtaining it. There should be no niggardliness."³⁴—Madhavrao I
5. "'Divide and Rule' policy with petty Chiefs and Rajas in India is beneficial to this Government."³⁵—Nana Fadnavis
6. "The diplomatic genius guides all."
7. "Every effort should be made to keep prestige and to accomplish our object"³⁶ (evidently of conquest of territory and money).
8. "Intelligence bureaus, news writers, their ways and manners, the possibility of success in intricate problems—all these should be carefully thought out by the diplomatic corps and by the head of the kingdom."³⁷—Gangadhar Yeshwant
9. "Prestige in politics is half success."³⁸—Bajirao I
10. "In foreign politics success is not achieved single-handed."
—Mahadaji Scindia
11. "Friends or foes, the consequences of their friendship or enmity should be considered offhand. In this case haste is waste."³⁹
12. "If two enemies try to patch up their differences, by making a common cause it must be prevented by all means. But if this is not possible attempts should be made to pacify them through agents. For this will retain the nation's prestige and would bring under control several rajas."⁴⁰—Mulharrao Holkar
13. "Friendly relations shall be maintained with dependent kingdoms and principalities in embarrassed conditions, otherwise they seize opportunity to obtain their independence. Afterwards they are always under the thumb."⁴¹

31 *Gwalior papers*, 4. 56.

33 *Ādnyāpatra*, p. 16.

35 *Peshwa Daftar*, 13. 29.

37 *Peshwa Daftar*, 15. 50.

39 *Peshwa Daftar*, 27. 19.

40 *Maheswar Durbārchi Batāmipatrē*, p. 125.

32 *Life of Sakharam Bapu*, p. 179.

34 *Itihāsasaṅgraha*, p. 3.

36 *Chandrabud Daftar*, 2. 101.

38 *Narayan Vyavahār Shikṣā*, p. 44.

14. "An army should not advance further leaving enemical outposts in the middle from the base of operations."¹¹
15. "Peace with honour shall be made to the credit of our nation."¹²
16. "Mutual guarantee of peace terms shall be secured by oath, immediate action and written documents by the respective belligerents."
—Sadashiv Dinkar
17. "Everything is amiss in politics where there is no foresight."¹³
—Ahalyabai Holkar
18. "Injury should be done without declaration and through the agency of some one." —Ramdas
19. "Political discussions and correspondence should be carried on directly with the head of the state and not through ambassadors."¹⁴
—Nana Fadnavis
20. "The preliminaries, the beginning, the middle and the final consequences of political issues gradually become evident."¹⁵
21. "About questions having no concern of ourselves, our friends or foes, recourse shall be taken of persuasion, bribery (reward) and division; but in no case the existing relations be allowed to be estranged."¹⁶
22. "Enemies should not be allowed to unite. Each one is to be dealt with separately, one to be befriended, while the other be chastised at the same time."¹⁷

(5) *Public opinion*:—A leader always tries to secure the backing of the people to his views and ideas. He has to retain their good will, especially of the best brains.

1. "Everything should be done to keep goodmen in service."¹⁸ Amātya
2. "Will it be a state in which the sympathies of best men are alienated."
—Madhavrao I
3. "Only those who will render useful service should be retained, for the administration must be carried on without a hitch."¹⁹
—Sadashiv Dinkar
4. "Services of goodmen shall be utilised with utmost consideration. We must not be led away by any one of them."²⁰

41 *Gwalior Papers*, V. 37.

43 *Itihāsaśaṅgraha*, p. 219.

45 *Gwalior Papers*, 4, 64.

47 Patra yadi letter, 388.

49 *Gwalior Papers*, 3, 58.

42 *Chandrachud Daftar*, 2, 148.

44 *Holkar Letters*, 1, 50.

46 *Gwalior Papers*, V. 7.

48 *Adnyāpatra*, p. 15.

50 *Peshwa Daftar*, 3, 58.

(6) *Fatalism*:—‘The divine right of kings’ theory has a very ancient reference in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.⁵¹ The same idea was familiar with the Marathas, e.g.

1. “Kingdom is the gift of God.”⁵²—Amātya
2. “He whom God favours shall hold possession of the kingdom.”⁵³
—Maharaja Iswarsing

Maratha correspondences are full of references to this notion of fatalism. Even statesmen like Sakharam Bapu and Nana Farnavis held similar opinions.⁵⁴

(7) *Money*:—Maratha campaigns in the north and south were carried out with the intention of getting money. Large armies were supported on the spoils obtained from enemy’s districts.

1. “Armies shall march for money.”⁵⁵—Raghoba
2. “Debts can be paid by the mobilization.”⁵⁶—Bajirao I

Apart from the wealth of these political ideas, the Maratha history towards the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century was a sad record of plunder, ravages, outrages on women, immorality, merciless persecution by the Pindarees, execution, wanton shooting throughout the major parts of India. The reason was that a series of incapable, worthless men were in power and they perpetrated barbarous acts. Men like Sarjerao Ghatage, Ghashiram Kotwal were notorious for their cruelty. A career was opened to incompetent, ill-reputed men and not “to all talents” with the result the Government of the Peshwas and their sardars became extremely unpopular. Everywhere people thought of throwing out the Peshwa suzerainty. The sympathies of the Rajas were lost. There were constant quarrels between the Maratha sardars Scindia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Gaekwar

51 नरविष्णुपुत्रिविपति: ‘King is god.’

52 *Ādnyāpatra*, p. 2.

53 *Peshwa Daftar*, 2. 11.

54 *Peshwa Daftar*, 5. 74; 23. 72 and other volumes etc.

55 *Ibid.*, 27. 157.

56 *Ibid.*, 13. 15.

and the Peshwa Bajirao. One Rajput has correctly and tersely described the regime of the last Peshwa thus :

“Worthless cowards were made to sit on elephants.

Valiants were ruthlessly persecuted

Virgin pure and women chaste starved

While harlots ate sweet balls.”

The ‘wise and intelligent’ English had gradually established their power in Bengal, Western and Southern India by that time and taking advantage of the disturbed and ‘disordered’ condition of the Maratha State, they sent armies to invade it from north, south and west simultaneously. Their first stroke at Assaye won half their conquest. They became virtual masters of the whole of India. Capable men like Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), Lord Lake, Sir Barry Close, Sir Charles Malet, Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munroe, Sir James Grant Duff, Sir James Outram,⁵⁷ who came to India from Oxford and Cambridge Universities, made a deep impression on the natives, by their genial, conciliatory and friendly attitude. They have written histories and gave an account of the people in India. The English triumphed not only by virtue of the superior armaments (guns and rifles) and disciplined soldiers, clever war tactics and strategies but by a systematic, well-planned diplomacy.

Y. G. KANETKAR

⁵⁷ The grand-father of the writer (of this article) Rao Saheb Yeshwant Krishna Kanetkar had served the East India Company in the capacity of Assistant Political Resident (Acting Resident also) at Satara 1842-50 under the well-known British Residents Major General Sir C. Ovens; Lieutenant General Sir James Outram (the Bayard of India) 1845-7 and Sir Bartle Frere (1847-9), (afterwards the Governor of Bombay and Governor General of South Africa).

Vāraṅkarī : the foremost Vaisnava Sect of Mahārāṣṭra

Among all the religious sects of Mahārāṣṭra the Vāraṅkarī occupies a position of honour and prominence as a result of its great antiquity and chequered history. We shall not be far away from truth when we affirm that it can claim the greatest number of adherents in the land of its birth. Centring round the presiding deity of Paṇḍharpur, it possesses the highest claims of being acknowledged the foremost indigenous religious sect of Mahārāṣṭra. The importance of the sect lies not only in the fact that its saintly followers have produced a vast literature in Marāṭhī remarkable for elegance of expression and richness of contents but also in the fact that it presents a long and lovely panorama of divine mystics whose philosophy of life is deep and appealing both to the learned and to the masses. In fact the mystics of this Vaiṣṇava sect have evolved a philosophy where the cult of devotion has been wedded to the doctrine of advaitism—a unique characteristic which marks it off from the other well-known schools of Vaiṣṇavism. As we cannot do full justice to the subject in the short space at our disposal, we shall confine ourselves to a general description of the main features and tenets of this remarkable sect.

The name explained

At the very outset the name of the sect calls for an explanation. The name *Vāraṅkarī* is a contraction of the compound word formed by two words—*Vāri* and *Karī* and hence it means a sect whose followers are given to the performance of *Vāri*. But what is the meaning of the term *Vāri*? It has got some special associations in Marāṭhī and generally designates the pilgrimage made to the temple of Viṭṭhalanātha at Paṇḍharpur on the bank of the river Bhīmā. This meaning of the word appears to be quite old since

even in the time of Jñāneśvara it possessed the same special significance.¹ Such religious *yātrā* might be fortnightly on every ekādaśī tithi; still the two ekādaśīs, one falling in the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha and the other in Kārtika claim the greatest number of people visiting the holy temple of the presiding deity of Paṇḍharpur. It is also known as the *Bhāgavata* sect, the reason for which is quite obvious. Evidently it is a Vaiṣṇava sect devoted to the worship of Viṭṭhala who is the child form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. But it should not be confounded with the classical Bhāgavata or Pañcarātra school criticised by Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on the *Vedānta sūtras*,² since it totally differs from the latter in its rejection of the 'doctrine of 'four Vyūhas' and in its firm stand upon the theory of absolute monism. The reason for the other designation of the *Māḷakārī* is still more obvious, since its followers have to put on the *mālā* of the *tulasī* plant when on pilgrimage to Paṇḍharpur.

Time of its origin

The date of the origin of the sect is shrouded in deep mystery, since the evidences at our disposal do not lead us to any settled date. The general belief that it originated with Jñānadeva is obviously incorrect in face of cogent arguments to the contrary. Inscriptions earlier in date than the birth of Jñānadeva (1275 A.D.) have been discovered in the temple of Viṭṭhalanātha at Paṇḍharpur and at Āḷandī.³ The latest inscription is of the date 1273 A.D. from the temple itself which records that in that year the temple of Viṭṭhala was being rebuilt and that during the period from 1273 A.D. to 1277 A.D. funds were collected to erect a suitable temple to the deity there. It also mentions the names of those persons who contributed towards the building funds, the most prominent being the names of the king Ramdevarao Jādhava and of his celebrated

1 *Jñānesvari*, VI, 377; XVIII, 1061.

2 *Vedānta Sūtras*, II. 2.

3 Pāṅgarakara: *Śrī Jñāneśvara Caritra*, pp. 27-32.

minister Hemādapant, the famous writer of the encyclopaedic digests of Dharmaśāstra. Earlier in chronology to this is the inscription of 1237 A.D. where we read that “a certain king, called Someśvara, had conquered the kīṅgs round about his territory, and had encamped in the year 1237 A.D. in a town called ‘Paṇḍavige’, on the banks of the Bhimarathī, where Puṇḍalika was remembered by the people as a great sage.” But the earliest inscription hails from Ālandī, where sixty-six years later in 1275 A.D. was born the great Jñānadeva. It is found on the *samādhi* of a certain Kṛṣṇa Svāmi and the most remarkable thing about it is the fact that it is decorated with the figures of Viṭṭhala and Rukmiṇī. It would seem therefore that the Vārakarī sect was prevalent even before the time of Jñānadeva. The famous *Abhaṅga*⁴ of Bahiṇā bāi that speaks of Jñānadeva as erecting the pillar of the *sampradāya* should not be wrongly intepreted to mean as laying the foundation of the sect. In fact, Jñānadeva was a pillar of strength to the sect in its earlier period of existence, since he not only organised the followers of the sect into one compact body but also presented them with a monumental literary work—his learned commentary upon the *Gītā*—in an easy and elegant language for the sect to stand upon.

But even an earlier date might be put forward for the origin of the sect. The *Padmapurāṇa* relates the account of the manifestation of Pāṇḍuraṅga.⁵ Traditions are at one in closely associating the name of Viṭṭhala with that of his greatest devotee Puṇḍalika, a genuine saint of great purity. It is said how Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa became mightily pleased with the severe penances of Puṇḍalika; how the Lord presented himself before his true devotee; how Puṇḍalika having nothing at hand to offer presented him with a

4 संत कृपा झाली । इमारत फला झाली ॥१॥

ज्ञानदेवें रचिला पाया । रचियेलें देवालय ॥२॥

5 *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa*, vol. XX, p. 160.

mere brick for the sake of his āsana and how the Lord true to his promise made to his devotee still stands on the same piece of brick on the sandy bank of the Bhīmarathī. Some may doubt the authenticity of this significant verse⁶ as a genuine production of the great Śaṅkara; still it pertinently sums up the traditional view about the manifestation of Pāṇḍurāṅga on the bank of the Bhīmā river. But as to when and where the saint Puṇḍalika actually lived we have not any records to determine. One Puṇḍarāka is found mentioned in the list of the foremost Bhāgavatas of ancient times.⁷ Perhaps both may be identical but no historical conclusion will be drawn therefrom except a general belief regarding the great antiquity of the sage as his association with such names like those of Prahlāda and Parāśara leads us to infer. Ranade thinks that he was a Canarese saint but adduces no argument to support his surmise.⁸ Hence in the present state of our knowledge we know nothing more about this saint. Puṇḍalika indeed possesses a hazy personality for us and we are not far wrong in our supposition that he was the first great high priest of the deity of Paṇḍharpur. Thus the age of Puṇḍalika remaining undetermined so far, no definite date can be assigned to the origin of the Vārakarī *sampradāya*. Still we can positively assert that the sect originated some time before the beginning of the 13th century and that its salient features were already in evidence in the last quarter of the same century when Jñānadeva was born.

6 महायोगपीठे तटे भीमरथ्यां वरं पुण्डरीकाय दातुं मुनीन्द्रैः ।

समागत्य तिष्ठन्तमानन्दकन्दं परब्रह्मलिङ्गं भजे पाण्डुरङ्गम् ॥

—पाण्डुरङ्गाष्टक.

7 प्रह्लादनारद पराशर पुण्डरीक-व्यासाम्बरीष शुक्रशैलकभीष्मदालेयान् ।

रुक्मभाङ्गदार्जुनवसिष्ठविभोष्णादीन् पुण्यानिमान् परमभागवतान् स्मरामि ॥

—पाण्डवगीता.

8 *Mysticism in Mahārāstra*, p. 183.

History of the Sect

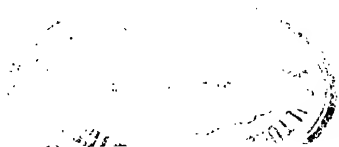
The history of the sect from the 13th century to the present day is a history of continual growth characterised by a genuine vitality of its doctrines and by an all round success of its great mission. It pervades now throughout the length and breadth of Mahārāṣṭra and exerts ennobling influences upon the neighbouring provinces of Karṇāṭaka and Āndhra in the south and of Gujarat and Berar in the north. We can properly appreciate the reason of its great appeal made to devout hearts of every land and clime if we remember its true nature. It was a religious movement for the popularisation and propagation of the doctrines of the Vaidika Dharma amongst the masses. To achieve this purpose the followers of the sect produced a rich literature in Marāṭhī and thus they were able to reach the hearts of the men in the street. It is perfectly Vaidika in its tone and tenets and hence it is wholly wrong to regard it as an antagonistic movement directed against the Vedic religion.

Its history may be divided under three broad periods:

- (a) Jñāneśvara-Nāmadeva period.
- (b) Ekanātha-Tukārāma period.
- (c) Post-Tukārāma period.

Since nothing definite has come to light about the condition of the sect, the pre-Jñāneśvara period is a total blank in the annals of the *sampradāya*. Hence we begin with Jñāneśvara. The first period covering roughly a hundred years from the middle of the 13th to that of the 14th century is the most *creative* period in the whole history of the sect. It was in this period that the subtle philosophy of the sect was thought out in all its ramifications with rich luxurious details. Jñānadeva (1275-1296 A.D.) was the towering genius whose personality looms large not only in this very period but in all the successive periods also. It appears⁹ that

9 Jñāneśvari, XIII, 19, 21.



there was a general revival of Jainism in those days and consequently a gradual deterioration set in in the ranks of the orthodox Hinduism. Hence to avert the evil results of this heterodox movement Jñānadeva wrote his monumental commentary upon the *Bhagavad-gītā* in 1290 A.D. As the Bible is to the Christians and the Koran is to the Muslims, so indeed is the *Jñāneśvārī* to the Vāraṅkaris. In the lucid expositions of the deep metaphysical truths, in the clear explanations of the ethical problems, in the wealth of homely illustrations and pointed popular examples, the *Jñāneśvārī* is bound to be for all ages to come one of the greatest achievements of human intellect. It is but natural that Jñānadeva's appeal is primarily to the intellect. But his great contemporary, Nāmadeva (1270-1350 A.D.), was successful in making an appeal direct to the human heart. The great service of Nāmadeva to the sect lies in the fact that he through his melodious *bhajans* and enchanting *abhaṅgas* democratised the cult. He wrote *bhajans* even in Hindi¹⁰ which exerted great influence upon the founder of the Sikh religion and hence have been included in the sacred scriptures—the Granth Saheb—of the Sikhs. It is no mean honour to say that his popular religious songs were sung not only on the banks of the Bhīmā and the Godā in Mahārāṣṭra but also on those of the Rāvi and the Jhelum in the distant Punjab. The first to lay emphasis upon the *kīrtana* of Harināma for the realisation of the final goal, he did make a fervent appeal to the masses which was unknown before. Nāmadeva belonged to the very line of Jñāneśvara¹¹ through his teacher Viśobā Khecara who was the disciple of Jñānadeva's younger brother, Sopānadeva. This period ends with the death of Nāmadeva which took place in 1350 A.D. The importance of the age is due to the extraordinary fact that the reli-

10 For his Hindi bhajans vide *Mīśrabandhu-vinoda* (2nd edition) vol. I, pp. 222-223.

11 Ranade: *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 186.

gious firmament of Mahārāṣṭra was uncommonly glowing by the appearance of a brilliant galaxy of such saintly stars as Nirvṛttinātha, Sopānadeva, Muktabāi, Visobā Khecara, Gora the potter, Sāmvatā the gardener, Narahari the goldsmith and others.

The second period extends roughly over one hundred twenty-five years from the beginning of the 16th upto the middle of the 17th century. It was dominated by two great saints—Ekanātha (1533-1599 A.D.) and Tukārāma (1609-1650 A.D.).¹² It witnessed the wide diffusion and dissemination of the Vārakari doctrines among the masses due to the great efforts made by the religious teachers of the age. Elaboration appears to be the keynote of the religious writings of the period as creativeness has been of the earlier period. The foremost genius of the age was undoubtedly the great Ekanātha whose services in the cause of the Vārakari sect were valuable indeed. A profound student of Jñāneśvara, he produced for the first time a really reliable and critical edition of *Jñāneśvari* in 1590 A. D. exactly three hundred years after the book was composed by the great master. His composition of the *Nātha Bhāgavata* is another prominent landmark in the literary annals of the sect second in importance only to the production of *Jñāneśvari*. A veritable mine of spiritual gems, the *Ekanāthi Bhāgavata* reads like a popular commentary upon the subtle, archaic, and aphoristic *ovis* of *Jñāneśvara Mahārāja*. To rehabilitate *Jñāneśvari* and to bring its noble message to the door of the common people through the *Kirtana* and the *Kathā* and thus to effect a unique popularisation of Vedānta to an extent which was never known before appears without an iota of doubt to be the life-work of Ekanātha. It was principally Ekanātha who made the ideas of Vedānta familiar to the man in the street. "With Jñānadeva, philosophy had reigned in the clouds; with Ekanātha, it came upon the earth and dwelt

¹² For a detailed examination of Tukārāma's chronology, *vide* Pāṅgarakara's *Śrī Tukārāma Caritra*, pp. 10-38.

among men.”¹³ The other saintly character of the age was Tukārāma who, born in the lowly Sūdra caste and unlettered in the philosophic doctrines of the Sanskrit texts was yet able through his own sheer endeavours and experiences to reach that blissful peace of mind and to establish that glorious unification with the great Divine Being which is unfortunately so very rare. He is the most popular amongst the saints, since he through his charmingly simple and divinely inspired *abhaṅgas* has caught the popular fancy and has produced a religious revolution among the masses unread-of-before. If Ekaṇātha in the diffusion of the Vedāntic principles through his *Bhāḡavata* symbolises the spirit of Jñānadeva in this period, Tukārāma in his democratic appeal through his inimitable poetry written in the simple unaffected idiom of the common folk represents the spirit of Nāmadeva of the earlier period.

The last period approximately covers three hundred years and extends from the death of Tukā in the middle of the 17th century to the present times. It is an *age of compendiums* wherein the subtle meanings of the masters' words have been interpreted and explained in an easy language for the benefit of the masses. Many saints have graced this period, the foremost being *Mahipati* (1715-1790 A.D.) who has given a first-hand account of the earlier devotees of the sect in his *Śāntalilāmṛta* and *Bhaktalilāmṛta*. These fifty years have witnessed a remarkable renaissance in the history of the sect not only by a wide religious awakening among the masses through the exertions of its propagandists but also by an all-round comprehensive study of the works of the masters especially of *Jñānesvari* which has been unfortunately neglected in the wake of Tukārāma's popularity. At present we have in Mahārāṣṭra, a galaxy of brilliant Vāraṅarī scholars who have made a thorough study of the difficult texts of Jñānadeva and are ever engaged in

popularising his teachings through their masterly interpretations of his meanings in their *Kathās* and *Kirtanas*.

Divisions of the Vārakarī Sect

There are altogether four main divisions of the Vārakarī sect and they are noted below along with their sub-divisions:¹⁴

- (1) *Caitanya Sampradāya* possesses two sub-divisions, the first of which has its mantra consisting of six letters i.e. *Rāma Kṛṣṇa Hari*; and the second, a mantra containing twelve letters i.e. *Oṃ Namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. Of all the four divisions, it claims the greatest number of followers to itself.
- (2) *Svarūpa Sampradāya*—Its mantra consists of 13 letters i.e. *Śrī Rāma Jaya Rāma Jaya Jaya Rāma*. It is divided into two sub-sections—One called Rāmānujīya and the other called Rāmānandī which is believed by some to include the Rāmadāsīs, the followers of a sect founded by Rāmadāsa Svāmī.
- (3) *Ānanda Sampradāya*—Its mantra is *Śrī Rāma* or simply *Rāma* and the foremost followers of this section are the fervent devotees of ancient times such as Nārada, Vālmiki, and some are of the mediæval times as Rāmānanda, Kabīra and others.
- (4) *Prakāśa Sampradāya*—The mantra of this section is *Oṃ Namo Nārāyaṇa* and it includes among its adherents all the worshippers of Śrī Guru Tattātraya. The traditional list of the Gurus as given by Ekanātha is as follows: —Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Attri, Tattātraya, Sahasrārjuna, Yadu Janārdana Svāmī, and Ekanātha.

The above short account will give us some idea of the vast activities of this Vaisnava sect. In this section we shall briefly

describe the religious faith and its philosophical background. As a Smārta sect, it professes faith in the worship of all the well known fire devatās. Yet the foremost deity is Viṭṭhalanātha, who is the manifestation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in his child form. As explained before he appeared as a result of hard penances performed by Puṇḍarika and hence he is popularly known as Paṇḍharinātha a corruption of Pundarīnātha, the Lord of Puṇḍarī(ka). The very place where his temple is situated bears ample witness of its association with Puṇḍarika, since it is called Paṇḍharpur, obviously a linguistic corruption of Puṇḍaripur, the town of Paṇḍira(ka). The image of Viṭṭhalanātha is adorned with the figure of Śiva upon its head and this fact amply explains the liberal attitude of these Vaiṣṇavas towards the worship of Śiva. In fact the followers of the sect never make any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu, Hari and Hara. In complete agreement with this liberal conception, the followers keep fast on every *ekādaśī* sacred to Viṣṇu as well as on every Monday sacred to Śiva. Some scholars believe that the very name of Viṭṭhala—Pāṇḍuraṅga (white-complexioned)—was originally an appropriate designation of Śiva and was later applied to the deity in question. It is one of the most important contributions of the Vāraṅkarī sect and has saved the fair land of Mahārāṣṭra from all those bickerings which are unfortunately so very common among the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas of the Dravida country.

The Vāraṅkarīs hold their saints in great esteem and they possess mantras consisting of the inspiring names of their saints, which they consider as sacred as that of the deity itself. Some of these mantras are—“*Jñāneśvara Maulī Tukārāma*,” *Jñānadeva Nāmadeva Ekā Tukā*,” “*Datta Janārdana Ekanātha*” and the followers of the sect have firm and genuine faith in the efficacy of such mantras as that of Viṭṭhala himself e.g. *Jaya Viṭṭhala*, *Vithobā Rakhumāi*. Their scriptures are *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata* among the Sanskrit works and the *Jñāneśvarī*, the *Ekanāthī Bhāgavata* and other reli-

gious writings of the saints among vernacular books. But the foremost duty of a Vārakarī is to pay his fortnightly visit to the sacred temple of Pāṇḍuraṅga in Paṇḍharpur on *ekādaśī* days with his *tulasī mālā* dangling by his neck. Like the *rudrākṣa* of the Śaivites, the rosary of the *tulasī* is the chief characteristic of a Vārakarī. And it is so important for him that he cannot drink water unless he has his *mālā* on. Among *ekādaśīs*, the most important are those of the bright fortnight of Āsādhā and Kārtika when a vast concourse of pilgrims visit the sacred temple, take a dip in the river, perform the darśana of Viṭṭhalanātha and pass day and nights in chanting of the celebrated mantra—*Puṇḍarīka Varade Hari Viṭṭhala*—and in celebrations of Kathās and Kīrtanas. The places associated with the lives of the well-known saints are likewise considered supremely pure and sanctified and they also have great claims upon the religious sentiments of the pious devotees who never forget to pay their annual visits to these places of pilgrimage.

Philosophical doctrines of the sect

It has been already remarked that to consider the Vārakarī sect as a veritable revolt against the Vedic religion is but to minimise the importance of the great similarities between the two. It is not a revolt but 'a reformation.' The saints have the greatest regard for the infallibility and the authority of the Vedas. But true to their liberalism in a cult of devotion they never impose great restrictions of caste and were ever ready to acclaim a fallen brother in their midst if he was actuated by the higher sentiments of love and devotion to the Lord. This can be historically accounted for. Viṭṭhalapanta, the father of Jñāneśvara, was one of the disciples of the great Rāmānanda who was well-known for introducing liberal elements in the Bhakti Mārga. It is but natural to suppose that the worthy son imbibed this spirit from his father and was not slow in infusing a new life and vitality in the ranks of the sect by

making the vernacular a medium of expression for the highest Vedāntic truths and by slightly relaxing the hard and fast rules and conventions of caste in case of really inspired and devoted souls.

The philosophical doctrines of the sect are marked by no less originality than by sincerity and depth. Uncompromising adherents of the doctrines of the absolute monism as they are, the Vāraṅkarīs have evolved a philosophy of life whose very core is represented by the devotion to the Highest Deity. Bhakti is both *sādhya* and *sādhana*—end as well as means. Bhakti as an end is never incompatible with Advaita Jñāna. In fact devotion really comes into being only when the fundamental unity of all that moves and lives in this vast universe and of That who is the perennial source of every being here has been fully realised not only as a philosophical abstraction but as an article of deep conviction and firm faith. Tukārāma is positive in his assertions¹⁵ that the true religion of a Vaiṣṇava is to recognise the fact that the whole universe is pervaded by Viṣṇu. The doctrine of difference is a sheer blunder and leads us to inauspicious results. They maintain that the Highest God is both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*—formless and endowed with form and that the *nirguṇa* can be achieved only through the worship of the *saguṇa*. They put great emphasis upon the efficacy of the repetition of the divine name as the sole way to the realisation of the God. The singing of the praises of the God, either in the abstract or in His concrete manifestations in human life—what is called *Kīrtana*—is likewise taken to be of great utility in the realisation of the supreme being. The saints of the sect have in their writings borne eloquent testimony to the saving grace of *bhajanas* and *kīrtanas* and have practised them all through their lives with a fervid zeal and unabated devotion. To maintain that the Vāraṅkarīs were insistent on teaching

the total renunciation of the world is just to close our eyes from the glaring facts of the Marāṭhā history, since we are told that the bravest of the generals and the greatest of the statesmen were avowed followers of this Vaiṣṇava sect. Indeed theirs was the doctrine of *Karma-yoga* in day to day practical life. Thus we will not be far from truth in the appraisalment of the contributions made by the Vārakarīs to the general development of the Hindu religion if we affirm that they were by their philosophical teachings and practical dealings able to demonstrate the synthesis of all the three paths of *Bhakti*, *Jñāna* and *Karma* for the attainment of the final goal of man in this life.

BALDEVA UPADHYAYA

Two Rare Images of a Buddhist Tāntric Deity Padmanartteśvara

Padmanartteśvara, (god dancing over a lotus) is one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara, who in the later Mahāyāna Buddhist mythology is regarded as an emanation of the Dhyanī Buddha Amitābha and his female counterpart (*śakti*) Pāṇḍarā. Avalokiteśvara was very popular with the Buddhists because of the belief that he was working for the salvation of all creatures, disregarding his own Nirvāṇa. He was, therefore, represented in a variety of forms, which in Nepal has amounted to 108.¹ One of these forms is Padmanartteśvara, whose images are scarce even in Nepal; so far as 1924 only one image was known and published,² and none seems to have come to light since then.

According to Dr. Bhattacharya, the deity has three widely different forms. In the first and the third he is represented dancing over a lotus on the left leg, the right leg is folded in and held by one of the left hands (technically called *ardhaparyāṅka-nātyastha*); with 18 and 8 arms respectively; hands carrying double lotuses in the former, in the latter different symbols. In the second form Padmanartteśvara is shown seated over an animal and with two arms only.

The Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay possesses two slightly different varieties of the 18 armed forms of Padmanartteśvara which are discussed and illustrated in this article.³

¹ For further details see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Iconography*, 1924, pp. 30-51.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43, pls. XXII, c.

³ I am grateful to Rev Fr. Heras for kindly allowing me to photograph and publish the images.



Padmanabhaśvara

Fig. 2

Fig. 1

(By the courtesy of U.H.R.I. Museum, Bombay)

The first image⁴ is 11" in height, including the lion-pedestal, which is square having three steps, legs of the base at each corner in the form of a squatting lion, and the space in between them decorated with a perforated foliage design. The pedestal seems to be made of bronze, while the figure of the deity is coated with gold.

The deity is represented as *ardhaparyāṅka-nāṭyastha* with 18 arms. Of the 9 right hands 8 carry a small "double lotus" (called *viśvapadma* in the *sādhana*),⁵ while the 9th hand (proper right hand) is held out in the front as if in *abhaya-mudrā* or *sūcimudrā* (?) and carrying a large "double lotus" between the thumb and the middle finger. Of the 9 left hands, 8 carry a "double lotus," while the 9th holds the folded right leg. The figure, as required by the *sādhana*, is decked with all kinds of celestial ornaments (*divyīlāṁkāras*): a jewelled crown over the *jaṭāmukuta*,⁶ *kunḍalas*, *bāras*, *śrīvatsa-cihṇa*, *kallās*; and dressed in a long *dhota* and an *uparṇā* or *picchoṭī*, which in three folds is thrown round the shoulder, then passes through the arms and falls down on either side in beautiful creeper-like curls, and finally becomes one with the rhythmic wave-like folds of the lower garment.

In a few respects the image falls short of the requirements of the *sādhana*. It does not carry the Dhyāni Buddha on its crown, nor is it surrounded by a host of *Yoginīs*, nor are its right and left sides occupied by *Tārā*, *Sudhana*, *Bhṛkuṭī* and *Hayagrīva*.

The other image⁷ is 10" in height, including the pedestal and consists of (i) the figure of the deity with the lotus it dances on, (ii) the pedestal which is rhomboid in shape, (iii) and the floral *prabhāvali*, made of detachable flowers and sprouts. The entire sculp-

4 See plate, Fig. 1.

5 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

6 This will be called a contradiction in terms, and against the *sādhana*, but actually it is so; the jewelled crown, being hollow, covers the forehead and the ears only.

7 See plate, Fig. 2.

ture seems to be made of bronze, but is now corroding with rust and is 'dusty' in appearance.

Excepting a few details, the dress, ornaments, and the posture of the 'deity are identical with those of the first image. The points of difference are that:—

- (i) the size of the image is smaller than that of the first;
- (ii) its right folded leg is brought closer to the left leg;
- (iii) out of 18 hands, 14 hands do not carry a lotus, but seem to have been held in *abhaya-like-mudrā*; whereas the two upper hands (one on each side) are in *sūcī* (needle) *mudrā* and the proper right hand is in *abhayamudrā*;
- (iv) there seems to be a girdle with a pendent ornament over the lower garment, while the crown has no festoons.

The other important difference is that the image is surrounded by an ornate, floral *prabhāvali*, consisting of lotus as with a double lotus and lotus bud alternating, surrounded by another creeper and flower design. The deity instead of carrying the lotus emblem seems to be thus endowed with lotuses. This might be an artistic, iconographic variation, befitting the multiformed Avalokiteśvara.

Nepal seems to be the home of these figures. Though the first figure, due to its gold-coating and perhaps recent cleansing and excellent state, may appear late and the second figure with its corroding rust and dusty colour appear early, still both the figures are so much artistically alike that they should be the products of the best period of Pālā or Nālandā art, and should be placed in c. 800 A.D.

H. D. SANKALIA

The Watson Museum Plates of Dharasena II*

These two copper-plates which were without the connecting links and the seal are at present preserved in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot. Though they have been deposited there for a very long time, no record as to their find-spot etc., is available, nor were any attempts made to decipher them completely. They are in a very bad state of preservation, part of them being broken off. The bottom portion of the first plate and some portion from the top of the second plate are now lost. Even the very writing is badly preserved. When I undertook to decipher them they were covered with rust. When cleaned it was found that portions in certain places were dim, the letters being very shallow. It was possible for me to read them with the help of other known grants of the same king. I had originally deciphered this record in 1934, when its brief contents were given in the *Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities*, Rajkot, for the year 1934-35. I am very much obliged to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, for securing the plates from the Rajkot Museum, for my detailed study, and to the Honorary Secretary of the Museum for lending them.

The first plate measures $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ and the second $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. The letters are badly preserved and are in the same form of the script as is obtained in the other Valabhī grants. As regards orthography no special points are to be noted. The peculiarities of writing are the same as observed in other similar grants. The language is Sanskrit prose except the last three lines of the second plate where we get *Paurāṇic* verses of an imprecatory nature.

In the first plate the place of issue of the grant is given but is read imperfectly, only the letters *Bhadra* are legible. It seems

* Read before the Second Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938

the military camp was at a place called Bhadra.¹ This is followed by the genealogy of the Maitraka house upto Dharasena II, the donor king, given in the usual stereotyped style. The genealogical table mentions the following kings:—(1) Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka, (2) Dharasena I, (3) Droṇasiniha, (4) Dhruvasena I, (5) Dharapata. No. 5, i.e. Dharapata was succeeded by his son (6) Guhasena, who was followed by his son (7) Dharasena II, of the present grant.

Almost all of the Valabhī kings though staunch Śaivas were tolerant Hindu kings, and we find that the donor of the present grant was no exception to the rule, as *three* of the *fifteen* grants attributed to him were Buddhist *vihāras*.

One of them is the Bappapādiya *vihāra* built by Ācārya Bnadanta Sthiramati who is alluded to by Hiuen Tsang.² Including the grant edited here fifteen grants of Dharasena II are known. His earliest grants are of the Gupta year 252³ and the latest ones are of the year 270⁴ (G.E.). The last known grant of his father is of 248 G.E., and the earliest known grant of his successor, Śilāditya I, is of 286 G.E.⁵ Very probably Dharasena II ruled from 250 to 280 G.E.

The *lekha* or the scribe of the present grant is Skandabhaṭa, the minister for peace and war. The *dūtaka* or the executive officer

¹ Two place-names commencing with the syllable *Bhadra* are met with in Valabhī grants. Bhadrēṇikā is found in a grant of Dhruvasena I, dated 210 G.E. (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S. vol. I.) and in another grant of the same king of 221 G.E. (Kielhorn's List No. 462). A military camp at Bhadrāpattanaka is mentioned in the grants of our donor king (Dharasena II) of 252 G.E. (*Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p. 35) and of 269 G.E. (*Indian Antiquary*, VI, 9). The military camp mentioned in our grant seems to have been at this latter place. A village called Bhadrānaka is mentioned in a grant of 304 G.E. of Dharasena III (*Annual Report, Watson Museum, Rajkot*, 1925-26, p. 14).

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 9 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. XV, 187; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. IV, pp. 33-7.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 70-71.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, 115-116; *Indian Antiquary*, I, 46.

is Sāmanta Śilāditya, the heir-apparent. In his earlier grants, one Chibbira officiated in that capacity.⁶

The date of the grant which is given in the last line is not clear. From the faint traces now left in the original grant, I read it as 250 or 260 G.E.⁷ Now I tentatively read it as 270 (G.E.) *Bhādrapada vad 2 (?)* (i.e. 589 A.D.).

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal published the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* in verse 598 of which we are told that Śilāditya I ruled for 30 years:—⁸

दश वर्षाणि विंशं च राज्यं कृत्वामकण्टकम् ।

लुब्धः स्वजनप्रयोगेण अजीर्णयति मूर्च्छितः ॥ etc.

From the known dates of his father, viz., Dhārasena II, and his successor Kharagraha I, it can be seen that the Buddhist text is not wholly reliable. The last known grants of Dhārasena I are of 270 G.E. and the only known grants of Kharagraha I are of 297⁹ G.E. Thus it can be clearly seen that even if Śilāditya I ruled in the intervening period he could have reigned for a maximum of 27 years and not for thirty years as the above text gives. In fact his earliest known grants are of 286¹⁰ G.E. and the latest of 290¹¹ G.E.

The officers mentioned include *Āyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Dhruvādhikaraṇika*, *Viṣayapati*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Dāṇḍapāśika*, *Vartmapāla*, *Hastyaśvāroha*, etc.

It records the grant of the village of Tīnaka near the river Paprimati, in the district of.....(vā)naka, to Amaraśarman and

6 He functions as *dūtaka* in all his grants except in 269-70.

7 *Annual Report, Watson Museum*, 1934-35, page 19 (5).

8 Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 24; its Skt. text p. 43.

9 *Proceedings and Transactions of the VIIth All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, pp. 659 ff.

10 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 146; XIV, 327; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XI p. 174.

11 *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1919-20, p. 54.

Anūhaśarman, sons of the learned Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Gāhuṇāyana gotra and who was resident of.....The names of the places occurring here are not met with in any other known grants and I have not succeeded in identifying them. Thānaka is very probably the same as the modern village of Thāna in Kathiawar, which is a Railway station.

TEXT¹²

Plate I.

(१) ओ¹³ ॥ खस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्भद्र.....वासकात् प्रममप्रण[तामिलाणां
मैलकाणामतुलबलसंप्रभ*]—

(२) मण्डलाभोगसंस्कृसं[प्रहारशतलब्ध*]प्रतापा[त्*] प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवो-
पार्जितानुरागानुक्त—

(३) मौलभृतमित्रश्रेणी[बलाकासराज्यश्रीः परम*मा]हेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटाकर्कस्तस्य
सु[त*स्त]त्पादरजोरुणा—

(४) वनतपवित्रोक्तशिराः शिरोवनतशलुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपङ्क्ति-
दीधितिः¹⁴ दीनानाथकृपणजनोप—

(५) जीव्यमानविभवः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनः तस्यानुजः तत्पादप्रणाम-
प्रशस्ततरविमल—

(६) मौलिमाण्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्मा [धर्मेराज* इव] विनयविहित-
व्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनामण्ड—

(७) लाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविभ्राणनावभूत-
राज्यश्रीः परममाहे—

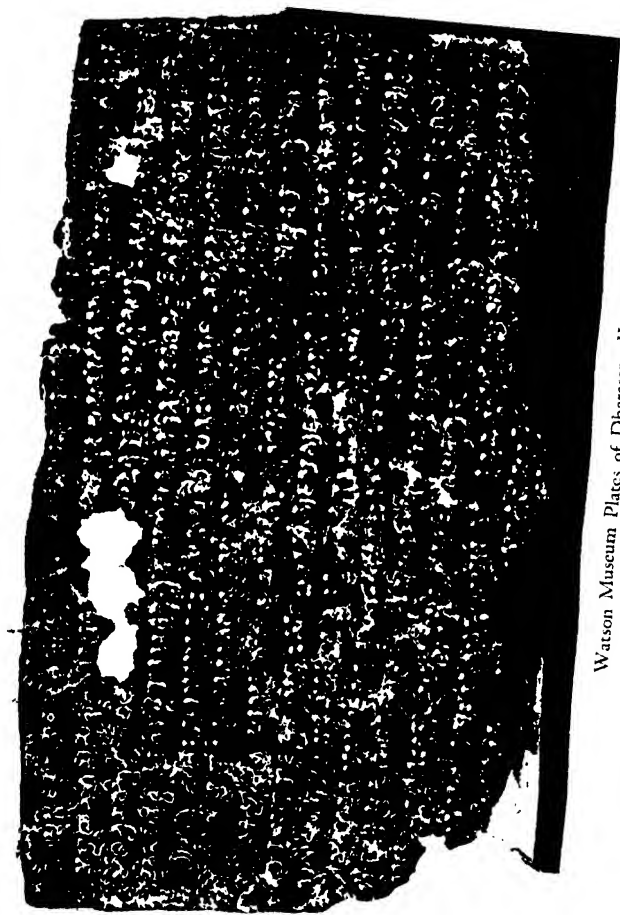
(८) श्वरो महाराजद्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजः खभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटा-
नीकानामेकाविजयी

¹² From the original plates and inked impressions, with the help of other known grants of the king.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

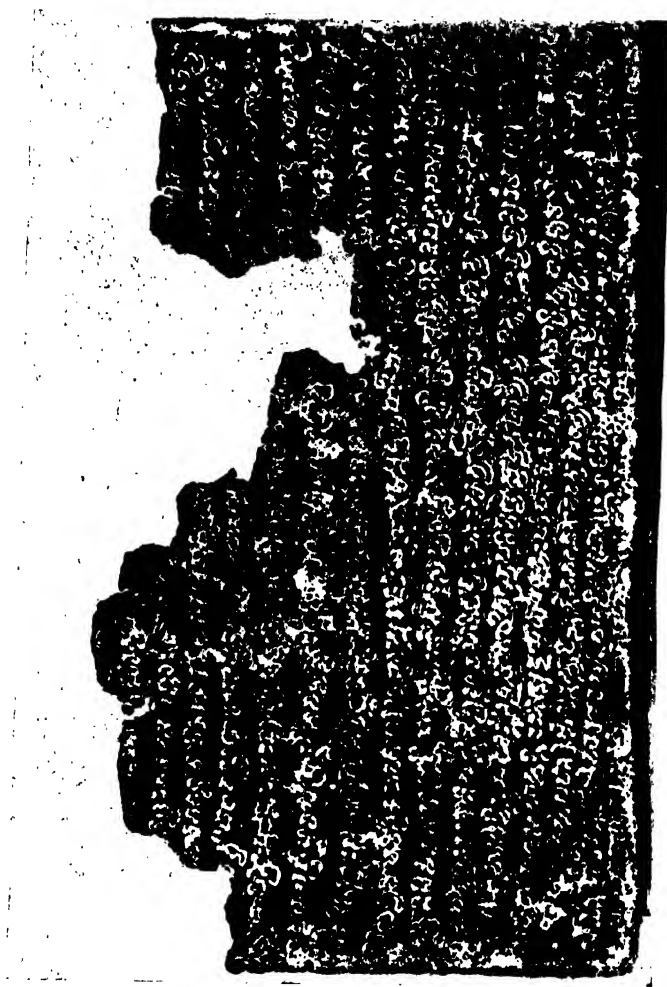
¹⁴ Read दीधितिर्ही०

Plate I



Watson Museum Plates of Dharasena II

Plate II



Watson Museum Plates of Dharasena II

L.H.Q., JUNE, 1939

(६) शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानां [कल्पतरुखिवसुहृत्प्रणयिनो*]

यथाभिलषितकामफलभोगदः

(१०) परमभागवतः [महाराज*] श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्यानुज[स्वचरणारविन्द*]प्रणति-
प्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्व—

(११) चरितोदकप्र[क्षालितसकलकलिकलङ्कः*] प्रसर्भनिर्जितारातिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा
[परमादित्य*]भक्तश्रीमहाराज—

(१२) [ध*]रपट्टः¹⁵ तस्यात्मजः [तत्पादसपर्या वा*]मपु[रयो*]दयः शेशवा-
त्प्रभृति [खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव*] समदपरगजघटास्फो—

(१३) [टन*प्र-]काशितसत्त्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नसंस्रक्तसव्यपादन-
खरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृति—

(१४) [प्रणीतमा]र्गसम्यक्परिपालन[प्रजाहृदयरंजनाद*]न्वर्त्तराजशब्दः.....
रूपकान्ति

Plate II

(१)प्रथम.....

(२)दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेका[धिवासस्य]

(३)व श्रीः परममाहेश्वरः महाराजश्री[धरसेनः कुशली सर्वा]नेवा-
युक्तकविनियुक्तकदा—

(४)रचाटभट्टध्रुवाधिकरशिकविषयपतिराजस्थानो.....
[प्रति]सारकदारुणपाशिकचौरो—

(५) [व]र्त्मपाल¹⁶हास्त्यश्वारोहादीन[नन्यांश्च] यथा संबध्यमानकान् समाज्ञापयत्य]-
स्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया

(६) मातापितो × पुण्याप्यायनायात्मन[श्रैहि]कामुष्मिकयथाभिलषित फलादा-
[स]ये.....वासि गाहुणायनसगोल—

(७) बहुचसत्रद्व्यचारिब्राह्मणभद्रशर्मपुत्राभ्याममरशभर्मानूदशर्मभ्यां ग्रा.....
[वा]नकस्थलीप्रापीय प—

(८) प्रिमत्तिनद्याः.....थानकप्रामस्तोद्र'जस्तोपरिकरस्तभूतवा[तप्रत्यायस्स*]
घा]न्यहिरण्यादेय—

(६) स्सोत्तयमानविष्टोकस्सदशापराध[स्]समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः¹⁷ भूमि-
च्छिद्रन्यायेन बलिचरुवैश्वदेवामि --

(१०) होत्रातिथिपंचमहायाज्ञिकानां क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कोर्णवसरित्क्षिति
स्थितिपर्वतसमकालीनः पुनर्पा—

(११) तान्वयभोग्यः¹⁸ उदकातिसर्गरेण ब्रह्मदाथो निमृष्टः¹⁹ यतो.....चितया देव
ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजतः कृषतः कषेयतः प्र—

(१२) दिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधेवर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनुपतिभिरस्मद्द्रष्टुं²⁰ जैरन्यै-
र्वानित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च

(१३) भूमिदानफलमिच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोऽनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैन-
माच्छिन्नयादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स प—

(१४) [स्त्र]भिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकै[स्]संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षमहर्षा[णि] [सर्गं] मोदति (मोदेत) भूमिदः । [१ *]

(१५) [आ]च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥ *] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त्वा
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य त]स्य तदा फलमिति

(१६) स्वहस्त(स्तो) मम श्रोधग्मेनस्य [१ *] दू[तकः] [सामन्तशीलादित्यः]]
लिखितं संधिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपति[स्कन्दभटेन] स' २७० भाद्रपद व २ (?)

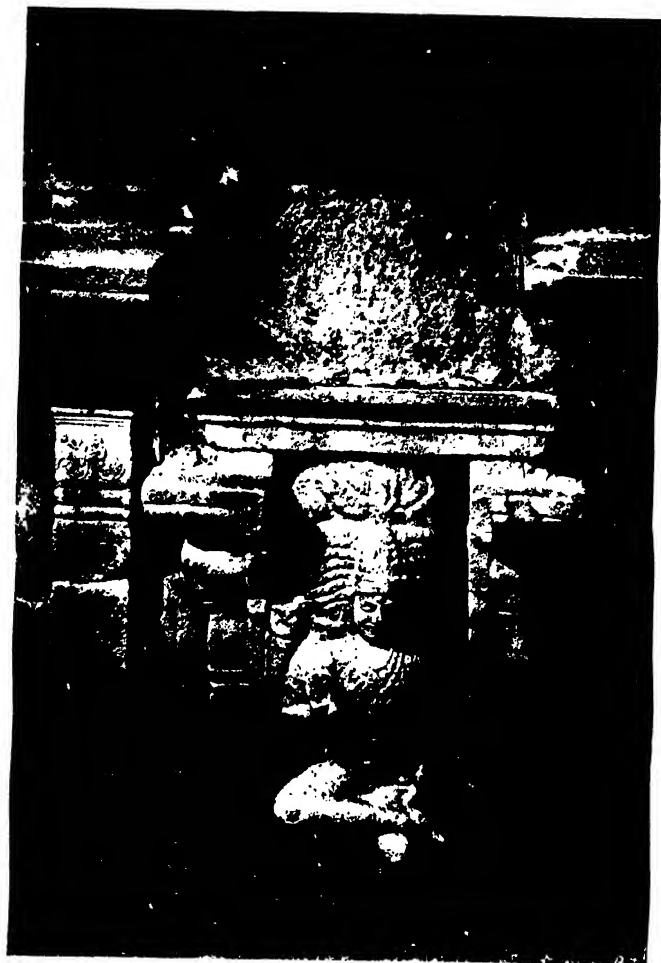
A. S. GADRE

17 Read ०णीयो भूमि०

19 Read निमृष्टो यतो

18 Read ०भोग्य उदका०

20 Read ०वंश०



Dakṣiṇāmūrti
Kaṇṇanūr (Bala) Subrahmaṇya Temple

Daksinamurti in the Subrahmanya Temple of Kannanur

(9th century A.C.)

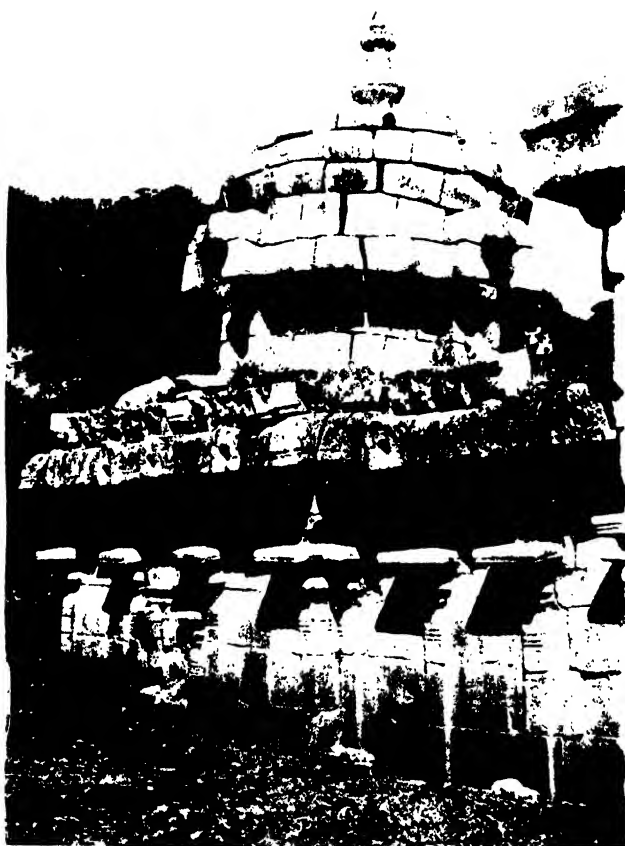
Very few temples in South India can be even approximately dated, and the image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the subject of this paper is found in the southern niche of the Subrahmanya temple which can be assigned to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. Kaṇṇanūr is a village situated in the Tirumeyyam tāluk of the Pudukoṭah state about 23 miles south-west of the capital of the state. This temple is a Coḷa structure built in the days of Ko-Rājakesarivarman whose inscription found on the sides of the gateway has on palaeographical grounds to be assigned to the days of Āditya Coḷa I, whose accession took place about 871 A.D. We have examined the reasons for this conclusion in the article on this temple elsewhere.¹ But we propose here to confine our attention to this image found on the southern niche of the temple. This temple is very peculiar in certain respects. It is dedicated exclusively to Subrahmanya and has all the features of an ordinary Śiva temple. It is a structure completely built of stone with well-dressed and close-knitting granite without the use of mortar. It has a bell-shaped *śikhara* and a stone *stūpi*. The usual vehicle of Subrahmanya is the peacock; but here we have elephant figures both in front of the deity and on the roof above the *garbhagrāha* at the cardinal points—a feature which is mentioned in the earliest extant literature of the Tamils called the *Sangam* works.

Of the three niches, there is an image now only in the southern niche. It is the figure of Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti. It is represented

¹ The article on the Balasubramanya temple at Kaṇṇanūr is published in the 1938 issue of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. (vol. XI, pts. iii, iv).

seated under a tree, evidently a banyan tree. It has a *jaṭā mukuṭa* and *lalāṭānetra* (eye in the forehead). It has four arms. The front right hand is in *cin-mudrā* pose and the front left hand is placed on the thigh. We are not able to see what the object on the right back-hand is. Perhaps it is an *akṣamālā*. It holds a *sarpa* (snake) in the back left hand. The left leg hangs down and presses on the *apasmāra puruṣa* and the right is placed over the left thigh. The image is on the whole well-preserved if we consider the age of the image and the monument.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN
K. VENKATARANGA RAJU



Vimāna
Kaṇṇanūr Temple

MISCELLANY

Epic Studies

1. *Rājavaṃśa and Rāmāyaṇa*

The word *vaṃśa* "cane, bamboo" has acquired the meanings of "family-tree, lineage, race, family" because the knots of the bamboo represent the successive generations. In Buddhist literature and in Pāli particularly, the word has, for the same reason, been given the sense of a "chronicle." *Mahāvamsa* is the Great Chronicle; *Dīpavamsa* "the Chronicle of the Island;" *Buddhavaṃsa* "the Chronicle of successive Buddhas." In later Pāli literature, the word is frequently inserted in the title of historical or legendary works: *Anāgatavaṃsa*, *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, *Attanagaluvihāraṃsa*, etc.

In a note published elsewhere,¹ I have shown that the first volume of the *Mahāvastu* contains in the pages 338-348, after the formula *Rājavaṃśe ādi*, a history of the origin of the world, of the human race and of the castes. The following text relates the origin of the Śākya and the Koliya, as well as the history of the kings looked upon as the Buddha's ancestors.

L. Finot already admitted² that a biography of the Buddha, now lost, could have preceded the Chronicle of which the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and *Cullavagga* XI-XII form two fragments.

I think the history of the origin of the world and of the kings of the Solar Race (*Rājavaṃśa*), life of the Buddha, account of his death (*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*) and of the first two councils (*Cullavagga*, XI-XII) formed originally the parts of one single work. Let us call this hypothetical work an old *Buddhavaṃsa*. This *vaṃśa*, in which the Śākya kings, their ancestors in the direct line

1 *The Rājavaṃśa*, *Indian Culture*, Jan., 1938, pp. 359-360.

2 *IHQ.*, VIII, 2, pp. 241-6.

composed the genealogy of the Buddha, has been substituted later on by another text after the type of the present *Buddhavaṃśa*, in which the ancestors, rather predecessors of Śākyamuni are the Buddhas of the past.

We may then distinguish three stages:—

- (i) *Rājavaṃśa*, non-specifically Buddhist;
- (ii) the old **Buddhavaṃśa* including the *Rājavaṃśa*; and
- (iii) the present *Buddhavaṃśa*.

The *Rājavaṃśa* was probably transmitted orally before it was written, because its fragments which survive in the Buddhist literature offer different readings which cannot be just alterations due to the carelessness of the scribes. Those fragments belong to the Canon of the three great Buddhist Schools, Mahāsāṅghika, Sarvāstivādin and Sthavira. The *Mahāvastu* belongs, we know, to the *Vinaya* of a sect of the Mahāsāṅghika. To the fragment of the *Mahāvastu* mentioned above, correspond similar fragments of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and the *Aggaññasuttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* in Pali.³ Again, the story of king Kuśa, Ikṣvāku's son and one of the first kings of the Solar Race, appears once more in the *Mahāvastu* (II, 421-496; III, pp. 1-27), in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin⁴ and in the *Jātaka* in Pali (*Kusajātaka*, no. 531). This legend was probably an essential part of the *Rājavaṃśa*. We shall see that these notions may help to throw some light upon the origin of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In this poem. I, 5, one reads:

ईच्छाकूनमिदं तेषां वंशे राज्ञाम् महात्मनाम् ।

महदुत्पन्नमाख्यानम् रामायणमिति श्रुतम् ॥

3 Cf. *Une Cosmogonie Commune à l'Iran et à l'Inde*, JA., 1937, II, p. 482, n. 3.

4 Just as in the *Mahāvastu* the legend is told twice, in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin two tales can be found: a short (cf. *Tripit.* ed. Tok. XVII, 4 p. 48a) and a long one. For an English translation of the Tibetan version of the longer tale, cf. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 21-28.

H. Jacobi, in *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 67, comments on this quotation in the following words:

"This testimony, according to which the *Rāmāyaṇa* took birth in the house of Ikṣvāku, can be, in the following way, linked without any difficulty to those which make Vālmiki the author of this poem.

"The story, or the legend, of the Ikṣvāku Rāma was the subject of numerous epical songs of the bards (*sūta*) at the courts of the princes belonging to the Ikṣvāku race. An eminent poet, the brahman Vālmiki, took hold of this theme; he gathered into a single picture the different features scattered over the many songs and composed a coherent epic poem which, though it was not first in its kind, was however the first lasting work and deserved to be called *ādikāvya*, the first poem true to the rules of art."⁵

This is how Roussel translates the same lines:

"It is in the family of these magnanimous princes, the stock of which is Ikṣvāku, that the great tale of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed and sung."

The interpreters agree, it seems, to understand *vaṁśe rājñām* "in the family of the kings" as one would say: "at the kings' court." But *vaṁśa* means exactly "family-tree" and, by extension: "dynasty, chronicle." Should we not rather understand "in the kings' genealogy"? Let us see if this translation is acceptable.

The word *vaṁśa*, here, can have a double sense. According to the legend,⁶ Ikṣvāku was born in the stem of a sugar-cane. The poet may have alluded to this story: like Ikṣvāku, the *ākhyānam* called *Rāmāyaṇa* is *utpannam vaṁśe*. What is exactly this symbolical *vaṁśa*? We have just seen that the chronicle of the kings, Ikṣvāku's descendants, bore the title of *Rājavaṁśa*. It is in this *vaṁśa* that the *Rāmāyaṇa* originated.

In consequence I translate like this:

"This great tale (*ākhyāna*), called *Rāmāyaṇa*, has its origin in the chronicle of the magnanimous Ikṣvāku kings."

This interpretation allows to adopt a position in a controversy which divides the scholars.

5 *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 67.

6 Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 422.

Weber had seen already that the *Dasaratha-jātaka* in Pali, (ed. Fausboll, IV, pp. 124 ff.), contains an older form of Rāma's legend. H. Jacobi, on the reverse, insists that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than the *Jātaka*. Prof. B. Keith has expressed his opinion that both the *Jātaka* story and the Epic used an older source.⁷ In his work "*The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*," published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, Dr. Dineshchandra Sen says (p. 7): "The crude early form of the *Jātaka* story is apparent and marked, and leaves but little doubt that it represents the earliest form in which the tale of Rāma originally existed among the people."

Dr. Dineshchandra Sen is probably right when he assumes that the *Dasaratha-jātaka* is more archaic than the Epic. But the testimony that we have just quoted affords ground to prove that, in conformity with Prof. B. Keith's opinion, both the *Jātaka* story and the Epic borrowed from an earlier source, and we know now that this common source must have been the *Rājavalamśa*.

Besides, H. Jacobi believed⁸ that the *Rāmāyaṇa* had taken birth in the land of Kośala, ruled by the Ikṣvāku kings, the capital of which was Ayodhyā. According to the *Mahāvastu* (II, p. 421), Ikṣvāku reigns over Benares. In the *Jātaka* in Pali, Dasaratha reigns over Benares also. Apart from the tradition by which Ikṣvāku's lineage rules Ayodhyā, another one existed by which the Ikṣvāku were the kings of Benares. The hesitation between the two traditions can be felt in Buddhist literature. While in *Mahāvastu* II, p. 421, Ikṣvāku reigns over Benares, in *Mahāvastu* I, p. 348, he is the king of Śāketa. We know that in the Buddhist and Jaina literatures, as in the works of the Greeks and Patañjali, Śāketa is the name of the city which takes the place of Ayodhyā, and the late Uttarakāṇḍa (*Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 111, 10) predicts that it will remain forsaken for a long time until Rṣabha establishes himself in it.

Everything happens apparently as if in the most ancient tradition Benares had been the capital of the kings born of Ikṣvāku, Dasaratha and Rāma. In this respect the very archaic *Dasarathajātaka* reproduces probably the *Rājavamśa*. Later on, at a period undetermined but which cannot be posterior to Vālmiki's poem, Rāma's legend and that of the Ikṣvāku kings were located at Ayodhyā.⁹ Lastly, under the influence of the epic poems, the Buddhist tradition would have suffered alterations in parts and Ikṣvāku from that moment would have been considered as the sovereign of Śāketa. The fact that in *Mahāvastu* I, p. 348, the capital of Kośala is described by its new name of Śāketa, instead of the old Ayodhyā, should serve to prove that this text is no more in conformity with the early redaction of the *Rājavamśa*. The study of a famous episode, that of Sītā's birth, shall help us to see more clearly several other facts in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

II. Sītā's Birth

We know that in *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 66, 13-15, Sītā was born out of the earth one day when the king of Mithilā, Janaka, was ploughing. The name bestowed on the baby is an allusion to the furrow (*sītā*) cut by the king's plough.

A *Rāmāyaṇa* in Khmer existed in Cambodia, the title of which *Rāmkerti*, corresponds to Skt. *Rāmakīrti*. An incomplete text of this *Rāmkerti* has been published by the Royal Library of Phnompenh, thanks to the efforts of Mlle Suzanne Karpeles. In this poem, the study of which I have undertaken with M. Martini's collaboration, Sītā does not appear in the furrow. The king of Mithilā, pushing his golden plough along the Yamunā (sic !), beholds on the river the divine Sītā, floating on a raft.¹⁰ Here, then,

⁹ In *Manuvārata* III, 202, 13-15, Ikṣvāku reigns over Ayodhyā.

¹⁰ A note from the editor says that the Khmer manuscripts write often Seta instead of Sītā.

we find a combination of the two themes: the royal ploughing, and Sitā found on a raft. In the Cambodian tradition, the second theme is attested again but in a different form, for on the cover of the Phnom-penh edition, a native picture shows the child Sitā lying in a floating chest instead of drifting away on a raft.

The theme of the floating box has been examined by Em. Cosquin.¹¹ After he has given summary of the Javanese legend of Raden Pakou, and of the Indian legends about the city of Vaiśālī, of several Indian tales,¹² of the legends of Sargon, of Karna, of Romulus and Remus, of Danaë, of Semiramis and of Cyrus, Em. Cosquin notes that in 1900 H. Kern published the Kawi text of a Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, and he adds:

"Long before in 1812, W. Marsden had given, with the English translation, some extracts of a Malay *Sri Rāma* which, if one judges by those fragments is far from possessing the fidelity, however relative be it, of the Javanese version: indeed, the characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are seen sometimes in this *Sri Rāma* in parts absolutely different from those which they act in the Indian poem, and they appear in adventures unknown to this poem."¹³

"Out of those adventures, M. Cabaton notes this one particularly".

"Young queen Mandu Derrei, Mahārādja Rāvaṇa's wife, gives birth to a little daughter admirably beautiful and whose complexion is like the purest gold. The sign readers are sent for by the king to draw the baby's horoscope and see if her fate is to be a happy or an unhappy one. After they have referred to their books, the astrologers shake their heads. Pressed by the king to explain themselves, they answer at last that the little princess's fate is going to be a very happy one and that the man who wins her hand shall soon reign over all the kingdoms in the world. "If it is so,—says Mahārādja Rāvaṇa, furious at the idea that he might be overthrown by his future son-in-law, or become his vassal—why should this cursed little creature be allowed to live? Better smash her head on a stone." But the queen implores that the child should not be put to death in such a savage fashion

¹¹ 'Le Lait de la Mère et le Coffre Flottant', *Revue des questions historiques*, April, 1908.

¹² Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, April, 1891, *Folklore in Salsete*, no. 8; *ibid.*, November 1893, pp. 315 f.

¹³ W. Marsden: *A Grammar of the Malayan Language*, (London, 1812), p. 164 & f.

and, answering her prayer, Rāvaṇa causes an iron chest to be made, the little princess is deposited in it, then it is thrown into the sea: because of its weight it should have sunk straight down to the bottom, but the gods cause it to float on the waves."

"Now a certain rādja existed at the time, called Mahārishi Kala, who used to go into the sea every morning as a penance, and to stand up to the waist in the water while he adored the rising sun. And, when the sun had reached midday, the rādja would come out of the sea and go back to his palace. One morning, as he was thus making his devotions in the ocean, the iron chest is brought near him by the waves. When his penance is finished, Kala has the box fished out of the sea and carried to his palace. Then, having called the queen by him, he has it opened and at once a radiance comes out of it which illuminates the whole palace. A little girl is found lying in the chest, "whose skin was like polished gold and whose face was as bright as the full moon." The king adopts the child and gives her the name of Poutri Sita Devi."

"In the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vālmiki there is absolutely nothing like this story: in the Indian poem, Rāvaṇa and his wife Mandodari (the Mandu Derrei of the Malay work) are not a king and queen as in the Hindu book, but two *rākṣasas*, wicked goblins, and Sitā is by no means their daughter: she comes to the light in a furrow cut by a king's plough.

"According to us, however, it is very likely that the Malay have borrowed this tale from a story directly or indirectly come from India. King Kala, when he gathers the floating box as he is adoring the god sun in the ocean, reminds us strongly of the "fervent worshipper of the Sun" who, in the Indian tale of the Goudjrate peninsula, stands on the beach when the chest with the two children is brought to him by the waves. Moreover, in the *Sri Rāma*, the iron chest is kept afloat by "the deities", just as, in the third legend relative to the city of Vaisāli, the *devas*, (the gods) cause the "sealed vase" to float, where the piece of flesh has been put which shall divide one day into two children.

"One has been able to note that the tale of the Malay book among stories of the same kind, must be placed between the myth of Danaë and the legend of Sirus. Only, in this *Sri Rāma*, it is not the future son, but the future husband of his daughter that a

prediction gives the rādja a reason to fear, and that is why, killing the little princess, he wants to make sure that she will never marry."¹⁴

In this Malay *Sri Rāma*, as in the *Rāmkeriti*, little Sītā is a baby saved from the sea. But the Malay tale says precisely that she is Rāvaṇa's daughter, thus differing twice from Vālmiki's poem. In the latter text, Sītā is born of the earth and is found in a field; in the *Sri Rāma* she is Rāvaṇa's daughter and is discovered on the waves. Those two divergences are perhaps connected together. If Sītā is Rāvaṇa's daughter, she is born in Laṅkā island, and to reach Northern India she must necessarily be carried miraculously over the ocean.

This theme is not narrowly confined to Indonesia. It appears again at the other end of Greater India, in a text recovered from Chinese Turkestan. Among the numerous rolls of paper found in the hidden library of Tun-huang, Prof. F. W. Thomas has discovered three fragments A, B, C, exhibiting a Tibetan version of the story of Rāma.¹⁵ "The text refers to the man Litsabyid Dri-ma-dag-pa, whose wife's utterance led to Sītā's banishment. It looks as if we were dealing here with a Licchavi *rajaka* (washerman). In that case a Nepalese source is suggested. The suggestion has no antecedent improbability. During the seventh and eighth centuries Tibet was in close relations with Nepal, and the soldiers or Nepalese auxiliaries may easily have carried the story with the armies which overran the eastern part of Chinese Turkestan. In that case we are dealing with a popular form of the Rāma story having a currency in Nepal. This would furnish the direct connection with India that is demanded by the undiluted Indian character of the narrative. In any case, we have in these documents testimony to the early currency of popular

14 E. Cosquin, *Le Lait de la Mère et le Coffre Flottant*, pp. 36-38.

15 *A Rāmāyaṇa story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan*, in *Indian Studies* in honour of C. R. Lanman, 1929, pp. 193 ff.

Rāma narratives following the general lines and scales of the *Mahābhārata* and departing freely from the classical version of Vālmiki.”¹⁶

Since then Mlle M. Lalou has recovered, among the manuscripts kept in Paris and which came also from Tun-huang, some fragments of two other Tibetan versions of Rāma's story.¹⁷

This is how Prof. F. W. Thomas has summed up, after the Tibetan version, the part which narrates Sitā's birth:

“The gods who rule the three worlds take council together and arrange that a human being capable of destroying the demons must be born as a daughter of Daśagrīva.

“A wife of Daśagrīva gives birth to a daughter, who, as the sign-readers declare, will ruin her father and all the demons. So the child is enclosed in a copper vessel and committed to the waters. She is found and adopted by Indian peasants, who name her Rol-ned-ma (Lilāvati).”¹⁸

Here, like in the *Sri Rāma*, the child is Daśagrīva's (Rāvaṇa's) daughter. But she is adopted by peasants and called Lilāvati.

Recently Prof. Bailey has discovered among the documents found at Tun-huang a Khotanese version of the Rāma legend. This version differs greatly in some respects from the Tibetan. A daughter is born to Daśagrīva. The astrologers foretell the great mischief that she will cause. She is exposed on the river, but saved by a Ṛṣi. Here is a lacuna. Rāma and his brother find Sitā and set her within a magical circle.¹⁹

We have now the proof that, from one extremity to the other of the Indian world, a legend of Rāma was narrated where Sitā was Rāvaṇa's daughter and where the child, exposed on the waters, was miraculously saved. The wide diffusion of this story and the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

¹⁷ *J.A.*, Oct.-Dec. 1936, pp. 560-562.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 211 (document B. 89-92).

¹⁹ Those indications by courtesy of Prof. H. W. Bailey.

different ways the theme is interpreted are so many signs of its antiquity.

Now, if we try to classify chronologically the different versions of Sitā's birth, the following indications may be given:

(1) In the *Dasaratha-jātaka*, which is probably the earliest form known of Rāma's legend and which seems to imitate a fragment of the *Rājavamśa*, Sitā is Daśaratha's daughter and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's sister.

(2) Later on, the marriage between the brother and sister²⁰ being found offensive and immoral, it is decided that Sitā shall be born in another family. Out of the two new themes: Sitā, daughter to Rāvaṇa or Sitā born out of the earth, it seems that the former has the best chance to be the earliest for the following reasons:

(a) Everybody admits that the first canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents a late reflection of the beginning of the poem of Vālmiki. If Sitā's birth is narrated in this first canto it is a proof that this episode can be suspected of having been altered.

(b) As H. Jacobi had already seen, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the result of the fusion of two legends: that of Rāma and of Rāvaṇa. A very ancient theme of folklore is that of the banished child who causes his father's ruin. This theme, which explains the episode of the floating chest at the same time as the fight against Rāvaṇa and his ruin, stands out very clearly still in the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is blotted out in the narratives where Sitā takes birth in the earth.

(c) With time, Sitā's divine character and the devilish condition of Rāvaṇa have seemed irreconcilable: it did not look credible that Sitā Devī should be daughter of a Rākṣasa. And this might explain the late introduction into the legend of the theme: Sitā being born in the earth. Sitā's early name "furrow" and the fact

20 For Buddhist tales altered so that the theme of the marriage between brother and sister should disappear, cf. J. Przyluski and M. Lalou, *Récits Populaires et Contes Bouddhiques*, J.A., Apl.-June, 1936, pp. 182 ff.

that ever since the Vedic period *Sitā* was the name of a deity, could suggest the theme of her birth out of the furrow. Since very ancient times the Mother Earth is the Great Goddess, the mother of all the gods.

(d) The tale of *Sitā*'s birth in the Cambodian *Rāmāyaṇa* can be explained now as an intermediate form between two successive versions. Like in the early tale, the child is brought by the waves. She is brought to the king of Mithilā during the feast of the ritual ploughing.

(e) The old theme: *Sitā*, Rāvaṇa's daughter, is not a local variation; it has spread over the Indian world from one extremity to the other, and has been altered in the different regions: *Sitā* saved from the waters is adopted by king Kala (Malay country), by some peasants (Tibetan versions) or by a ṛṣi (Khotan), by the king of Mithilā during the ritual ploughing (Cambodia). It is with the latter variation that the theme of her birth out of the furrow is connected.

After all, the comparative study of the traditions existing around *Sitā*'s birth leads to suggest as a working hypothesis the following chronology:

I.—*Rājavamśa* and *Daśarathajātaka*: *Sitā*, daughter to Daśaratha.

II.—primary *Rāmāyaṇa*: *Sitā*, Rāvaṇa's daughter,

(a) adopted by king Kala (Malay islands)

(b) „ „ some peasants (Tibetan version)

(c) „ „ a ṛṣi (Khotan)

(d) „ „ the king of Mithilā (Cambodia)

III.—secondary *Rāmāyaṇa*: *Sitā*, born out of the furrow.

JEAN PRZYLUCKI



The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena?

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pages 89-96, Mr. N. K. Bhattasali published in 1927 an account of the "Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal." It appears from the description which he had at his disposal that this plate closely resembled the Mādhāinagar¹ copper-plate, and that it bore a regnal date read as 37, or perhaps 27.

In 1930, soon after I joined the staff of the India Office Library, I turned out from a safe 24 copper-plate inscriptions and ascertained that these had been published, with the possible exception of four. Other pre-occupations then intervened and it was not until six months ago that I resumed the duty of ascertaining whether these four plates had been published. I found that three of them at least had never been noticed so far as I have been able to ascertain. (The fourth is a South Indian inscription on 5 plates which came here with the Mackenzie collection, and which I have not yet identified). The three which I have identified are :—

- (1) a three-line first plate of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, of which I have recently sent an account (with a photograph) to the *New Indian Antiquary* for publication;
- (2) a complete inscription on two copper-plates of the Valabhi king Śilāditya IV dated 379 in the Valabhi era (= 698-9 A.D.);
- (3) finally—and this is the motive of my present note—a complete inscription on a single copper-plate of Lakṣmanasena, which closely resembles the Mādhāi nagar inscription and which gives in the last (or fifty-ninth) line a very legible regnal year in two numerals

¹ Edited by R. D. Banerji in *J.P.A.S.B.* New Series, vol. 5 (1909), pp. 467-472 and Plate XXIV. Again in 1929 by N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 106-115.

which I read as 27. The day of the month is given :
Kā. dine 6.

The first 24 lines (the verse-portion) contain the *praśasti* in 13 stanzas, precisely as in the Mādhānagar copper-plate, so far as the latter is legible. Lines 25-28 give Lakṣmaṇasena's name and titles—the latter including *parama-Nārasimha*—and describe him as "meditating on the feet of Vallālasena-deva," whose usual titles (including *parama-Vaiṣṇava*) are given. Lines 29-33 give the normal schedule of officials addressed. Lines 34 to 44 define the two villages granted, with their boundaries, value etc. The grantee (lines 45-47) is Padmanābhadeva Śarman, son of Mahādeva Śarman, grandson of Jayadeva Śarman, great grandson of Buddhadeva [?] Śarman, a Sāmavedin of the Kauthuma śākhā, and of the Aurva, Cyavana, Bhārgava and Jāmādagnya [and another, illegible] *pravaras* (*gotra* illegible: perhaps Maudgalya). The gift (l. 48) is to acquire merit for two *mahādevīs*, one of whom is Kalyāṇadevī. Lines 50-57 contain the warning to preserve the benefaction, with the usual imprecatory *ślokas*. Of the last two lines (58-59), line 58 names Lakṣmaṇasena as *ari-rāja-Madana-śaṅkara-narapati*, and the *Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika* Śaṅkaradhara as *dūta*; and line 59 gives, in the customary abbreviated form, the designations of the king and the *dūta*, with the date.

The plate is of the familiar shape and dimensions and has on a projecting 'handle' the *lakṣaṇa* of the Sena kings, the ten-armed image of Sadāśiva. It is not easy to read; but that is partly because the script lends itself to ambiguity, when rather carelessly incised.

The obverse is fairly well preserved; but on the proper left of the reverse the surface of the metal has corroded so that, on the average, ten *akṣaras* at the commencement of the lines have become more or less illegible. The effect is small at the top and bottom and progressively greater in the middle lines. But it will be possible to edit the plate, with the help of the related inscriptions, without very

serious lacunae. Unknown place-names, however, must remain dubious: and so far I cannot feel certain of my tentative readings of any of the place-names with the exception of Paṇḍravarddhana.

I have no doubt that this is the "lost Bhowal copper-plate." H. H. Wilson, who as Secretary of the Asiatic Society reported on it at the Society's meeting held on the 6th May 1829, as Mr Bhattacharya states in the article referred to above, was subsequently Librarian at the India House. Presumably the plate came here with him.

H. N. RANDLE

The final Defeat of Mihirakula

The problem of the defeat of Mihirakula has been a frequent and fruitful source of controversy, but it cannot be said that the findings of scholars like Fleet,¹ Smith,² Allan,³ Mukerji,⁴ and Heras⁵ are final; therefore this subject is taken up with a view to suggest a new solution of the problem.

The two conflicting authorities

We have only two authorities that mention the defeat of Mihirakula. The first of these is the Mandasor inscription⁶ of Yaśodharman of Mālava. While relating the chief heroic exploits of the Mālavan king (Yaśodharman) this lithic record states, 'Respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the locks of the hair on the top of his head even by that king Mihirakula whose forehead was pained by being bent down low by the strength of his arms in the act of compelling obedience'.

1 The coin and history of Toramāṇa (*IA.*, XVIII, p. 228).

2 *Early History of India*, p. 337.

4 *Harṣa*, p. 59.

6 *CII.*, III, no. 33.

3 *Gupta Coins*, p. lix.

5 *IHQ.*, vol. III, pp. 1-12.

7 नोचैः तेनापि यस्य पुनति भुजबला वर्जना क्रिष्टमूढो बूडापुष्पोपहारैः मिहिरकुल
दुपेणाशितं पादयुग्मम् ।

In the above words the defeat of Mihirakula inflicted by Yaśodharman is referred to. But there is no mention of the place where that important event took place though the writer of the inscription gives at great length the exploits and conquests of Yaśodharman throughout N. India.

The second is the account given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. He mentions that the victorious monarch was not Yaśodharman but a certain king of Magadha named Bālāditya-Raj.¹ He says "Bālāditya-Raj king of Magadha profusely honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Mihirakula raised an army to punish the rebellions'.

'Mihirakula Raj committing the army to the charge of his younger brother himself embarked on the sea to go to attack Bālāditya Raj. The king guarded the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mihirakula's allies as captive and brought him into the presence of the king.'

'At last the mother of Bālāditya commanded his son and owing to pity Mihirakula having lost his royal estate conceded himself to the isles and deserts and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum'.

Modern scholars seem to suppose that both the documents refer to the final defeat of Mihirakula—the Huṇa chief.

8. Re. the identification of Bālāditya Raj with the Gupta ruler the modern scholars are still at variance. Allan has identified Bālāditya-Raj with Narasimha Gupta the son of Pura Gupta (G.C., pp. LX-LVI). This identification is open to objection and the writer has tried to identify Bālāditya-Raj (Hiuen Tsang's account) with the Gupta ruler of the same name who has been referred to in one of the Nālanda inscriptions as a builder of a temple in memory of his victory over Mihirakula (E.I., XX, p. 37, vol. 6). For details, see the writer's article 'Founder of Nālanda Mahā Vihāras' (नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, XIV, no. 1).

9. Beal, *Records of the W. World*, I, pp. 168-171.

Different Views

(1) Some historians including Dr. Smith suppose an alliance between Yaśodharman and Bālāditya, so that the battle referred to by the inscription and by the Chinese traveller are one and the same. Mihirakula was defeated by their combined army.

(2) Fleet admits the authority of both the documents that Mihirakula was defeated in the east by Bālāditya and in the west by Yaśodharman. Allan and Mukerji agree with Fleet's theory. According to them the final defeat took place in Mālava.¹⁰

These are the two different opinions of historians on the final defeat of the Huṇa chief. But in the light of some literary evidences, a new solution of the problem may be suggested.

The *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa recognises the suzerainty over Mālava by the Guptas as late as Prabhākara-vardhana (circa A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of Huṇa chief from Central India was final. The recovery of Central India was probably effected in the time of Bālāditya whose troops were represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned Mihirakula. After this battle Mihirakula fled away to the north and sought an asylum in Kashmir. This statement is supported by the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which clearly mentions Mihirakula as the ruler of Kashmir.

On the authority of contemporary Mandasor inscription it is clear that Yaśodharman conquered the whole of N. India and by that time Bālāditya must have died and Central India was in possession of Yaśodharman. Yaśodharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Brahmaputra in the east. In that case it is not improbable that Vajra the son of Bālāditya was defeated and killed by Yaśodharman.¹¹ Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. Thus we may conclude that after Bālāditya, Yaśodharman conquered N. India. Therefore there is

¹⁰ Allan, O.C.P., LIX; Mukerji, *Harṣa*, p. 59.

¹¹ Dr. Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History*, 3rd Edn., p. 403.

no question of the defeat of Mihirakula by the combined forces of both the monarchs.

Yaśodharman had already become victorious over Pundravardhana where Vajra was in power¹² and was killed in the battle.¹³ From the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* it is clear that Mihirakula ruled over Kashmir¹⁴ till Yaśodharman after achieving victory over Pundravardhana turned his mind towards the west. No date can be fixed on the strength of the Mandasor inscription (not dated) and Hiuen Tsang's account but it seems reasonable to infer that Bālāditya must have died before the victory of Yaśodharman over Pundravardhana. Therefore the theory of Dr. Fleet 'Defeat of Mihirakula by Bālāditya in the east and by Yaśodharman in west', does not appear to be based on sound reasons. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* states that the Mālavān ruler (Yaśodharman) appointed Maṭṭ-gupta as his governor after defeating Mihirakula.¹⁵

In the light of the above statement it is not safe to hold the view that Mihirakula trying to enlarge the frontiers of his kingdom met Yaśodharman in Mālava and was thoroughly routed and driven back northwards.¹⁶

The verse 4 of Mandasor inscription is full of eulogy of Mihirakula and the verse 6 records the attack by the king Yaśodharman in Kashmir of Mihirakula. Vasudeva, the author of the inscription, probably points out that both the incidents took place at the same spot, i.e., Yaśodharman attacked Mihirakula the king of Kashmir. If this holds good it would be sound to suggest that Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula and his last defeat took place in Kashmir and not in Mālava as suggested by Dr. Fleet and H. Heras.

12 Dāmodarpur Copp. Plate V, dated 533 A.D.

13 *Calcutta Review*, XXVI, p. 9; Jayaswal, *Imperial History*, p. 41.

14 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Stein's transl.), I, pp. 43-8.

15 नानादिगन्तराह्यातं गुणवत्सुलभं वृषं

तं कविः मातृगुप्ताह्वयः सर्वोस्थानस्थमासदत् । राजतं ० ३।१२

16 *IHQ.*, III, p. 8.

Gwalior inscription mentions that Mihirakula succeeded Toramāṇa in 502 A.D. He ruled for 15 years, i.e., he was in possession of Central India upto 517 A.D. Yaśodharman had also achieved victory in 532 A.D.¹⁷ So it is plausible to suppose that Bālāditya might have defeated Mihirakula in c. 520 A.D. When Mihirakula fled away towards north, Vajra succeeded Bālāditya in E. India and Yaśodharman might have gained victory over N. India within a few years. The victory over Kashmir where the final defeat of Mihirakula took place, may be assigned to a date between A.D. 525 and 552.

BASUDEVA UPADHYAYA

A Note on the Keshari Grant of Śatrubhañja

The Keshari (Keśari?) Copper-plate grant of Śatrubhañja, published by Mr. Binayak Misra in *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 429 ff., has not been properly read and interpreted. While reading Mr. Misra's paper, some points crossed my mind, a few of which are offered here for the consideration of scholars.

(1) Mr. Misra's identification of Gaṇadaṇḍa-Virabhadra with Candragupta Maurya is untenable and does not require any comment.

(2) Mr. Misra appears to suggest that *mayūra* (peacock) was the totem of the Mauryas. A difficulty in accepting the suggestion is probably offered by Rock Edict I of Aśoka which proves that this Maurya king used to take peacock's meat every day.

(3) The adoration to Śiva at the beginning of the records, reference to Virabhadra's connection with a *tapodbiṣṭhāna*, the fact that he was followed by 88000 sages, and the very name *Gaṇa-*

17 Both the Mandasor inscriptions (*CIL.*, nos. 33 and 35) were engraved by Govinda and second is dated 532 A.D. So the first inscription (no. 33) may be assigned to a date near about.

*daṇḍa-Virabhadra*¹ suggest that the person was a Śaiva ascetic. *Virabhadra* is the name of a powerful hero created by Śiva from his matted hair. *Gaṇa* particularly means a troop of demi-gods considered as Śiva's attendants. *Daṇḍa* is a name of Śiva himself;² it also means "rod" or "punishment." *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, therefore, may indicate "Śiva, lord of the Gaṇas," or "the controller of the Gaṇas." There is hardly any doubt that the name is Śaivite.

(4) This Śaiva ascetic Gaṇadaṇḍa-Virabhadra, who appears to have had 88000 disciples, received a grant of 88000 *grāmas* from a person named Rāmadeva. The case is similar to that of the more fortunate Śaiva ascetic Sadbhāvaśambhu, the founder-*mohanta* of a Śaiva *maṭha* or monastery (called Golakī-maṭha) in Ḍahala-maṇḍala, who received *grāmānām tri-lakṣim* (three lacs of *grāmas*) from a Kalacuri king named Yuvarājadeva (possibly Yuvarāja I).³ "Three lacs of *grāmas*," granted by a king who is insignificant in comparison with his successors Gāṅgeyadeva and Karna, prove beyond doubt that *grāma* in these cases does not mean "a village," but indicates, as the *Abhidhānarājendra* says, "what is subject of an assessment."⁴ It is amusing that this estate comprising 88000 *grāmas* received as a grant from a person named Rāmadeva, has been suggested by Mr. Miśra to have "some similarity" with the vast empire of Candragupta Maurya!⁵

1 Cf. the name of the Śaiva ascetic Gaṇḍa-śri-Paravirabhadra, *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 99; also names like *Śaṅkaragaṇa*.

2 See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

3 Cf. the Malkapur stone inscription, *Kākatīyasamcika* (Telugu), inscription No. 31; *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 96 f.

4 For a detailed discussion on the subject see *Journ. Or. Res.*, XI, p. 221 ff., see also *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 298, note 2.

5 Of course, I do not accept the unjustifiable theory advanced by Dr. H. C. Seth in his paper, "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurya Empire" (*IHQ.*, XIII, p. 400 ff.). The districts ceded by Seleukos were evidently on the north western boundary of Candragupta Maurya's empire. I do not think Dr. Seth has been able to make any case against the old accepted theory (Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 125 ff.).

(5) Who is this Rāmadeva, the patron of Gaṇaḍaṇḍa-Virabhadra? He may have been a prince of considerable importance; but, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot be definite as regards his identification. Is it impossible to suggest the name of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.D.)?

(6) Mr. Misra's other suggestion that *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, applied to Śatrubhaṅja, are imperial titles is equally untenable. *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati*, which is the same as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Mahāmaṇḍalika* (cf. the analogous titles *Maṇḍaleśa*, *Maṇḍaleśvara*, *Maṇḍalika*, *Māṇḍalika*, *Rāṇaka*, *Sāmanta*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, etc.), always denotes feudatory chiefs and petty rulers. In the Rajorgadh inscription,⁶ for instance, Mathanadeva, feudatory of Pratihāra Vijayapāla, has been called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. In the Harsola grant,⁷ Siyaka II, feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, has been called *Mahāmaṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi* and *Mahārājādhirāja-pati*. In the Kayadra inscription,⁸ Paramāra Dhāravarṣa, feudatory of Caulukya Kumārāpāla, has been called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. For numerous similar instances, I may refer Mr. Misra to Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. During the medieval period, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* was considered to be an imperial title; but in one inscription⁹ we have even the curious combination *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Mahā-*

6 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 266.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 241 ff.

8 *IA.*, LVI, p. 51.

9 *JBORS.*, V, p. 588 ff. In this connection cf. also my paper on the 'Sundarban grant of Ḍommanapāla' (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 679 f.). As for the name in the first line of the record, I now read it श्री[वा*]सपाल (or possibly श्री[वा*]सपाल) which should be corrected into श्रीवासपाल (cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 96, line 42). The name of the village granted should be read धामहिषा and not बामहिषा. There is no trace of the serif of व on the plate.

māṇḍalika, and it has been suggested that though nominally feudatories, the princes with such titles were in reality independent chiefs.

(7) There are numerous misreadings in Mr. Misra's transcript. Only a few of them are noticed below.

- L. 1. The facsimile has भव-भय-विदूरो भवो ; though विदूरो, which does not suit the metre (Āryā), is a mistake for भिदूरो.
- L. 2. I read कोव्याश्रम[*]नाम for Mr. Misra's कोव्याश्रम-महा.
- L. 3. The plate has विर°(sic). गणदण्डो वोरमदाह्यः does not suit the metre (Anuṣṭubh). This is because some passages are taken from other grants (e.g. Ukhunda grant, *IHQ.*, XIII, p. 427 ff.) by the writer; but he could not fit them in the text owing to his insufficient knowledge of the Sanskrit language and the metres. Cf. the awkwardly placed Āryā line प्रतिपक्ष-निधन-दक्षो etc. in l. 6.¹⁰ There are numerous mistakes in the composition. Of course some of the mistakes may be due to the engraver.
- L. 4. I read 'सहस्रेस्तु सु[नि*] मि¹¹ व्यापितः. Misra omits त. Mr. P. Acharya suggested to me that the reading here might be सहस्रैः सुनुभिः. I cannot accept the suggestion, as स्तु and सु are quite clear and this reading does not suit the metre (Anuṣṭubh).
- L. 5 appears to read सर्वोपात(न)दानश्चावस्थितः (metre : Anuṣṭubh).
- L. 6. I read रिपु-दहन-[दावानलः] in place of Misra's रिपु-दहन.

¹⁰ From प्रतिपक्ष-निधन-दक्षो (l. 6) upto कृतज्ञः (l. 8) one may possibly read two verses in the Udgiti and Āryāgiti metres. But the construction seems to suggest full-stops after 'देवोभूत्' in l. 8 and l. 9.

¹¹ Read 'मित्र्यः'. The use of व्यापितः (here, surrounded) and दृष्ट्वा (here, in consideration of) possibly exhibits some influence of the local dialect.

- L. 7. I read शर-स्रतिर्व्विनितो which is evidently a mistake for शूरः शुचिर्व्विनीतो. Cf. Ukhunda grant, l. 7. The plate also reads वोट, not कोट, and सुत (तो), not मूनु .
- Ll. 8-9 read दूर्जयः (sic), and सत्यवादो in place of Misra's सर्वैः (:) पापः
- L. 12 reads पादैः for Misra's पादेः . The construction is however wrong. Phrases like मतमस्तु भवतां and मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च are also wanting in this connection.
- L. 15. Mr. Misra takes the name of the village granted to be Llāmāyī. The name however appears to be सल्लामायो or सल्लामायी .

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

“Purāṇapraveśa” (1934) and “The Mālavas” (1937)

[In the 1937 September number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri published an article on ‘The Malavas.’ I sent to the Editor of that journal a letter for publication on July 19, 1938 pointing out that in that article certain items had been reproduced from my Bengali book *Purāṇapraveśa* (henceforth abbreviated as *Ppv.*) without acknowledgment. I requested the Editor in the forwarding letter that my communication might be published in full ‘without any addition, alteration or omission’ and he was kind enough to write back, “It would be published in the *JBORS.* in the same form as you have sent it.” I am sorry to say that this promise was not fulfilled. From the letter as printed in the *JBORS.*, Sept. 1938 (pp. 122-124) I find that (i) my name does not appear at the end of my letter, (ii) an unauthorized column viz., the first one (p. 124) has been added to my table without any indication in the table itself and (iii) the entire correspondence appears over the name of ‘A. Banerji-Sastri.’ This has given a very misleading impression to several readers.

The first column in p. 124, which has been added by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, and the note over his signature contain mis-statements. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri in his remarks on pp. 120 and 121 has gone out of his way from the point at issue, and has laid certain charges against me viz., that I have in my book *Ppv.* heaped ‘abuses on Pargiter in language at once ungenerous and undignified’ and that I have adopted in that book ‘with very slight alterations’ the results of Pargiter without acknowledgment.

Apparently Dr. Banerji-Sastri tries to justify his conduct by laying these counter-charges against me and by assuring his readers that his omission in referring to my book was an act done ‘deliberately in fairness to one of the best and most disinterested students of Indology.’ Further, Dr. Banerji-Sastri has sought to confuse the issue by heading his reply as “Pargiter’s *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1922) vs. Basu’s *Purāṇapraveśa* in Bengali (1934).” (p. 120). The proper heading should have been “Basu’s *Purāṇapraveśa* (in Bengali) (1934) vs. *The Mālavas* (1937) by Dr. Banerji-Sastri.” I have absolutely nothing to say against Pargiter.

Under the above circumstances I thought that I was entitled to a reply; I accordingly sent a communication to the Editor of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* on the 20th December 1938 for publication. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri who also happens to be the Editor of the journal declined to print the article and returned it to me on the 5th April, 1939. As I feel that I have not been fairly treated I now approach the Editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for giving publicity to the communication].

Referring to Dr. Banerji-Sastri’s first charge that I have heaped abuses on Pargiter I find *JBORS.*, Sept. 1938, fn. p. 120) that Dr. Banerji-Sastri has quoted verbatim from the *Ppv.* index, the entire list of references printed there under the heading ‘Pargiter’ in sup-

port of his contention. I may point out that out of these the passage in page 2 of my book is a mere statement of the work done by Pargiter; on page 218 is a quotation from the same author. The other passages referred to are concerned with pointing out mistakes committed by Pargiter and other workers. Pages 213-218 of *Ppv.* deal with the conscious and unconscious bias of western scholars in dealing with ancient Indian history with quotations from their writings in support of my statements. Nowhere in my book have I gone beyond the limits of legitimate criticism nor have I used any language that may be considered at all objectionable. In fact Pargiter himself in discussing Indian bias has used much stronger language. Perhaps Dr. Banerji-Sastri thought that nobody would take the trouble to verify his references and he could quote as many of them as possible irrespective of their contents. Dr. Banerji-Sastri has obviously adopted this tactics to prejudice his readers against me. The entire question of the nature of my criticism of Pargiter is however irrelevant to the original point at issue, and I am constrained to refer to it only to defend myself from an unfair attack made in a learned journal.

Dr. Banerji-Sastri's second charge is that I have adopted Pargiter's results 'with very slight alterations' and have passed them off upon my readers as my own. These statements can only be properly described by an epithet that is unfortunately unparliamentary. My methods of puranic interpretation and the results that I have obtained *differ widely in most cases from those of Pargiter*. Throughout the entire course of my work on the Purāṇas I had no occasion to utilize any of Pargiter's arguments and findings. My source books were the Purāṇas themselves. Although Dr. Banerji-Sastri says in his reply that he naturally accepted the dates arrived at by Pargiter (*IBORS.*, Sept. 1938, p. 121) as a matter of fact he did not do it but *quoted my dates in his article*, dates which are quite different from those of Pargiter. (See attached Table). He has thus not only deli-

berately refrained from acknowledging his debts to my book but also has tried to put forth an excuse that is demonstrably incorrect. The discussions and the tables that follow will amply prove the correctness of my assertions.

The Purāṇas, as is well known, do not specifically mention any date. 'Dates according to the Purāṇas' as have been given by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in his article on the Mālavas can only be derived from an interpretation of the puranic data. Every student of the Purāṇas has his own method of interpretation and herein lies his individuality. The methods adopted by Pargiter and by myself are, as already stated, entirely different. Pargiter does not claim to give accurate dates for Pradyotas, the Śiśunāgas, the coronation of Nanda etc., I do. Whether my claims are substantiated or not is quite another problem and has nothing to do with the present controversy. Pargiter tries to formulate an urtext of the Purāṇas and then to arrive at dates from the regnal figures of the urtext for the individual kings taking the date of Candragupta's accession in 322 B.C. as his starting point. I do not believe in an urtext of this type. I have chosen the appropriate regnal figures from different readings keeping the total dynastic reigns mentioned by the Purāṇas as my guide. The dynastic reigns have in their turn been controlled by stated intervals and the intervals by the Saptarṣi count. I have introduced no external considerations e.g., the possibility or the impossibility of a long reign, using an average regnal period as a chronological check etc., for the acceptance or rejection of puranic statements as Pargiter has done. My key date is the date of Nanda's coronation arrived at by a special hypothesis. As a result of the difference in the principle of interpretation my findings have often gone very wide of those of Pargiter's. When it is noticed (i) that Dr. Banerji-Sastri's puranic dates agree absolutely with those of *Ppv.*, (ii) that the references that he quotes, (*JBORS.*, Sept. 1938, column 1, p. 124), in support of his statement in p. 121 that he accepted the dates arrived at by Pargiter,

are misleading as will be proved immediately, and (iii) that when he fails to indicate, both in his published reply and in his private communication to me, to which he alludes in his letter, any consistent principle that he might have followed in arriving at those dates independently, the untenability of Dr. Banerji-Sastri's position becomes apparent.

To economize space I have put the relevant facts and the arguments in tabular form. Under the column 'Pargiter' I have very briefly indicated Pargiter's views and the actual contents of the references cited by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in his reply to my letter. For ease of reference I have used the following abbreviations in the table:—

The Mālavas by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri *JBORS.*, Sept. 1937—*MLv.*; *Purāṇapraveśa* by G. Bose. 1934—*Ppv.*; *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargiter, 1922—*Aht.*; *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by F. E. Pargiter, 1913—*Dka.*; Dr. Banerji-Sastri's *correspondence* in *JBORS.*, Sept. 1938—*corssp.*

Relevant items

Date of Nanda's coronation.

Pargiter, 1922

'Approximately at 402 B.C.'

Arguments:—Nanda lived 88 years and his sons 12 years=100 years. Nanda became king say at 20. Reigns of nine Nandas would cover (100-20=) 80 years. Candragupta's date is 322 B.C. Nanda's coronation date is (322+80=)402 B.C. "A variation in this estimate makes no material difference." (*Abt.*, p. 179).

Purāṇapraveśa, 1934

Exactly at 401 B.C.

Arguments:—Nanda started an era. The present Kali era is the modified Nanda era. The epoch of Nanda era was pushed back 27 centuries to form the epoch of the Kali era. Nanda's coronation date is (3101 B.C., the epoch of the Kali era-2700 years=) 401 B.C. Accepting the argument this date is not an approximate one but must necessarily be exact. Nanda's reign, 2 years as regent + 28 years as emperor + Nanda's successors in Magadha, 58 years + Nandas outside Magadha, 12 years=total of 100 years. (pp. 83, 93-96, 102, 128, 194-206).

Banerji-Sastri, 1937, 1938

401 B.C.

Arguments:—quotes Pargiter.—"Approximately at 402 B.C." Banerji-Sastri does not state why he has given 401 B.C. in his list (Mlv. and not 402 B.C. of Pargiter whom he quotes as his authority. (corp. column. 1, p. 124).

'Purāṇapraveśa" (1934) and "The Mālavas" (1937)

Relevant items

Pargiter, 1922

Date of the
Mahābhāratan war.

Approximately 950 B.C.

Arguments:—Average reign = 18 years. Mean number of kings in different dynasties from Adhisimakṛṣṇa to Nanda. (402 B.C.) = 26. Adhisimakṛṣṇa's date is $(402 + 26 \times 18 =) 870$ minus say 20 years (the time taken by Nanda to destroy the different dynasties = 850 B.C. From the time of the War to Adhisimakṛṣṇa there were 5 kings with an average reign of 20 years each. This gives 100 years. Date of the war $(850 + 100) = 950$ B.C. approximately.

According to Pargiter to try to get the date of the war by adding the Parikṣit-Nanda interval of 1050, 1015 or any other stated figure to Nanda's date is "purely random work." "It cannot be said that any one of them is more trustworthy than the others. No calculation can be based on all of them combined. Besides they are all demonstrably wrong." (*Aht.*, pp. 179, 180).

Purāṇapraveśa, 1934

1416 B.C.

Arguments:—the interval of 1015 years between Parikṣit and Nanda is correctly stated while the figures 1050 etc., are not reliable. (pp. 194-206). 1015 years + 401 B.C., Nanda's date = 1416 B.C. the correct date of the war.

Banerji-Sastri, 1937, 1938

1416 B.C.

Arguments:—Pargiter's date for Nanda 402 B.C. + 1015 yrs. = C. 1417 B.C. (Cors, column 1, p. 124). Banerji-Sastri does not state why he mentions 1416 B.C. the *Pp.* date in his article (*Mlv.*) and not 1417 B.C.; neither does he make clear why he accepts 1015 years for the interval and not any other figure e.g. 1050 etc. He says he depends on Pargiter for the dates but Pargiter discredits all the figures for the Parikṣit-Nanda interval. Pargiter does not accept 1417 B.C. as the date of the war although Banerji-Sastri would like his readers to believe that the date is Pargiter's. (corp. column 1, p. 124).

Relevant items

Pargiter, 1922

Nanda as representative of his father for two years. Pargiter does not mention this fact nor does he give any hint about it anywhere.

Purāṇapraveśa, 1934

Arguments:—Nandas in Magadha, 88 years + Mauryas in Magadha, 137 years + Sungas, 112 years + Kanvas, 45 years + Andhras, 456 years = 838 years. But Purāṇas state that the interval from Nanda to the end of the Andhras is one of 836 years. The discrepancy of (838 - 836 =) 2 years is explained on the supposition that the first two years of Nanda's reign was joint one with his father Mahānandī. For full explanation see *Ppu.*, pp. 97, 134, 153, 154.

Banerji-Sastry, 1937, 1938

Arguments:—Banerji-Sastry writes "10 Śiśunāgas including Mahāpadma Nanda's two years* as his father's representative—165 yrs. *Aht.*, p. 287. *This (2 years) is made absolutely clear by Pargiter. He gives 163 years for 10 Śiśunāgas in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 69. He then gives 165 years for 10 Śiśunāgas in his *Ancient Historical Tradition*, p. 287, 2 years of Nanda as representative for his father." (cosp. column 1, f.n. p. 124).

The above is a positive misstatement on the part of Banerji-Sastry. The average reigning period for the Śiśunāgas according to Pargiter is $163 \div 10 = 16.3$ years. In page 287 of his *Aht.* Pargiter calculates the approximate dates for the different dynasties by rounding off average reigning periods thus:—for the Bārhadrathas, $14\frac{1}{2}$ yrs.; Pradyotas, $10\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. and Śiśunāgas, $16\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. (instead of the actual 16.3). In round numbers the Śiśunāgas reigned for 165 years according to Pargiter. Pargiter writes "If any further adjustment is needed, we might quite fairly shorten the Bārhadratha period by a few years ($\frac{1}{2}$ year per reign), and date the beginning of the Pradyotas about 627 B.C., and that of the

Śiśunāgas about 575 B.C., (instead of 567 B.C.) or both even 5 years earlier." Pargiter would thus accept even a reign of $(575 + 5 - 567 + 165 =) 178$ years for the Śiśunāgas. Banerji-Sastri has tried to explain away his unacknowledged debt to *Ppu.* by bringing forth the absurd argument that the difference of 2 years between the actual and the rounded off figures for the total reigning period of the Śiśunāgas indicates that Nanda was a regent for 2 years. He insults Pargiter's intelligence when he says "this is made absolutely clear by Pargiter." (corp. p. 124). That this argument of Banerji-Sastri is an afterthought is proved by the fact that although he pretends that he has taken Pargiter's figures regarding the Śiśunāgas to arrive at his remarkable findings yet as a matter of fact he has taken the *Ppu.* figures for the dynastic period as well as for the individual reigns of the Śiśunāgas. (Table Mlv.). While Pargiter ascribes anything from 163 years to 178 years to the Śiśunāgas and places the first Śiśunāga about 567 B.C., *Ppu.* allots a dynastic reign of 332 years to these kings and locates the beginning of the dynasty in 733 B.C.

Relevant items	Pargiter. 1922	Purāṇapraveśa, 1934	Banerji-Sastri, 1937, 1938
Nanda as an empire builder and conqueror of other 'native states.'	Pargiter refers to puranic text and says "Next, it is said, Mahā-padma Nanda destroyed all those kingdoms and brought all their territories under his sole sway." (<i>Abt.</i> , p. 286).	Arguments:—discussed on pp. 77, 78, 95, 97.	Refers to Pargiter. (<i>Abt.</i> , p. 286). There was no necessity for Banerji-Sastri to quote Pargiter. The Purāṇas mention the fact. There are similar statements with regard to other kings also in the Purāṇas. The point is that no scholar takes these statements seriously in the absence of corroborative evidence. Pargiter himself does not attach any importance to it beyond mentioning it with the parenthesis 'it is said.' <i>Ppv.</i> discusses the internal corroborative evidence on this point.

Relevant items	Pargiter, 1922	Purāṇapraveśa, 1934	Banerji-Sastri, 1937, 1938
Importance of 'etaiḥ sārḍham'	According to Pargiter the points limiting the period of contemporaneity of the dynasties referred to in the śloka beginning with 'etaiḥ sārḍham' are the date of Adhisimakṛṣṇa on the one hand and that of Nanda on the other, i.e., 850 B.C. and 402 B.C. In <i>Dka.</i> , p. 23 Pargiter distinctly states, 'Etaḥ sārḍham' means contemporary with the Bārhadrathas and their successor the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas." Pargiter is of opinion that the 24 Aikṣvākus and the 26 Kurus mentioned in these ślokaś belonged to the main Ikṣvāku and Puru dynasties.	The main Ikṣvāku line ended with Sumitra and the main Puru line with Kṣemaka about 637 B.C. to 612 B.C. long before Nanda (401 B.C.). Nanda uprooted minor princes of the collateral Ikṣvāku and Kuru families who continued to reign as 'sāmanta rājas.' (pp. 83, 84, 152). The dynasties mentioned in the 'etaḥ sārḍham' ślokaś were contemporaneous with the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas. Their dates range from 871 B.C. to 401 B.C. (According to Pargiter's computations these dates would be 619 B.C. to 402 B. C.).	Although Banerji-Sastri refers to Pargiter's <i>Abt.</i> , p. 285 as his authority he writes "The main Ikṣvāku line came to an end with Sumitra. But 24 Ikṣvākus continued as a native state contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas down to the time of Mahānandi in C. 401 B.C." (Mlv. Table) Banerji-Sastri has actually given the dates for the Śiśunāgas and Nanda as allotted in <i>Pp.</i> He has accepted the interpretation of <i>Pp.</i> and not that of Pargiter.

Relevant items	Pargiter, 1922	Purāṇapraveśa, 1934	Banerji-Sastri, 1937, 1938
KINGS	<i>AHT.</i> , P. 287.	PP. 127, 128, 132, 153.	Mlv. TABLE
Senajit	850 B.C. approximate	1304 B.C.	Not stated
1st. Pradyota	619 B.C. "	871 B.C.	871 B.C.
1st. Śīmāga	567 B.C. "	733 B.C.	733 B.C.
Sumitra (Ikṣvāku)	Not stated	637 B.C.	637 B.C.
Kṣemaka (Puru)	Not stated	612 B.C.	612 B.C.
Nanda	402 B.C. "	401 B.C.	401 B.C.
Nanda as regent	No mention	403-401 B.C.	403-401 B.C.
Candragupta	322 B.C.	320 B.C. (outside Magadha).	320 B.C.

Although Banerji-Sastri quotes Pargiter as his authority for the dates (corp. p. 121, l. 4 and column 1, p. 124) he has actually taken them from *Ppv.* as will be clear from this table. He gives puranic dates for 19 kings. (Mlv. Table.) The regnal periods allotted by him and the actual dates for these kings are identical with those in *Ppv.* For consideration of space I refrain from giving the complete list of dates here.

The above discussions should have amply shown the indebtedness of Dr. Banerji-Sastri to *Ppv.* In fact if anybody cares to compare the tables published by Dr. Banerji-Sastri in his article '*The Mālavas*' with those in *Ppv.*, no doubt can possibly remain in his mind about the real source of Dr. Banerji-Sastri's materials. The resemblance in form of the tables and the identity of dates are complete. I pointed out to Dr. Banerji-Sastri, in a private letter, to which he alludes in his reply, that I arrived at my results independently of Pargiter, that there was a difference between Pargiter's standpoint and methods and those of myself, and that possibly Dr. Banerji-Sastri did not acknowledge his indebtedness to my book owing to an oversight or under the mistaken notion that I had got my data from Pargiter. He promptly wrote back, "You say that I have not referred to your book in Bengali *Ppv.* owing to an oversight. I assure you that it was done deliberately." Here was indeed a curious method of admitting a charge. After this when I found him, an experienced Indologist and a 'teacher whose work extended over nearly a quarter of a century' according to his own description of himself, citing in justification of his conduct misleading references from Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (corresp. column 1. p. 124) prefaced by the remark that as the book is well-known and easily available he did not quote the relevant passages at length (corresp. p. 121), I was entirely taken aback. I should therefore request my readers that in case Banerji-Sastri chooses to mention fresh references in his reply to this communication they may be verified before acceptance.

G. BOSE

REVIEWS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar with the co-operation of various scholars. Fascicule 9—Udyogaparvan.' Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1937.

It is gratifying to notice the gradual progress that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is making in its stupendous undertaking of a critical edition of the great epic of India, the Mahābhārata. We have before us Fasciculus 9, containing 101 of the 197 chapters of the Udyogaparvan, edited by Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University with his usual thoroughness and scholarly judgment. The manuscript material used for the edition consists of about forty manuscripts representing different recensions and versions. Important variants have also been noted from a number of commentaries, e.g., those of Devabodha, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Arjunamiśra, Nilakaṇṭha and Śaṅkarācārya, the last of whom commented on the Sanatsujātiya section alone. Interesting details about the characteristic features of the versions of the text represented by the commentaries, as revealed on a careful collation, have been set forth in the editorial notes. It is noted that few of them present a pure and unmixed version. 'Nilakaṇṭha's text is a misc-codex of a much conflated and inclusive type.' 'Arjunamiśra, as a Bengali should represent the Bengali version, . . . while his occasional divergences from Bengali Mss. often give rise to the belief that he consulted other sources as well.' None of the commentaries can therefore be thoroughly relied upon without proper and sufficient examination. Even the text of Śaṅkarācārya as represented in the Sanatsujātiya section, commented on by him, cannot be accepted as authentic, though it is 'undoubtedly older than the oldest of the Mahābhārata Mss.' It is found that 'he has accepted

generally the Southern recension in its Telugu Grantha version. It is a relief to be assured that inspite of the usual and not few textual variations, including the existence of numerous and ubiquitous short additional passages, the Udyogaparvan 'is comparatively free from lengthy insertions which have to be relegated to the Appendix.'

The learned editor has done well to draw the attention of the readers to the fact that many of the nīti verses in the Prajāgara sub-parvan are 'traceable also in the Nīti sections of other parts of the epic, in the Rāmāyaṇa, and in the law-book of Manu, as well as in the popular collections of tales and fables.' It may be pointed out in this connection that the additional verse No 302* quoted at the end of the Sanatsujātiya section is also found in the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*, a popular book of riddles.

There remains nothing to be said with regard to the printing and get-up. A reference may, however, be made here to two printing mistakes, that came to our notice—वाक्शल्यं for वाक्कुल्यं in 39.63d, and चतुर्युक्तात्रयां for चतुर्युक्तात्रयां in 84.6c. The desirability of observing the system of joining together consonants, immediately following one another, (e.g., वाक्च for वाक्च, त्वक्च for त्वक्च धर्मवाग्यो for धर्मवान् यो etc.) ought to be taken into consideration. It must be admitted that the system, unknown in Bengal and not followed by Dr. De in his other works, not infrequently causes confusion in the matter of disjoining the words.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MIR QASIM: NAWAB OF BENGAL by Nandalal Chatterji. Allahabad, Indian Press 1935.

The brief reign of Mir Qasim, although inconsequential in the end, constituted the first challenge to the recently established British supremacy in the Eastern provinces, and is well worth a close study. The present work embodies the results of investigation into the personality of the Nawab rather than into the politics of the period. The author at the outset contradicts the popularly held belief that the motive behind Mir Qasim's struggle with the English was more patriotic than personal, and in a picturesque sentence at the end sums up the character of the man who appears to be nothing more than a despicable tyrant. A feeling of disappointment, however, creeps in as one lays down the book in spite of its impressive documentation. Implicit reliance is placed on the *Siyar* and the *Muzaffarnāmah* and no allowance made for their obvious and admitted pro-English bias. In handling the sources which are mostly contemporary English records little regard is shown to the fact that their authors were also parties to the dispute.

A few examples may be given. The author's attempt at explaining away the tyranny of the Company's *Goomasthas* (p. 147) while criticising the Nawab for the exacting behaviour of his officials (p. 196) is of a piece with that attitude of mind which is unable to appreciate the latter's point of view and considers the popular gratitude so long felt for him as "unwarranted" merely because of his "implacable enmity" of the English (p. 219). Equally queer is his pronouncement on what he calls the "unjust demands" of the Nawab, (p. 186) to control the English private inland trade and stop the evils arising therefrom. The dispute really centred on two points: interpretation of the Imperial *Firman* regarding English right to trade duty free on inland produce, and, secondly, the Nawab's right, as an inalienable prerogative of his office, to be the ultimate referee in all civil and criminal cases affecting the life and

property of the people. On Vansittart's own admission he was right in excluding inland trade from the privileges granted by the *Firman* and there was precedent in doing so. Nor can it be justifiably suggested that he could have yielded on the second point, and the arrangement proposed by Amiyatt amounted really to setting up a kind of capitulatory rights for the English. It is one thing to complain of the incapacity of his officers; it is wholly another to deprive him of that authority which pertained to his office. It is noteworthy that while the author deals elaborately with the refusal and inability of the Nawab to check the rapacity of his men, little is said about the steps the English proposed to take to stop their own extortionate agents. Full authorities ought to have been cited for the very interesting statement made on p. 182 that the "Moslems also enjoyed special concession in matters of duties."

The author has laid too much emphasis on the personality of the Nawab as a determining factor although it is admitted that what he calls the genesis of the conflict was inherent in the situation created by the revolution of 1757. Nevertheless the work will be of value as a first systematic study of the subject and credit is due to the author for a piece of painstaking research and the Indian Press for a neatly produced book.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

HARŠAVARDHANA (in Hindi), by Gaurisankar Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Allahabad University; published by Hindusthani Academy, Allahabad, U.P., 1938; 289 pages.

It is a happy sign that the modern historical literature of Hindi, which has already to its credit G. H. Ojha's *Rājputānekī Itihās*, G. P. Mehta's *Candragupta Vikramāditya*, B. N. Reu's *Bhojrāj* and several other works, has recently been enriched by the publication of Mr. G. S. Chatterjee's *Haršavardhana*.

The book under review is divided into fifteen chapters which deals with the different aspects of Indian history connected with the illustrious name of Harṣa. The topics discussed are: political condition of India in the beginning of the 7th century (Ch. I); early life of Harṣa and his accession to the throne (Ch. II); Harṣa's conquests (Ch. III); Harṣa's empire (Ch. IV); contemporary kings (Ch. V); some minor events of Harṣa's time (Ch. VI); Yuan Chwang (Ch. VII); Harṣa as a poet and patron of learning (Ch. VIII); Harṣa's religion (Ch. IX); administration (Ch. X); social condition (Ch. XI); religious condition (Ch. XII); education and literature (Ch. XIII); arts in the days of Harṣa (Ch. XIV); conclusion (Ch. XV). There is an exhaustive index, as well as two appendices, the first of which gives the text and translation of the Madhuban and Banskhera grants of Harṣa.

The first thing that strikes the reader of Mr. Chatterjee's work is the thoroughness with which he has treated the subject. He has made use of all the sources—epigraphic, numismatic and literary. His study of the works ascribed to Harṣa and those of Bāṇa to throw light on the social and religious condition of 7th century India is worthy of admiration.

We may however point out that a map is wanting in the book which is, moreover, not free from other defects. There is some evidence of carelessness on almost every page of the book. A few of such mistakes are noticed here:—

- (1) The Gupta emperor Budhagupta has throughout been called Buddhagupta (pp. 10, 34, 233, etc.).
- (2) Our friend Mr. Adriścandra Banerji has throughout been called Abinascandra Banerji (pp. 83, 89, 106), and his father, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, has been referred to as Dr. Banerji (pp. 117, 126, etc.).
- (3) Maṇṭarāja of Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription has been called Mantrarāja (p. 37).
- (4) *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* has been styled a Jain work (p. 109).
- (5) *Kāvyaḍarśa* has been mentioned as a work of Mammaṭa (p. 155).
- (6) Faridpur which has been identified with Samatāṭa has been placed to the south of Dacca (p. 97).
- (7) The Candravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman has been taken to prove Maukhari occupation of Magadha in the 4th century A.D., and the accession of that king has been placed in *circa* 258 A.D. (p. 14).
- (8) The 25th verse of the Aihole inscription has been taken to describe the accession of Harṣa to the throne (p. 79).
- (9) Even after the discovery of Vainyagupta's Nalanda seal representing him as a *Mahārājādhirāja*, that king has been taken to have been a Sāmanta (p. 34).
- (10) Yuan Chwang's Chih-chi-to has been identified with Jeṣākabhukti, though, according to Candel records, the province was so named after Vijayaśakti who lived long after Yuan Chwang (p. 110).
- (11) The passage खहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराजश्रीहर्षस्य has been added at the end of the Madhuban grant (p. 273).
- (12) Kālidāsa's *Mahendra-nātha* (*Raghu*, IV, 43), i.e. lord of the Mahendra mount in Kaliṅga, has been taken to

mean Indra (p. 99). Cf. स प्रतापं महेन्द्रस्य मूर्ध्नि लोक्षं न्यवेशयत् (*ibid.*, V. 39) and प्रतिजग्राह कालिङ्गरतमस्त्रैर्गजसाधनः (V. 40).

We cannot agree with Mr. Chatterjee also on some important points. There is no proof that Kathiawad, Bengal and Orissa formed a part of Harṣa's empire. We do not agree with the author when he calls Harṣa the last great emperor of Northern India (p. 112). There is reason to believe that the Pratihāra empire under Mahendrapāla was bigger than Harṣa's dominions. The Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) cannot be taken as the eastern boundary of Yaśodharman's kingdom (p. 13). The boast in the Mandasor inscription is only conventional and should not be taken literally. The fact that Maukhari Īśānavarman made the Gauḍas *Samudrāśraya* may indicate that the Maukhari king conquered the northern districts of Gauḍa or better possibly that, according to the boast, the Gauḍa people, after sustaining the defeat, became sea-faring merchants.

In spite of these and other points of difference of opinion, we recommend the book to all students of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. III, pt. 2.

- K. V. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR.—*Rājadharmā*. A lecture delivered at the University of Madras on *Dharmaśāstra* is being published in the journal. It discusses the scope and content of the literature on *Dharma* which has influenced the social and political life of the Hindus.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Rgveda-uyākhyā*. The edition of the first part of Mādhaba's commentary on the *Rgveda* ending with the 1st Aṣṭaka is complete with this instalment.
- N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Ālambanaparīkṣā and Vṛtti by Dinnāga with the Commentary of Dharmapāla*. The Sanskrit text of this work on Buddhist logic has been restored from the Tibetan and Chinese versions.
- T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR.—*The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads*. The last part of the *Adhyātmopaniṣad* and the first part of the *Annapūrṇopaniṣad*, two minor treatises belonging respectively to the *Śukla Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* have been translated into English.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Commentaries on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The manuscript of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's commentary on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* deposited in the Adyar Library has been described.
- K. MADHVA KRISHNA SHARMA.—*A Note on the Text of the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*.

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. III, pt. 2.

- S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.—*Tattvaśuddhi*. Jñānaghanapāda's *Tattvaśuddhi*, a treatise on Advaita Vedānta, is being edited.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Abhinavagupta and the Bhāṣya on the Yogasūtras*. The *Bhāṣya* on the *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* is generally attributed

to Vyāsa. But Abhinava quotes several passages from the Bhāṣya as citations from Patañjali. The writer is not inclined to attach any importance to this testimony of Abhinava.

Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indië,
Deel 97, no. 4 (1938)

J. GONDA.—Altind. °anta-, °antara-, usw.

Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute,
vol. VII, (January, 1939)

V. K. RAGHUNANDANA MENON.—*A Sociological Study of Medieval Kerala History (1825-1498 A.C.).*

S. K. GOVINDASAMI.—*A Note on Cheraman-Perumal.*

K. ACHUTA MENON.—*Place-names in the Cochin State.*

Hindusthan Review, December, 1938

SYED HASAN ASKARI.—*Some Newly-discovered Historical Documents from Patna City.*

Illustrated London News, no. 5201

P. WRIGHT.—*The Enigma of Greco-Buddhist Art in India.*

Indian Art and Letters vol. XIII, no. 1 (1939).

LA MERI.—*Dancing in India.*

R. PEISTER.—*The Indian Art of Calico Printing in the Middle Ages: Characteristics and Influences.*

Indian Culture, vol. V, no. 4 (April, 1938)

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*Kramadīśvara and his School of Grammar.* The *Samkṣiptasāraṇyākaraṇa* is widely read in West Bengal. Its author Kramadīśvara is reported to have been a resident of Pūrvagrāma in the Rādhā division of the province. An account of the explications, commentaries and supplements that have been added to the Samkṣiptasāra system of grammar from the 12th century onward is given here.

SARIT SEKHAR MAJUMDAR.—*Piṭhi and Piṭhipati*. The *Piṭhipatis* mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* and some epigraphical records are said to have been feudatories of the Pālas of Bengal. They belonged to the Chikkora family and ruled over the Piṭhi kingdom which was, according to the writer of the paper, like a buffer state between Aṅga and Varendrī. Piṭhi has been identified with Pirpainti that lies between the railway stations Colgong and Śakrigali Jn. on the E.I.R.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*One Hundred and One Names of Prāṇa in Vedic Literature*.

JAGANNATH.—*Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhī*. In regard to the beginning of the Maitraka rule in Valabhī, the following inferences have been drawn: Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty, was deputed by Skandagupta in the 5th century A.C. as the chief of the military to Surāṣṭra where he became also the administrative head. His son Dharasena rendered distinguished services to the Gupta empire and his son Droṇasiṃha was granted the status of a king with the city of Valabhī as capital.

S. K. BANERJI.—*Some Aspects of Muslim Polity in Early Mediæval India (1200-1210 A.D.)*. To be continued.

S. K. DIKSHIT.—*Some Light on the Chronology of the Later Imperial Guptas*.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 59, No. 1 (March 1939)

JOHN F. EMBREE.—*Notes on the Indian God Gavagrīva (Godzu Tennō) in Contemporary Japan*.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. XII, pt. 1.

LANKA SUNDARAM.—*Revenue Administration of Northern Circars* (Chapter III).

R. SUBBA RAO.—*Murupaka Copper-plate Grant of Anantavarma Coda-gaṅga Deva (dated Śaka Samvat 1005)*. The inscription

of the grant containing the genealogy of the king has been edited with English translation.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Ruins of the Buddhist Period on the Mound of Sāraṅgadhara at Rajahmundry.*

—.— *The Haihayas of Palnād.* A number of families belonging to the Haihay clan migrated into the Andhra country and settled down as rulers of small principalities within the country. This paper traces the history of a family that ruled over Palnād during the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era.

Journal of the Assam Research Society

vol. VII, no. 1 (April, 1939)

K. L. BARUA.—*Pre-historic Culture in Assam.* To be continued.

N. N. DAS-GUPTA.—*Kāmarūpa and the Kauṭīliya.* Products and manufactures like scents, sandals and silk garments are mentioned in the *Kauṭīliya* with names of the places of their origin. Several of these places viz. Japa, Taurūpa, Joṅga, Doṅga, Grāmeru, Suvarṇakudya and Aśokagrāma are located in Assam.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. III, nos. 1-2 (1939).

RAJ BALI PANDEY.—*The Pre-natal Saṃskāras of the Hindus.* The original purpose, gradual development and ritualistic procedure of the three Hindu religious sacraments, *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana* and *śimantonayana* have been dealt with in the article.

S. J. JOSHI.—*The Two R̥gvedic Words mṛla and mṛlaya.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XXV, pt. 1 (March, 1939)

E. H. C. WALSH.—*Some Notes on the Punch-marked Copper Band found at Patna.*

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Tridaṇḍamālā of Aśvaghoṣa.* The writer of this note points out that the *Tridaṇḍamālā* of Aśvaghoṣa

from which extracts have been published by Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana in the *JBORS.*, cannot be a work of the author of the *Buddhacarita*.

MANGOBIND BANERJI.—*Aryan Attitude to Female Deities*. The purpose of the paper is to show that the female deities in the Aryan pantheon were assigned only a subordinate position. The prevalence of the worship of Śakti among the Hindus is inferred to have been a contribution of the non-Aryan people. Legendary accounts and folk-songs associated with the worship of some popular goddesses of Bengal and its outskirts point to their non-Aryan origin.

H. R. KRISHNAN.—*Asurgarh—an unexplored Ruin*. Attention of scholars is drawn to the existence of the ruined fort of Asurgarh in the district of Darbhanga in Bihar and an account of the fort is given.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*A Note on the Worship of the Godling Baswan among the Abirs of South Bihar*.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. V, no. 1, (March 1939).

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Notes on the History of the Carnatic from the Accession of Anwaru'd-dīn to Death of Nāṣūr Jang in 1750*.

R. SUBBA RAO.—*The Eastern Gāṅgas and the Gaṅga Era*. The origin and history of the Eastern Gāṅgas who ruled over Kalinga for over nine hundred years from the close of the sixth century to the middle of the fifteenth have been discussed in the paper and the starting point of the Gaṅga era has been assigned to the year A.C. 494-495.



Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. VII, no. 1

NIHAR RANJAN RAY.—*Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma*. From the earliest times to the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057 A.C.

DIN'ISH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Date of the Earliest Sanskrit Inscription of Campā.* It has been contended here that the well-known Vo-chañh Rock inscription of Campā cannot belong to so early a date as the 2nd or the 3rd century A.C., because the diction and the metre used in the record show that the inscription is not earlier than the 4th century A.C.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (April, 1933)

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.—*Śrīraṅgarāyaḷu—The Last Emperor of Vijayanagar.*

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*The Revised Chronology of the Kāśmīra Kings.*

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJI.—*The Identity of the Gupta and Vikrama Eras.* Fresh arguments are put forward in the paper in support of the writer's contention that the era introduced by Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty is the well-known Vikrama Saṃvat of 58 B.C. This is in opposition to Fleets' theory, according to which the Gupta era started from 318-19 A.C.

R. N. SALEFORE.—*The Keḷadi Revenue System.* This is an account of the system of financial administration adopted by the dynasty of the Keḷadi chiefs who ruled in South India from the 15th to the 17th century.

H. R. GUPTA.—*Ahmad Shah Abdali's Eighth Invasion, 1764-65.* Ahmad Shah of Afghanistan invaded India not less than ten times. This narrative of his eighth invasion in which the Shikhs are said to have been defeated in several engagements at Lahore is based on Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah*, a rare manuscript of value.

ATINDRA NATH BOSE.—*A Note on Early Indian Forestry.*

Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, vol. XIII, no. 4.

C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR.—*Place-names in South Kanara District.*

Journal of Madras University, vol. XI, no. 1 (January, 1939)

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI.—*Maṇḍana and Sureśvara*.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*Ma'Bar from 1323 to 1371 A.D.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XII, pt. IV
(October-December, 1938)

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Kucaragrāmadānapatra of Mādhava Ācārya (Mantrin)*. Information has been gathered about Mādhava Mantrin who was a minister of the Vijayanagar kingdom simultaneously with another Mādhava, the author of the *Parāśaramādhaviya*. Mādhava Mantrin was afterwards made governor of the Aparānta territory. He wrote commentaries on the *Sūtasamhitā* and *Upaniṣads* and made a compendium of the *Śaiva Āgamas*.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN.—*Tiruppur Coḷiśvaram Uḍaiyar Temple, 9th Century (of Vijayālaya's day)*. The temple has been described.

N. R. RAJAGOPALA AIYANGAR.—*Kālidāsa's Śrāvya-kāvya*. Kālidāsa's poems have been reviewed in this discussion with the exclusion of the dramatic pieces from its consideration.

C. R. SANKARAM.—*Theories of Ablaut, Part II*. Continued.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Kālikā (upa)-Purāṇa*. A summary of the contents of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* has been given and problems relating to its textual materials discussed.

M. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*Notes on the Ancient Political Geography of South India*.

R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR.—*भट्टबाणः*. This is an appreciation (in Sanskrit) of Bāṇa's genius as a writer.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1939

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Demetrias in Sind?* The writer is of opinion that there is no evidence to show that Demetrius had founded a town after his name in Sind. Pāṇini's Dāttāmitri cannot be equated with a city called Demetrias. Dattāmitra should not

be taken as a Sanskritised form Demetrius, nor should Bhagadatta be identified with Apollodotus as has been done by Dr. Tarn in his *Greeks in Bactria and India*.

B. C. LAW.—*Some Observations on the Jātakas*.

STEN KONOW.—*A Greek Term in an Indian Inscription*. Anamkaya, a term found in the Bajaur inscription of king Minendra, is considered to have been a rendering of a Greek word signifying a ruler's advisers.

Journal of the Sind Historical Society, vol. IV, no. 1, (May 1939).

N. M. BILLIMORIA.—*Sapta-Sindhu in the R̥gveda*. The identity of the rivers mentioned in the *R̥gveda* has been discussed.

MOHD. YASIN.—*The Mazaris of Sind*. The Mazaris were members of a plundering tribe. They came into conflict with the Sikhs and the British, in consequence of which the Ameers of Sind had to lose their independence.

GOPE R. GUR-BAX.—*Sind Historical Research*.

Journal of Sri Sankaragurukulam, vol. I, no. 1, (April 1939)

VENKATESA SASTRI.—सर्वदर्शनानामद्वैतानुगुणत्वम् This is an attempt to show that all the systems of Indian Philosophy may be interpreted to have no conflict with the doctrine of non-duality.

T. K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.—पञ्चरत्नकारिकाः । A commentary in verses by Sadāśiva on the *Upadeśapañcaka* of Saṅkara is being edited.

P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—नयमञ्जरी । Appayya Dikṣita, the versatile genius of the 16th century, has expounded in his *Caturmatasārasaṃgraha* the tenets of the four schools of Vedānta—Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Śivādvaita and Advaita. The *Nayamañjarī*, an edition of which has begun in this issue of the journal, forms a part of the *Caturmatasārasaṃgraha* and deals with the Advaita tenets.

Editions of the following works have also been commenced in the journal:

- ०—शास्त्रदीपिका श्रीमदप्ययदीक्षितप्रणीतमयूखाबलीव्याख्यासहिता ।
- ०—बालभारतम् of Agastya Pandita with the commentary *Manoharā* of Sālva Timmaya Daṇḍanātha.
- T. K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.—कुमारसम्भवचम्पू: श्रीशरभोजिमहाराजविरचिता ।
- P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—डमरुकम् घनश्यामकविकृतम् (Drama).
- ०—शृङ्गारप्रकाशः भोजदेवविरचितः (Poetics).

New Asia, vol. I, no. 1.

- G. TUCCI.—*Recent Italian Explorations in Tibet.*
- P. C. BAGCHI.—*Buddhist Stūpas in Japan.*

New Indian Antiquary, vol. I, no. 12 (March, 1939)

- P. C. DIVANJI.—*The Text of the Laghu Yogavāsishtha.*
- D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Inscriptions of Kathiawad.* Eighteen inscriptions found in Kathiawad have been edited in this instalment. They belong either to the 13th or to the 14th century A.C.
- P. V. KANE.—*A Note on the Kāyasthas.* Evidence has been adduced to show that a Kāyastha was originally an official amanuensis. The office was not generally confined to any one caste, though in some parts of India it might have been held by a particular community.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.* The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, a celebrated work on poetics is being edited in the journal as supplement. This issue contains a detailed analysis of the contents of the treatise.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, XIV, 2-3 (1938)

- O. C. GANGOLY.—*The Antiquity of the Buddha Image: The Cult of the Buddha.*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XV, no. 1 (April, 1939)

- S. V. DANDEKAR.—*The Bhāgavat Movement in Mahārāṣṭra*. The philosophical doctrines, history of development and general characteristics of the movement have been discussed.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,

vol. XXIX, no. 4 (April, 1939)

- N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU.—*The Place of the Atharva Veda in Vedic Literature*.
 B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*The Modern Period in Dvaita Literature*. The paper contains an account of the authors who wrote within the last hundred years on the Dvaita school of the Vedānta system of philosophy.
 D. S. ACHUTA RAU.—*Haiderali: His Religious Disposition*.

Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Tom XIII

- MARYLA FALK.—*Upāsana et Upaniṣad*.

Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde,

Deel LXXXIV, Af. 1 (1939).

- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Notes on the Cultural Relations between South India and Java*.

Zalmoxis, I (1938).

- JEAN PRZYLUSKI.—*Le culte de l'étendard chez les Scythes et dans l'Inde*.
 ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Philosophy of the Medieval and Oriental Art*.
 BENJAMIN ROWLAND.—*Buddhism and the Sun God*. That different concepts of the solar cult are associated with Buddhism is pointed out by a reference to the figure of the sun god depicted on the colossal image of the Buddha discovered at Bamiān in Afghanistan.

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The Dhammasaṅgaṇī

In the "Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics" Mrs. Rhys Davids has presented to her English readers the contents of the abstruse Pāli text, *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, in the best possible form but on account of its abstruseness and repetitions, a reader may still find it bewildering. In his *History of Buddhist Literature* (pp. 166-7) Winternitz remarks that the text contains a "classification and definition of the Dhammas, i.e., the psychological conditions and phenomena" while Dr. B. C. Law in his *History of Pāli Literature* (pp. 304-313) has given the *mātikā* of the text and has also dealt with its method of exposition,¹ but it seems that there is still scope for a further elucidation of the principal topics of the text and the method of treatment adopted in it.

We shall first take up the method of exposition and then its topics. At the outset we should point out that the original text has at times taken recourse to abridgment and left to the readers the task of supplying the omitted portions. In this paper these have been pointed out as far as possible and the readers will be able to make out how voluminous the text would otherwise have been, if the compiler had not abridged or omitted certain portions, though such curtailment cannot but confuse a reader of the present day.

METHOD OF EXPOSITION

The method of exposition adopted in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* is briefly as follows:—The text is divided into three Mahāvāra (lit.

¹ *History of Pali Literature*, I, pp. 304-313.

large Sections or Books), viz., (I) *Dhammavavattbhāna*, (II) *Koṭṭhāsa* and (III) *Suññatā*. Each Mahāvāra has three sections (a) *Uddesa*, (b) *Niddesa* and (c) *Paṭiniddesa*,² of which *Uddesa* again has four sub-sections, (i) *Pucchā*, (ii) *Samayaniddesa*, (iii) *Dhammuddesa* and (iv) *Appanā*.³

I. *Dhammavavattbhāna Mahāvāra*

(a) *Uddesa*

- (i) *Pucchā* or the principal question, which in this case is, Katame dhammā kusalā? or Katame dhammā akusalā? or Katame dhammā avyākatā?

The answer to each of the above questions is given in three sub-sections:

- (ii) *Samayaniddesa* or fixing the point of time by such words as “yasmiṃ samaye kāmāvacaraṃ (or rūpāvacaraṃ or arūpāvacaraṃ or lokuttaraṃ) kusalaṃ (or akusalaṃ or avyākatam) cittaṃ uppannaṃ hoti etc. upto *tasmiṃ samaye*.”
- (iii) *Dhammuddesa* or enumeration of the various mental processes such as phasso hoti, vedanā hoti, etc. up to paggaḥ hoti.
- (iv) *Appanā* or a statement like ‘etcetera’ or ‘so forth’ i.e. rounding up the enumeration by the word: Ye vā pana tasmiṃ samaye aññe pi atthi paṭiccasamuppannā arūpino dhammā kusalā (or akusalā or avyākatā).⁴

² In some cases, this is not required. See *infra*, p. 348.

³ In a tabular form this may be put thus:—

Mahāvāra—	{	Uddesa	{	<i>Pucchā</i>
		Niddesa		<i>Samayaniddesa</i>
		Paṭiniddesa		<i>Dhammuddesa</i>
				<i>Appanā</i>

⁴ Abbreviated into Yevāpanakā by Buddhaghosa.

The above question and answer are together called the Uddesavāra or the Section on Enumeration of Dhammas.⁵

(b) *Niddesa*

The items enumerated in the *Uddesa*-section are explained in detail in this section and so it is called *Niddesa-vāra*. The method of explanation, it should be noted, is peculiar to the early Buddhist scholiasts. Each word is explained not by one or more sentences but a string of synonyms with the idea that the aspect common to all the synonyms is the actual sense of the word in question. The method is so mechanically followed that when one of the synonyms is taken up for explanation, the identical synonyms are repeated in the same order including the word which is being explained. An illustration is given below:

Sammāsamādhi = Cittassa ṭhiti saṇṭhiti avatṭhiti avisāhāro *avikkhepo* avisāhaṭamānasatā *saṁatho samādhindriyaṁ samādhibalaṁ sammāsamādhi* (*Dhs.* = Dhammasaṅgaṇī, 24.)

Samādhindriyaṁ = Cittassa ṭhiti etc. as above (*Dhs.* 15)

Samādhibalaṁ = Cittassa ṭhiti etc. as above (*Dhs.* 13, 28)

Samatho = Cittassa ṭhiti etc. as above (*Dhs.* 54)

Avikkhepo = Cittassa ṭhiti etc. as above (*Dhs.* 57)

II. *Koṭṭhāsa-mahāvāra*

The *Dhammanavavattbhāna-mv.*^{5a} is followed by *Saṅgaha* (or *Koṭṭhāsa*) *mahāvāra* (or the Section on Dhamma groups). It is actually a re-presentation of the *Uddesa-mv.* commencing, as it does, with the words 'tasmim samaye' in correlation to the words 'yasmim samaye' appearing in the first line of *Uddesa-mv.* As the word 'Saṅgaha or Koṭṭhāsa' implies, it is a re-statement of the

dhammas enumerated in the Uddesa-mv. by groups (*rāsattthenā*) but the enumeration will appear to differ from that of the Uddesa-mv. The reason is that in the Uddesa-mv. many dhammas are omitted and indicated by the general concluding (*appanā*) remark: *ye vā pana tasmiṃ samaye aññe pi dhammā honti*. In the *Saṅgaha-mv.*, some of the dhammas actually enumerated in the Uddesa-mv. and some not enumerated but just referred to by the *appanā* are taken into account for arriving at groups but the *Saṅgaha-mv.* also leaves unenumerated many dhammas which are again referred to by the term for 'etcetera', which is 'yevāpanakā.' In this *mahāvāra*, emphasis is laid more on the numerals qualifying the dhammas than on the dhammas themselves. It will be observed that the words of *Samayaniddesa*: *Yasmiṃ samaye etc.* are left out and indicated simply by the concluding words of the sentence, *tasmin kho pana samaye*. As the *uddesa* of this part (*bhāṇavāra*) is given in groups, it requires two further *Vāras* for elucidation; the first is called *Niddesa-vāra* enumerating the items composing a group and the second *Paṭiniddesavāra* explaining by the usual method of synonyms every item of the preceding *vāra*. The *Paṭiniddesavāra* is nothing but a repetition of the *Uddesavāra* of the first part (*paṭhamabhāṇavāra* i.e. *Dhammavavatthāna-mv.*). The utility of repeating the dhamma in groups, I think, lies in getting one acquainted with the group-enumeration so common in the Nikāyas as also in helping the memory to remember the scattered items.

III. *Suññatāmahāvāra*

The *Koṭṭhāsa-mv.* reappears again though in an abridged form in the following section called *Suññatā-mv.* in which the qualifying numbers, e.g., *cattāro* of 'cattāro khandhā' are dropped out. The aim of this *mahāvāra* is to remind the readers that the dhammas, to the enumeration of which so much attention has been given, do not include *posā* or *puggala* (soul) and are really *anatta* (substanceless) or

suñña, and not *sassata* (ever existing, real).⁶ Like the *Koṭṭhāsa-mv.* it is embellished with three *vāras*, viz., *uddesa*, *niddesa* and *paṭiniddesa*.

The compiler of the *Dhs.* wanted that each of the *cittas* (mental states) dealt with by him should be explained in three *mahāvāras*⁷ as shown above but it has not been possible for him to do so, as that would make the volume unwieldy and he had to satisfy himself with abridgment or omissions.

SUBJECT-MATTER

Book I: Cittuppāḍakanda

We shall now pass on to the topics dealt with in the text. According to the *Atthasālinī* (p. 429), the subject-matter of the book is divided into four sections: (i) *Citta* or the enumeration of mental processes (pp. 9-124); (ii) *Rūpa* or the enumeration of the material constituents of a being (pp. 124-179); (iii) *Nikkhepa* or the association of the mental processes with their sources, means, doors of sense and sphere, along with an exposition of their characteristics (pp. 180-234);⁸ and (iv) *Atthabuddhāra* or comments on the topics of the *Nikkhepakanda* (pp. 234-264). These four sections are preceded by a *mātikā* (table of detailed contents) which, however, takes no notice of the first two sections *citta* and *rūpa*, and enumerates the topics of the *nikkhepakanda* only; the contents of last section, *Atthabuddhāra*, are identical with those of the *Nikkhepakanda* excepting the last portion the *Suttanta-mātikā* (p. 225-234).

The *mātikā* leads us to infer that the main text is the *Nikkhepakanda* (i.e. Section iii) and the preceding two sections are meant

6 See *Atthas.*, p. 155.

7 *Atthas.*, pp. 155-6; Niṭṭhitā ca tihi mahāvārehi mañdetvā niddiṭṭhassa paṭhamacittasā atthavaṇṇanā. Idāni dutiyacittādinī.....tesu sabbesu pi paṭhamacitte vuttanayen' eva tayo mahāvārā veditabbā.

8 *Atthas.*, p. 344: Mūlato khandhato cāpi dvārato cāpi bhūmito atthato dhammato cāpi nāmato cāpi līngato nikkhipitvā desitattā nikkhepo ti pavuccati ti.

as introductory, analysing, as they do, the *Kusala*, *Akusala* and *Avyākata citta*s of persons whose thoughts either roam about in the three spheres of existences, or have attained the *Lokuttara* stage, and the material constituents (*rūpa*) of a person.^{8a} The fourth section, *Atthubuddhāra*, as Buddhaghosa says (*Atthasālinī*, p. 410) is a mere commentary composed by Sāriputta. This section only reiterates the *Nikkhepakanda*, showing thereby the importance of the latter and thus supporting our inference that the principal text is the *Nikkhepakanda*. Strictly speaking the *Atthubuddhāra* is not a commentary but a condensed repetition (of the nature of *Saṅgahavāra*) of the topics of the *Nikkhepakanda*.⁹

The first section, *Cittuppadakanda*, is concerned primarily with *Kusala*, *Akusala* and *Avyākata* thoughts of the four planes (*caturbhūmikacitta*), viz., *Kāmāvacara*, *Rūpāvacara*, *Arūpāvacara* and *Lokuttara*. The four planes of thought in Buddhist psychology refer to the mental processes of the adepts who are progressing along the three steps consisting of the observance of moral precepts (*sīla*), of meditational practices (*samādhi*) and of intellectual culture (*paññā*). The thoughts of the adepts who are only in the first step of this path are called *Kāmāvacara-citta*s, while the thoughts of the adepts who are in the second step are called *Rūpāvacara* and *Ārūpāvacara-citta*s. Those who are in the third step and have attained one of the eight fruits of sanctification¹⁰ (*sāmaññaphalas*) are said to have *Lokuttara-citta*s or transcendental thoughts. The reason for naming the thoughts of a human being by different planes of existence is that, according to the Buddhist belief, if an adept dies

8a Hence these are called *Padabhājanīyas* in the *Atthas.*, p. 343:

9 The refs. are to the pages of the *Dhs.* *Cittuppadakanda*, pp. 1-124. For a gist of the Citta analysis, see *Vism.*, pp. 452 ff. *Rūpavibhatti*, pp. 125-179. *Nikkhepakanda*, pp. 180-234. *Atthudhāra* or *Atthakathākandavanṇanā* pp. 235 ff. is not printed in the text, but see *Atthas.*, p. 409.

10 *Sotāpatti magga* and *phala*, *Sakadāgāmi magga* and *phala*, *Arhatta magga* and *phala*.

after having advanced to a certain extent in his path-culture, he is reborn in that plane to which his thoughts are indicated in the Buddhist texts to belong e.g., if a person dies while practising the second *jhāna*, he will be reborn in the Rūpaloka and not in the Kāmaloka.

A. KUSALA CITTAS

I. *Kāmāvacara-cittas*

Our text commences with the (*mahā*)*cittas* of the lowest plane, Kāmāvacara, and takes up for analysis the good thoughts only (*kusalā dhammā*) (*Dhs.*, pp. 9-30, 56-57). How a *mahācitta* appears is thus explained by Buddhaghosa: The five *indriyas* (organs of sense) function on the corresponding five different *āyatanas* (fields of activity) all being mutually exclusive, i.e., one *indriya* cannot function in the field of another. It is the sixth *indriya*, *mano*, alone which can take notice of all the other *indriyas* and their *āyatanas*. A particular *indriya* and *mano* are affected by the object at one and the same time like the shaking of the branch of a tree when a bird perches on it and the throwing of the shadow of the bird on the ground, i.e., not only the *indriya* is disturbed by its object but the *bhavaṅga-citta* (latent mind) is directed to a particular channel, (*vithi-citta*) when the *citta* ceases to be any longer *bhavaṅga* and functions with the help of the *indriyas*, surveying and determining the object. The *citta* or mental state thus derived is called a *mahācitta*, which is the subject-matter of analysis here.¹¹

These *mahācittas* are first shown broadly to be of eight kinds:

- | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------|
| I. | Somanassa-sahagata-nāṇa-sampayutta-asaṅkhārīka |
| II. | do do -sasaṅkhārīka |
| III. | do nāṇa-vippayutta-asaṅkhārīka |
| IV. | do do -sasaṅkhārīka |

¹¹ *Attbas.*, p. 72. For details of the mental process, see *infra*.

V.	Upekkhā-sahagata -ñāṇa -sampayutta-asañkhārika
VI.	do do -sasañkhārika
VII.	do ñāṇa-vippayutta-asañkhārika
VIII.	do do -sasañkhārika

The *mahācittas* classified above arise having as their basis (*ārammaṇa*) one or more of the objects of the organs of sense, viz., form, sound, smell, taste, touch and things in general and range from the gross like contact, feeling etc. to the subtlest like quietude, insight, etc.¹² It will be noticed in the classification that we are at present concerned only with good thoughts and those again associated either with pleasure (*somanassa*) or with indifference (*upekkhā*) and not with displeasure (*domanassa*).¹³ Such thoughts are engendered either knowingly (*ñāṇasampayutta*) or unknowingly (*ñāṇa-vippayutta*), that is, the *ñāṇa* and *citta* may or may not arise together and then they may be either spontaneous (*asañkhārika*) or due to an agent (*sasañkhārika*), e.g., when a child makes a gift to a blind man out of himself, the thought is *asañkhārika* but when he is asked to do so by his mother it is *sasañkhārika*.

The above 8 types of thought may be further sub-divided into ($8 \times 4 =$) 32 *cittas* according to the predominant factor (*adhipati*) like *chanda* (will), *virīya* (energy), *citta* (inclination or first thought)

12 These are,—

- i. Phasso, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, cittaṇi.
- ii. *Jhānaṅgas*: vitakko, vicāro, pīti, sukha, cittaśsekaggatā.
- iii. *Indriyas*: saddhā, virīya, sati, samādhi, paññā, mano, somanassa, jīvita.
- iv. *Maggaṅgas*: Sammā ditṭhi, saṅkappo, vāyāmo, sati, samādhi.
- v. *Balas*: Saddhā, virīyo, sati, samādhi, paññā, hiri, ottappa.
- vi. *Kusalamūlas*: alobho, adoso, amoho, anabhijjhā, avyāpādo, sammā-ditṭhi, hiri, ottappa.
- vii. Kāya- and citta- passadhi, lahutā, mudutā, kammaññatā, paguññatā, ujjukatā.
- viii. Sati, sampajaññaṃ, samatho, vipassanā, paggaho, avikkhepo.
- ix. Any other arūpa (non-material) caused and conditioned thoughts.

13 I.e. Akusalacittas See *infra*, p. 358 f.

and *vimamsā* (examination); then again, each of these 32 *cittas* may be classified in three grades as inferior (*bīṇa*), medium (*majjhima*) and superior (*paṇīta*), making the total *cittas* ($32 \times 3 =$) 96.¹⁴ By permutation and combination of these 96 items, the number of *cittas* is multiplied to a few hundreds.

2. Rūpāvacara-cittas

Now we shall pass on to the thoughts of those adepts, who practise the four jhānas, and as such, are in the second course of spiritual culture and have thoughts which go beyond the Kāmāvacara, and rise up to the Rūpāvacara plane. They have also phasso, vedanā and all other dhammas like those of the persons whose thoughts are limited to the Kāmāvacara plane dealt with before (p. 352 fn.) but these dhammas are subtler and nobler than those of the Kāmāvacara plane.

The mental processes of the Rūpāvacara plane are nothing but those which a meditator has while practising the jhānas, and hence they are divided into as many types as there are jhānas. They are as follows:—

- (i) The first mental state (*citta*) is—
 - (a) without *kāma* (desire) and *akusala* (evil) dhamma;
 - (b) with *vitakka* (discursive thoughts) and *vicāra* (discriminatory thoughts);
 - (c) with *pīti* (joy) and *sukha* (happiness) on account of solitude (*vivekaja*).
- (ii) The second¹⁵ mental state is—
 - (a) without *vitakka* and *vicāra*;
 - (b) with internal calm and fixation of attention on a particular object of meditation;

¹⁴ *Dhs.*, 269-270.

¹⁵ Sometimes the jhānas or types of thought are counted as five by splitting up the second into two, one of which is without *vitakka* but with *vicāramatta* while the other is without *vitakka* and *vicāra*.

- (c) with *pīti* and *sukha* due to concentration of mind (*samādhija*), and not to *vivekaja*.
- (iii) The third mental state is—
- without *pīti* (whether *vivekaja* or *samādhija*) as also without its opposite *virāga* (displeasure). It is *upekkhā* (equable state of mind);
 - with *sati* (self-possession) and *samapajāno* (diligence);
 - with physical *sukha* (feeling of ease) only similar to that which is experienced by one after deep sleep, when the humours remain in equilibrium.
- (iv) The fourth mental state is also—
- upekkhā* without *sukha* of any kind, not even that indicated in the previous *jhāna* (c) and not also with its opposite, viz, *dukkha* (uneasiness);
 - with pure *sati*.

The four types of thoughts shown above are multiplied according to—

- sharpness (*khippa*) or dullness (*dandha*) of the meditator's faculties;
- smallness (*paritta*) or largeness (*appamāṇa*) of the object of meditations like *paṭhavi*, *āpo* etc.
- both sharpness or dullness and smallness or largeness as indicated in (a) & (b) in various combinations and
- all the various combinations indicated in (c) with each of the eight *Kasinas*,¹⁶ or with
- the *abhihāyatanas*¹⁷ or with

16 The subjects of meditation are explained in detail in the *Vism.*, and dealt with by me in a paper entitled "The Buddhist Meditation" in the *IHQ.*, XI.

The eight *Kasinas* are *paṭhavi*, *āpo*, *tejo*, *vāyu*, *nīla*, *pīta*, *lohita* and *odāta*.

17 The *Abhihāyatanas* refer to the meditations which are quickly induced by those proficient in meditations of the *kasinas* mentioned above. To wit, when a meditator who has well practised the meditation of *paṭhavi-kasina* develops concentration of mind without taking time in *parikamma* and *appanā* of *paṭhavi*-

- (f) three vimokkhas¹⁸ or with
- (g) four brahmavihāras¹⁹ or with
- (h) asubha objects of meditation.²⁰

Each of the numerous mental processes indicated above is classified into *bīna* (inferior), *majjhima* (medium) and *paṇīta* (superior). These again are further, analysed according to the four *adhipati* (predominating mental factor) like *chanda*, *virīya*, *citta* and *vimamsā* as has been done in the case of Kāmāvacara cittas (see *ante*, pp. 352-3).

3. Arūpāvacara-cittas

The Arūpāvacara mental states are acquired by those who are still in the second step of spiritual culture (*samādhi*) but who, having risen to the fourth jhāna are capable of making their objects of meditation the following:—

- (1) Ananta ākāsa;²¹
- (2) Ananta viññāṇa;²²
- (3) Ākiñcana = n'assa kiñcanam, i.e. taking neither ākāsa nor viññāṇa as an object of meditation—it is śānta (complete absence of mental process).

kasina, he is said to be practising *abhibhāyatanas*, i.e., he has already mastered (*abhibbu*) the subjects of meditation (*āyatanas* or *kammaṭṭhānas*). There is a classification of the Abhibhāyatanas, for a detailed study of which the text should be consulted.

18 The *vimokkhas* are *suññatā* (= *anatta*), *animitta* (= *anicca*) and *appañihita* (*dukkha*). For details see *infra*, p. 358 f.n. and *Atthas.*, pp. 225 ff.

19 The *brahmavihāras* are *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekkhā*.

20 The *asubhas* are the different states of a dead body. See my paper on the 'Buddhist Meditation', in *IHQ.* XI, p. 719.

21 *Buddhaghosa* (*Atthas.*, p. 204) suggests that though the adjective 'ananta' has been used, the conception of 'paritta ākāsa' is implied and so also in the next item 'ananta viññāṇa'.

22 *Ākāse pavattavinnaṇaṃ ārammaṇassa jhānass' etam adhivacanam*—*Atthas.*, p. 205. The *viññāṇa* here refers to the knowledge acquired by directing one's attention to ākāsa.

- (4) *Nevasaññānāsaññā* = presence of perception (*saññā*) but being extremely subtle it is non-functioning—it is the subtlest state to which *saṅkhāras* can be reduced (*saṅkhārāvesa*—*Attbas.* p. 207). It may also be described as *akiñcana* of a better and higher form.

The mental states mentioned above are termed *samāpattis*, i.e. acquisition of higher mental states while practising the fourth *jhāna*. The *Dhs.* therefore makes it a point to state that while an adept is in the fourth *jhāna* and acquires any one of the above four mental states, he is said to have *Arūpāvacara* thoughts. The *Arūpāvacara-kusalacittas* are broadly four in number but they are multiplied to sixteen by the combinations of *dukkha-* and *sukha-* *paṭipadā*, and *dandha-* and *khippa-abhiññā*. These again are further classified as before into *hīna*, *majjhima* and *pañita* and according to the four *adhipati*: *chanda*, *virīya*, *citta* and *vimamsā*.

4. *Lokuttara-cittas*

Now we pass on to the next group of mental states called *Lokuttara*. Those dealt with so far are good (*kusala*) and range from the lowest to the highest, but these mental states, however high and noble they may be, even the *samāpatti* of *neva-saññānāsaññā* is incapable of putting a stop to the stream of existences. The *summum bonum* of a Buddhist saint is not existence even if it be in the highest *Arūpaloka* (= *Brahmaloka*) but the cessation of existence, so the *Dhs.* now deals with a mental state which has as its object,

- (i) attainment of *niyyāna* (or going out of worldly or heavenly existences), which is possible only by getting an insight into *dukkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha* and *magga* relating to worldly existences;
- (ii) destruction of causes and conditions (*apacaya-gāmi*) of existences;

- (iii) removal of all the sixty-two wrong views²³ (*diṭṭhigatānāṃ pahāṇāya*) which have as their sources of origin, *sakkāyaditṭhi*, *silabbataparāmāsa*, *vicikicchā* and *rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*, and
- (iv) attainment of the first stage (*bbūmi*) of sanctification, i.e., *sotāpatti*.²⁴

Though the treatment of the *Lokuttara* states is placed after *Arūpa*, it does not imply that only after completing the *Arūpajjhānas* one may aspire to the *Lokuttara-jhānas*. The *Lokuttara-jhāna* or *citta* may well be obtained even while practising anyone of the four *jhānas* provided he fulfils the above mentioned four conditions, so it is stated in the *Dhs.* (277 & 343) “*paṭhamam or duttiyam or tatiyam or catuttham jhānam upasampajja.*” An adept with a clean mind about the *ariyasaccas* and *diṭṭhis* has also, while practising the first *jhāna*, *phasso*, *vedanā* and other *dhammas*,²⁵ as in *Kāmaṇvacara* but these again are of the subtlest and noblest form. Each of the four *lokuttara citta*s acquired through the four *jhānas* is multiplied according to the *dukkha-* and *sukha-* *paṭipadā* and *landā-* and *khippa-* *abhiññā* (see *ante*, p. 354).

Among the suitable subjects of meditation for developing *lokuttara citta*s are mentioned

- (1) *Suññatā*, *Animitta* and *Appaṇihita*²⁶ and

23 See my paper on the *Brahmajālasutta* in the *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, p. 709.

24 *Atthas.*, pp. 214-5.

25 See p. 352, f.n. 12. The only additions are *sammāvācā*, *sammākammanto* and *sammājīvo* and *anaññātāññāssamitindriyam*. The last word is explained as *anamatagge samsāravatṭe anaññātam amatapadam catusaccadhammam eva jānissami ti*. *Atthas.*, pp. 216-8. See also *Dhs.*, 296. In the *Niddesa* section of the *dhammas*, the *indriyas* and *balas* are shown to include the *sambojjaṅgas* and each term is qualified as *maggāṅgam* and *maggapariyāpannam*.

26 *Suññatā* (essencelessness), *Appaṇihita* (desirelessness) and *Animitta* (signlessness) *saṃādhis*. For developing *lokuttara-citta* an adept is required to realise that the constituents of a being are *anatta* (essenceless), *anicca* (impermanent) and *dukkha* (unhappy). When an adept fixes his thoughts primarily on the *anatta* aspect of things and secondarily on the other two, he is said to have developed *Suññatā-*

(2) the four Satipaṭṭhānas.²⁷

All the above cittas again may be *bīna*, *majjhima* and *pañita* and have one of the *adhipatis*: *chanda*, *vinīya*, *citta* and *vimamsā*.

The analysis of the paṭhamabhūmi-cittas is applicable to each of the other three bhūmi-cittas, viz., Sakadāgāmi, Anāgāmi and Arhatta, only it should be remembered, for the second bhūmi-citta, one must bring to the minimum *kāmarāgavyāpāda*, for the third bhūmi-citta, *kāmarāgavyāpāda* must be eradicated and for the fourth bhūmi-citta there must be total severance of attachment for existence either in the Rūpa or Arūpa loka and destruction of *uddhacca* (arrogance) and *avijjā* (ignorance relating to the highest truth).

B. AKUSALA-CITTAS

The *akusala-cittas* dealt with here (*Dhs.* 365-430) be it noted, are of the adepts only and not of persons in general. By *akusala-citta* the text means only those mental states which are not free from *mic-*

saṁādhi, similarly when he fixes his thoughts primarily on the *dukkha* aspect and secondarily on the other two, he is said to have developed *Appanibhita-samādhi*. Other explanations of *suññatā* and *animitta* are that the former *saṁādhi* is devoid of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* while for the latter there must be no *prañidhi* (desire) for *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*. Then again, Nibbāna forms the subject of meditation of both the *saṁādhis* and Nibbāna is free from *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* and so the *saṁādhis* having Nibbāna as their basis may well be described as *suññatā* or *appanibhita*. An adept is said to develop *Animitta-samādhi* when he fixes his thoughts primarily on the *anicca* aspect of things and secondarily on the other two. Buddhaghosa remarks that the expression *animitta-samādhi* is a contradiction in terms, for there can be no *saṁādhi* without *lakṣhaṇas* (i.e. *nimittas*=characteristics). He says that *anicca*, *dukkha* or *aṭṭa* are also *nimittas* and so how can one strictly describe a *saṁādhi* as *animitta-samādhi*. Regarding the eradication of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*, and Nibbāna forming the basis of meditation as shown above Buddhaghosa has nothing to object. (Cf. *Atthas.*, p. 223, 225: *Animittavipassanā hi sayam āgamanīyatthāne thatvā attano maggassa nāmaṃ dātuṃ na sakkoti*).

27 The four *Satipaṭṭhānas* are *kāye kāyānupassanā*, *citte cittānupassanā*, *vedanāsu vedanānupassanā* and *dhammesu dhammānupassanā*. These mean that an adept has to be constantly watchful of things within and outside his body, of thoughts passing within his mind, of feelings (internal and external) felt by him, and of the dhammas by which one progresses towards perfection. See, for details the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 55 ff.

chādiṭṭhis, which are sixty-two in number and have as their source of origin *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (belief in the existence of soul), *silabbataparāmāsa* (belief in the efficacy of ritual) and *vicikicchā* (lack of faith in Buddha and his teachings).²⁸ Such *akusala-cittas* are possible only for those who are just struggling for stepping into the course of spiritual progress, hence they are confined to *Kāmāvacara plane only*.

The *akusala-cittas* like *kusala-cittas* of the *Kāmāvacara* plane have as their *ārammaṇa* one of the objects of the organ of sense and include *phassa*, *vedanā* and many of the other *dharmas*²⁹ with the undernoted differences and omissions:

<i>Kusala-dhammas</i>	<i>Akusala-dhammas</i>
saddhindriyaṃ	omitted
satindriyaṃ	"
paññindriyaṃ	"
sammā-diṭṭhi	micchā-diṭṭhi
" -saṅkappo	" -saṅkappo
" -vāyāmo	" -vāyāmo
" -samādhi	" -samādhi
sati-balaṃ	omitted
pañña- "	"
hiri- "	ahiri-balaṃ
ottappa-balaṃ	anottappa-balaṃ
alobho	lobho
adoso	doso
amoho	moho
anabhijjhā	abhijjhā

It is striking that the adept having *akusala-cittas* are not denied *samādhi*, *samatho*, *vipassanā* or *citta'ekaggata*, which, according to the *Attbas.* (p. 248), occur only for performing impious acts like killing, stealing, etc. In any case they can have also *somanas-sindriyam*, *pīti*, *sukha*, and other *indriyas* and *balas* not included in the above list. Like the *Kāmāvacara-kusala-cittas*, we shall now classify the *Akusala-cittas*:—

²⁸ See *Attbas.*, pp. 214, 247.

²⁹ See *ante.*, p. 352 f.n.

Aṭṭhadhā lobha- mūlāni (<i>Abbis.</i> , = <i>Abbidhamma- tthasaṅgaha</i> , p. 1)	{	1. Somanassasahagataṃ diṭṭhigatasampayuttam asaṅkhārika
		2. " " sasaṅkhārika
		3. " diṭṭhigatavippayuttam asaṅkhārika
		4. " " sasaṅkhārika
		5. Upekkhāsahagataṃ diṭṭhigatasampayuttam asaṅkhārika
		6. " " sasaṅkhārika
		7. " diṭṭhigatavippayuttam asaṅkhārika
		8. " " sasaṅkhārika
Dosamūlāni dvidhā (<i>Abbis.</i> , p. 1)	{	9. Domanassasahagataṃ paṭighasampayuttam asaṅkhārika
		10. " " sasaṅkhārika
Moha mūlāni ca dve (<i>Abbis.</i> , p. 1)	{	11. Upekkhāsahagata vicikicchāsampayutta
		12. " uddhaccasampayutta. ³⁰

These twelve *cittas* being akusala are all *hīna* (inferior) and hence they are not further sub-divided.³¹

C. AVYĀKATA-CITTAS

Before proceeding to the classification of the avyākata-cittas, the terms *vipāka* and *kiriya* used in connection with the Avyākata-cittas need a few words by way of explanation regarding the process of perception as envisaged in the Buddhist texts. The process may be put in tabular form thus:

I	II	III
<i>Āyatanas</i>	<i>Indriyas</i>	<i>Viññāṇas</i>
or	or	or
<i>objects of</i>	<i>Channels of</i>	<i>sensuous</i>
<i>perception</i>	<i>perception</i>	<i>perception</i>
Rūpa	Cakkhu	Cakkhu-viññāṇa
Sadda	Sota	Sota-viññāṇa
Gaṇḍha	Ghāna	Ghāna-viññāṇa
Rasa	Jivhā	Jivhā-viññāṇa
Phoṭṭhabba	Kāya	Kāya-viññāṇa

30 Diṭṭhigata=a person having one or more of the 62 wrong views.

Paṭigha=hatred.

Vicikicchā=doubt, lack of faith in Buddha but not in one's own teacher.

Uddhacca=arrogance, "puffed up state of mind", see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*.

31 For Akusalavipākacitta, see *infra*, p. 364.

The Viññāṇas (sensuous perceptions enumerated in col. III) are the āyatanas or objects of perception of *mano* which is also an organ of sense in Buddhist psychology, so the next process is:

IV Āyatanas or dhammas	V Indriya or channels of per- ception	VI Cognition i.e. objectification and localisation
Cakkhu- Sora- Ghāna- Sivhā- Kāya- }	viññāna.....	Mano (= manodhātu) ³²
		Mano-viññāṇa (= manoviññāṇadhātu)

The first two columns of the above table, viz., Āyatanas and Indriyas, enumerate the objects around us, and our organs of sense. The third column of the five viññāṇas indicate only the sensuous perceptions.³³ These five viññāṇas are usually denoted as dhammas, the āyatanas of *mano*, in other words, the five viññāṇas are the objects on which *manindriya* works. This *manindriya*, also called *mano-dhātu*,³⁴ has two aspects, *kiriya* and *vipāka*. The function of the former is passive, i.e., to arrest the natural course of *bhavaṅgacitta*,³⁵ while that of the latter is to grasp (*ārammaṇa-*

32 The word 'dhātu' is sometimes affixed to indicate its substancelessness (*sabhāvasuññatā-nisatta*). *Atthas.*, p. 263.

The *mano-dhātu* and *manoviññāṇa-dhātu* are divided into *kiriya* and *vipāka*.

33 *Atthas.*, p. 262. It has as its basis the objects and is directed towards the objects. It excites the *kiriya-manodhātu* which in its turn arrests the free flow of *bhavaṅga-citta* (*Kiriya-manodhātuya apagamana-padaṭṭhāna*). In the corresponding passage the *Vism.*, p. 456 has *bhavaṅgaviccheda-padaṭṭhāna*.

34 *Atthas.*, pp. 263-4: *sā cakkhuvīññāṇādinaṃ anantaraṃ rūpādivijānanalakkhaṇā rūpādisamapaccichchanasā tathābhāvapaccupaṭṭhāṇā cakkhuvīññāṇādī-apagamanapadaṭṭhāṇā*.

35 *Bhavaṅga-citta* is the sub-conscious state possessed by a being just born. It appears immediately after *paṭisandhi-citta* which follows the *cuti-citta*. Ordinarily *bhavaṅga-citta* may be described as the sub-conscious state of a being when he is in deep sleep. This *bhavaṅga-citta* when disturbed by the *Kiriya-manodhātu* set in motion by the (five) viññāṇas becomes *Vipākamano-dhātu*, i.e., the *bhavaṅga-citta* takes a *vitthi* (a particular channel) then there is *vitthicitta*, *payatti* and *javana*.



sampañicchana) the object perceived by the organs of sense. This leads to the appearance of *mano-viññāṇa*,³⁶ also called *mano-viññāṇadhātu*. It has also, like the *mano-dhātu*, two aspects, *vipāka* and *kiriya*. The *vipākamanoviññāṇa* merely surveys the object (*ārammaṇa-santiraṇa*) while the *kiriyanamanoviññāṇa* goes into its details (*ārammaṇa-vavatthāpana*). All the above processes have been well brought out by Buddhaghosa by means of a simile, which is as follows:—

A man is sleeping with his head and body covered under a mango tree full of ripe mangoes. A ripe mango falls grazing his ear. He wakes up and stretches his hand to get the mango. He squeezes and smells it, and then eats it. The man in sleep is likened to *bhavaṅga-citta*; falling of the mango and grazing his ear the *ārammaṇa* exciting the organs of sense. The fact of his waking up by the sound of the fall of the mango means that the free flow of *bhavaṅga-citta* of the sleeping man is obstructed by *kiriya-manodhātu*. His opening of the eyes is likened to *cakkhu-viññāṇa*. His stretching out of the hand and grasping the mango is *vipāka-manodhātu* grasping the *ārammaṇa*. His squeezing the mango is *vipākamanoviññāṇadhātu*, and lastly smelling it is *kiriyanamanoviññāṇa-dhātu* which determines the object.³⁷

The simile explains how a *vipāka-citta* appears, but it should be noted that the *vipāka-cittas* are not merely passing mental phases. These are really resultant mental states which influence the dying man's mental state (*cuticitta*) which again shapes the

36 *Atthas.*, p. 264: *Lakkhaṇādito pan'esā duvidhā pi manoviññāṇadhātu ahetuvipākā cha ārammaṇavijānanalakkhaṇā santiraṇādirasā tathābhāvapaccupaṭṭhānā hadayavatthupadaṭṭhānā.*

37 *Atthas.*, p. 2: *Ārammaṇassa pasādaghaṭṭanam eva kiccaṃ. Tena pasāde ghaṭṭite kiriyanamanodhātuyā bhavaṅgavattanam eva cakkhuviññāṇassa dassanamattakam eva, vipākamanodhātuyā ārammaṇasampañicchanamattakam eva vipākamanoviññāṇadhātuyā ārammaṇasantiraṇamattakam eva, kiriyanamanoviññāṇadhātuyā ārammaṇavavatthāpanamattakam eva kiccaṃ ekantena pana āraṇamānavasam javanam eva anubhavati.*

mind (*paṭisandhi-citta*) at the time of its re-appearance, and guide the sub-conscious mind (*bhavaṅga-citta*) throughout its continuity during the span of a life.³⁸

The *mano-dhātu* and *manoviññāṇa-dhātu* may be of *kusala-vipāka* and *akusalavipāka* according to *kusala* and *akusala* nature of the sensuous perception; and they may belong to one of the four planes (avacaras) viz., *kāma*, *rūpa*, *arūpa* and *apariyāpanna* but the *vipākas* (resultant mental states) themselves are neither *kusala* nor *akusala*.

Now the *avyākata-cittas* are subdivided thus (*Dhs.* 538):

- (i) *Kusalākusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ vipāka* and
- (ii) *Kiriyadhamma neva kusala nākusala na ca kammavipāka*.

(i) *Kusalākusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ vipāka*

Kusala: First, the *kusalavipākāni pañcaviññāṇāni* or the five sensuous perceptions which are good being the result of good actions in the *Kāma*vacara sphere, but being accompanied by *upekkhā* (indifference) are *avyākata*. In the case of *kāyaviññāṇa* though accompanied by *sukha* it is *avyākata-citta*.³⁹

Secondly, the *mano-dhātu* functioning on the above *vipākaviññāṇas* and being accompanied by *upekkhā* is also *avyākata*.⁴⁰

Thirdly, the *mano-viññāṇa-dhātu*⁴¹ derived from the above-mentioned *vipākamanodhātu* accompanied either by *somanassa*⁴² or

³⁸ *Atthas.*, p. 266.

³⁹ *Dhs.*, pp. 87-90; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, p. 2: *Upekkhāsahagataṃ cakkhaviññāṇaṃ, tathā sota-viññāṇaṃ, ghānaviññāṇaṃ, jivhāviññāṇaṃ, sukhāsahagataṃ kāyaviññāṇaṃ*.

⁴⁰ *Dhs.*, pp. 91-92; *Abbs.*, p. 2: instead of 'vipākamanodhātu' it has *sampaṭicchana-citta*.

⁴¹ *Dhs.*, pp. 92-96; *Abbs.*, p. 2: 'santiraṇacitta' instead of 'vipākamanoviññāṇadhātu.'

⁴² *Atthas.*, p. 264 says that the *manoviññāṇa* may have *pīti* and *somanassa* when the basis is good (*iṭṭhāraṇamaṇa*) and that being duly a *lakkhaṇa* of the *viññāṇa*, it cannot stand in the way of its inclusion among the *avyākata-cittas*.

upekkhā is also an *avyākata-citta*. The former is termed *Kusalavipāka-somanassasahagata-manoviññāṇadhātu* and the latter *Kusalavipāka-upekkhāsahagata-manoviññāṇadhātu*.⁴³ In all there are eight *kusalavipākahetukacittas*.⁴⁴

Akusala: The above mentioned *pañcaviññāṇāni* may be *akusala* i.e., the sensuous perceptions may be *akusala* due to the result of evil actions in the *Kāmāvacara* sphere, but being accompanied by *upekkhā*, they are *avyākata-cittas*. Likewise the *vipāka-mano-dhātu* and *vipāka-mano-viññāṇadhātu* derived from *akusalavipākaviññāṇas* are *avyākata-cittas*.⁴⁵

Now the *Vipāka-manoviññāṇadhātu* of *Kāmāvacara* is divided into eight types⁴⁶ in the same way as *Kāmāvacara-kusalacitta* (see above, p. 351-2).

The *Vipāka-manoviññāṇadhātu* of *Rūpāvacara* is divided into four types⁴⁷ in the same way as *Rūpāvacara-kusalacitta* (ante, p. 353-4).

The *Vipākamanoviññāṇadhātu* of *Arūpāvacara* is likewise divided into four types⁴⁸ as *Arūpāvacara-kusalacitta* (ante p. 355-6).

The *Lokuttara-vipāka-manoviññāṇadhātu* is also divided into as many types⁴⁹ as there are *Lokuttara-kusalacittas* (ante, p. 356-7).

43 *Dhs.*, 431-582.

44 *Abbis.*, p. 2.

45 See *Dhs.*, pp. 117-120; *Abbis.*, p. 2.

46 *Dhs.*, pp. 96-7; *Abbis.*, p. 2: *saḥetukakāmāvacara-vipākacittāni*. These eight *cittas* become effective in *paṭisandhi*, *bhavaṅga*, *cuti*, and *tad ārammaṇa* (or *mūlabbhavaṅga*). See *Atthas.*, pp. 266; 276; *Abbis.*, p. 12.

47 *Dhs.*, p. 97; *Abbis.*, p. 3: *pañca pi rūpāvacara-vipāka-cittāni*.

48 *Dhs.*, pp. 97-9; *Abbis.*, p. 4: *Cattāri pi arūpāvacara-vipāka-cittāni*.

49 *Dhs.*, pp. 99-117; *Abbis.*, p. 4: *cattāri pi lokuttara-vipāka-cittāni*. It should be noted that when speaking of *vipāka-cittas*, the word 'phala' is used instead of "magga" used in *kusalacittas* e.g. *sotāpatti-phala-citta* instead of *sotāpattimagga-citta* and so forth.

(ii) *Ahetuka-kiriyacittas*

The second class of *cittas*, now taken up for analysis, is concerned with Kiriya-manodhātu and Kiriya-manoviññāṇadhātu. The kiriyacittas, being neither good nor bad and not also a vipākacitta, and being accompanied by upekkhā, are avyākata-cittas.⁵⁰ They may belong also to the three planes, Kāma,⁵¹ Rūpa⁵² and Arūpa,⁵³ and admit of classifications like the *vipākacittas*. It should be noted that Kiriya-manodhātu can only interrupt the *bhavaṅga-citta* and has no operating function of its own but the kiriyamanoviññāṇadhātu which appears after the vipākamanoviññāṇadhātu goes into the details of the object and determines it (*vavatthāpana* or *voṭṭhāpana*).

Book II: Rūpakanda

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, as has been pointed above, is divided into four sections, of which the first *cittuppiṇṇakanda*, or a statement of the various mental states that an adept can develop, has been dealt with above. We may describe this section as an analytical examination of *nāma* of the *nāmarūpa* that composes a being. Now we take up for examination the second constituent *rūpa* or the material constituents. *Rūpa* may be defined as the four elements *viz.*, earth, water, air and fire, the physical constituents formed out of them⁵⁴ as also their qualities like softness, hardness, etc. These⁵⁵ are usually enumerated as follows:

50 *Abhis.*, p. 2 puts the *cittas* thus:

Upekkhāsahagata pañcadvārāvajjana-cittaṃ, tathā manodvārāvajjana-cittaṃ, somanassasahagataṃ hasituppādacittaṃ ceti, imāni tiṇi pi ahetuka-kiriya-cittāni.

51 *Abhis.*, p. 3: aṭṭhā pi sahetukakāmāvacara-kiriyacittāni.

52 *Abhis.*, p. 3: pañcā pi rūpāvacara-kiriyacittāni.

53 *Abhis.*, p. 4: cattāri pi arūpāvacarakiriyacittāni.

There are no lokuttara kiriyacittas.

54 Cattāro ca mahābhūtā catunnañ ca mahābhūtānam upādāya rūpaṃ idaṃ vuccati sabbaṃ rūpaṃ.

55 *Abhis.*, p. 27; *Dhs.*, pp. 124 ff.

Earth	= Paṭhavi-dhātu	}	Bhūta-rūpa
Water	= Apa- "		
Fire	= Tejo- "		
Air	= Vāyo- "		
Eyes	= Cakkhu	}	Pasāda-rūpa (Cattari mahābhūtāni upādāyiyitvā pavattapasādo ti - <i>Autbas.</i> , p. 307).
Ears	= Sota		
Nose	= Ghāna		
Tongue	= Jivhā		
Body	= Kāya		
Visible objects	= Rūpa	}	Gocara-rūpa or Visaya-rūpa.
Sound	= Sadda		
Smell	= Gandha		
Taste	= Rasa		
Touch	= Phoṭṭhabba (made out of paṭhavi, tejo and vāyu)		
Femininity	= Itthi-ttam		
Masculinity	= Purisa-ttam	}	Bhāva-rūpa.
Seat of mental faculties	= Hadaya-vatthu		Hadaya-rūpa.
Vitality	= Jivitindriya		
Nutritive food	= Kālaṃkāro āhāro		Āhāra-rūpa.
Space within and circumscribing the body	= Ākāsa-dhātu		Pariccheda-rūpa.
Physical signs	= Kāya-viññatti	}	Viññatti-rūpa.
Vocal signs	= Vacī "		
Lightness	= Rūpassa lahurā	}	Vikāra-rūpa.
Softness	= Rūpassa mudutā		
Pliability	= Rūpassa kammaññatā including the above mentioned two viññattis		
Origin	= Rūpassa jāti or upacaya		
Continuity	= Rūpassa santati	}	Lakkhaṇa-rūpa.
Decay	= Rūpassa jaratā		

From the above enumeration it will be observed that the first four can be regarded as sense-objects, though they are not treated as such; in any case, the rest belong to the living being and some of them are mere qualities inherent to a particular constituent. *Rūpa* therefore includes not only the material constituents of a being but also their inherent qualities. The *Dhs.* is

concerned only with the items mentioned in the above list and not with the sense-objects around us, and so we are not to expect here a general analysis of matter. The object of the text is to explain the material constituents of a being, their *lakkhaṇas* (inherent qualities), their possible combinations and ultimately to show that the constituents are *suñña* (unreal) and nothing but *paññatti* (a denomination) and have no real existence,⁵⁶ and as such are objects only to be eschewed.

For explaining the material constituents, it takes recourse to (i) the numerical method and (ii) the method of contrast.

(i) According to the numerical method, *rūpa* (the material constituents) has been shown in eleven classifications, of which the second, third and fourth contain only important analysis, the rest being more an attempt to comply mechanically with the number of the section than with actual analysis. The numerical method may be illustrated thus:

- Ekakam : Sabbaṃ rūpaṃ *saṅkhatam*, *lokiyaṃ*, *sāsavaṃ*, and so on.
- Dukam : Atthi rūpaṃ upādā (originating) (e.g. *cakkhāyatana*) and no upādā (e.g. *phoṭṭhabbāyatana āpodhātu*);
 Atthi rūpaṃ *olārikaṃ* (gross) (e.g. *cakkhāyatana*) and *sukhuma* (subtle) (e.g. *itthindriya* etc.).
- Tikam : Yan taṃ rūpaṃ *ajjhattikaṃ* (internal) tam *anidassanaṃ* (visible) (e.g. *cakkhāyatana* etc.) yan taṃ rūpaṃ *bāhiraṃ* (external) tam atthi *sanidassanaṃ* (visible) (e.g. *rupāyatana*); atthi *anidassanaṃ* (invisible) yan tam rūpaṃ *bāhiraṃ* (e.g. *saddāyatana*).
- Catukkam : Yan taṃ rūpaṃ upādā tam atthi *sanidassanaṃ* (e.g. *cakkhāyatana* etc.) *appaṭighaṃ* (e.g. *itthindriyaṃ*

⁵⁶ See *Dhs.*, p. 179; *Abhis.*, p. 39.

etc.) yan tam rūpaṃ anupādinnaṃ tam atthi sappatighaṃ (e.g. phoṭṭhabbāyatana) atthi appatighaṃ (e.g. āpodhātu).

(ii) The method of contrast has a value of its own, and particularly in making distinctions between any two subtle mental factors or material constituents.⁵⁷ The various lakkhaṇas attributed to a constituent, when taken together, convey to us an exact idea of the same, and also show in a general way how the early Buddhists tackled the problem of sensation.

Book III: Nikkhepa-kāṇḍa

The present section takes up again the questions and answers relating to Kusala, Akusala and Avyākata dhammas dealt with in the previous two sections, *Cittuppāda* and *Rūpa*, the former receiving in it more attention. Buddhaghosa⁵⁸ explains the term “nikkhepa” by saying that the present section omits (*nikkhipati*) the details given in the previous sections. He has, it seems, been led more by the root *khip* than by the actual contents. The treatment of dhammas in this section is more of the nature of putting together⁵⁹ or combination of the items separately dealt with in the previous sections. The present section, it may be said, supplies the link between the dhammas found in the Nikāyas and the detailed analytical exposition of the first two parts, so “nikkhepa” may be rendered as “application” of the analysis to the teaching found in the Nikāyas. In it we have the explanations of terms like āsava, saññojana, gantha, ogha, diṭṭhi, upādāna, kilesa, visuddhi, paṭicca-samuppādakusalatā; of dhammas which are internal and external, past, present and future, removable by dassana and bhāvanā, as also of insight into the truths, khaya and anuppāda. It touches also vinaya terms like guttadvāratā, mattaññutā, āpatti, anāpatti and so

57 See, e.g., *Dhs.*, p. 175.

58 *Atthas.*, p. 344.

59 Nikkhepa or throwing together in one place.

forth. These terms occur very frequently in the Nikāyas⁶⁰ but without sufficient elucidation for which we must take the help of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* or *Vibhaṅga*. The Nikkhepakāṇḍa elucidates these terms and directs us to look for further details in the Cittupāda and Rūpa sections. As we have said above⁶¹ the Nikkhepakāṇḍa should be regarded as the principal text of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, the first two parts being detailed analyses and serving only as an introduction to the main text. This inference of ours is also corroborated by the Mātikā and the Aṭṭhakathākāṇḍa.

Book IV: Aṭṭhakathākāṇḍa

The title of this part leads us to expect in it a detailed exposition of the dhammas, but its contents show that its object is otherwise. In the language of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, it may be called a *saṅgahavāra* of Book III. It is actually a repetition of the preceding section in a condensed form and was used very probably more as an mnemonic aid than a commentary. It has nothing new to say except like the *saṅgahavāra*, the numbers of the various *dhamma-khandhas* and planes of thoughts are supplied. We may call it in modern terms an index to the main text.

SUPPLEMENT Rūpa and Nibbāna

Our survey of the contents of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* will not be complete unless a few words are said about *rūpa* and *nibbāna* as conceived in the text. The following are the common attributes of Rūpa and Nibbāna, (pp. 263 ff.). Rūpa and Nibbāna are:—

- (1) avitakka-avicārā (beyond the scope of discursive and discriminating thoughts) appitīkā (1577) na sukhāsahagatā (1581) na upekkhāsahagatā (unassociated with pīti) (joy) sukha (happiness) or upekkhā (indifference);

60 Cf. *Dhs.*, para 1262 with MN. I. I, p. 1.

61 See p. 349-350.

- (2) na cittā (1511) acetasikā⁶² (1513) cittavippayuttā (1515) (i.e. non-mental) na cittasamsatṭhasamuṭṭhānā (not connected with or grown out of mind) (1533);
- (3) no upādamahābhūtas (not produced out of the principal elements);
- (4) neva dassanena na bhāvanāya pahātabbā (not any objective experience to be got rid of by insight and meditation);
- (5) anārammaṇa (without any basis); in the case of nibbāna,⁶³ it is also not maggārammaṇo (magga as the basis);
- (6) aniyatā (without any fixed course);
- (7) ahetukā hetuvippayuttā na hetu ahetukā (free from any cause);
- (8) asaraṇā (not an object or subject of refuge).

The above seven lakkhaṇas (characteristics) common to Rūpa and Nibbāna may be put thus: Rūpa and Nibbāna are not subjects of thought, hence of citta (mind). They are not subject to any sort of feeling, and are not any objective and subjective experiences to be got rid of by the Buddhist path of salvation, and not also a refuge for beings of the world. They should by themselves and as such do not require any basis (ārammaṇa) for appearance. They are undestined and uncaused. Such common characteristics may lead us to look upon Rūpa, also Citta to a certain extent and Nibbāna as reals but the next group of characteristics of the two distinguish Rūpa from Nibbāna thus:

(1) When rūpa is identical with dhāmmāyatana, then it is *anidassana* and *appatigha* (invisible and untouchable) like Nibbāna; but when rūpa is rūpāyatana it is *sanidassana-sappatigha* (*Dhs.* 1423, 1440).

⁶² Citta' also is acetasika, cittavippayutta and na cittasamsatṭhasamuṭṭhāna.

⁶³ See also *Aspects*, etc. pp. 170-1.

(2) Both rūpa and nibbāna are disconnected with āsavas (āsavavippayuttā), but rūpa is sāsava (subject to impurities) while nibbāna is anāsava (not subject to impurities). (*Dhs.* 1453, 1458, 1459).

Similarly, rūpa and nibbāna are saññojana-vippayutta (disconnected with fetters) but rūpa is saññojaniya while nibbāna is asaññojaniya.⁶⁴

Now we pass on to the still more marked differences between Rūpa and Nibbāna (arranged in two columns):

<i>Rūpa</i>	<i>Nibbāna</i>
1. paritta (1403) (limited)	appamāṇa (1405) (unlimited)
2. majjhima (1410) (medium)	paṇita (1411) (excellent)
3. sa-uttara (1596) (surpassable)	anuttara (1593) (unsurpassable)
4. upādinna (1596) (originating)	anupādinna (1535) (unoriginating)
5. pariyāpanna (1590) (included in the three worlds)	apariyāpanna (1591) (unincluded in the three worlds)
6. sappaccaya (1436) (conditioned)	appaccaya (1437) (unconditioned)
7. saṅkhata (1438) (constituted)	asaṅkhata (1439) (unconstituted)
8. lokiya (worldly)	lokuttara (transcendental)
9. rūpino (material)	arūpino (1445) (non-material)
10. siya uppanā siya anuppannā (may or may not have origin)	na uppanaṃ na anuppannaṃ (neither originated nor not originated)
11. siya atitā siya anāgatā siya paccuppannā (may be past or present or future)	nātitāṃ nānāgatāṃ na paccuppannaṃ (without past, present or future)

64 Instead of saññojana, it may be gantha, ogha, yoga, nivarana, upādāna, etc. See *Dhs.*, 1463 ff.

The third list brings out clearly that *rūpa* is real but not like *nibbāna*, which remains for ever, and relating to which the question of origin and non-origin cannot arise. It is transcendental without the limitations of past, present or future and is unconditioned and unconstituted. None of the above attributes are applicable to *rūpa* which though exists by itself and requires no cause or basis for origination is still worldly and as such is subject to worldly laws. It is conditioned (*sappaccaya*) and constituted (*saṁkḥata*). It may or may not have origin, and it may or may not be subject to the limitations of time as past, present or future. Such characteristics tempt us to compare *Rūpa* to the *Prakṛti* of Sāṁkhya. As *Prakṛti* of Sāṁkhya exists by itself and is the world in nascent form, and is the source of all the varied worldly manifestations, so also *Rūpa* in its original form (i.e. *dhammāyatana*) which includes the *mahābhūtas*, exists by itself and also connotes the whole world. As the inequilibrium of the *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* sets the *Prakṛti* in motion, so *avijjā* causes the *Rūpa* combined with *Nāma* to be active and develop the organs of sense which in their turn function to produce either *rāga* or *virāga*, the former leading to repeated existences, train of misery while the latter to the cessation of existence, and ultimately to the realisation of *Nibbāna*.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

Some of the Fine Arts depicted by Kalidāsa*

There are in the works of Kālidāsa ample evidences¹ to show the high level, to which the aesthetic culture of India reached in his days. It seems that the poet's descriptions have in many cases been expressed in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures.

I. Personal Embellishments

The development of an aesthetic sense is apparent in the daily life of the people. Men kept long hair and dried the wet hair with fragrant incense of *aguru* in the manner of women.² They anointed their bodies before bath with various sorts of cosmetics³ of which the chief were the *aṅgarāga* and *haricandana*. Both, men and women, were great lovers of ornaments⁴ which they put on freely and eagerly. They were fond of flowers, which women particularly loved and used in place of metal and jewelled ornaments⁵ and the blossoms of which they stuck in their hair⁶ and knit in their tresses.⁷ Women wore garments of different hues.⁸ The items of their toilet were strikingly modern in their tone and spirit. The cosmetics which they used are strong enough to conjure up images of the Parisian women with their picturesque paints and odoriferous powders. They applied the lac dye (a kind of red dye said to be obtained from the Cochineal insect and from the resin of a particular tree) to the soles of their feet,⁹ and applied the *tilaka* mark to

* This paper forms a section of the author's coming work: *India as depicted in the works of Kālidāsa*.

¹ ललिते कलाविधौ *Raghu.*, viii. 67, कला *Māl.*, p. 95, ललिताभिनय *ibid.*, IV. 9; *Vik.*, II. 17.

² *Rit.*, iv. 5, v. 5, 12.

³ *J.B.H.U.*, II. p. 495. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 489 ff. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

⁹ *J.B.H.U.*, vol. II. p. 496 (*Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa*).

their forehead with the black sandal of musk¹⁰ and ornamented it with dots of collyrium.¹¹ They painted their face with dots¹² of different hues. Cheeks were decorated with picturesque figures of tiny leaves.¹³ Eyes were adorned with unguent, and lips¹⁴ were reddened by the application of the *ālaktaka* paint. The latter were further besmeared with the *lodhra* powder¹⁵ which turned them yellowish red. Thus the people, particularly women applied several methods of decoration to beautify their person and marked them out as ladies of taste.

II. Music

Music as described by Kālidāsa may be studied under two heads, popular and technical. We have many allusions to both but the latter has been elaborately described.

Popular music was cultivated exclusively by women. As now, they might have picked it up in course of time without any regular training within the house—where they hardly needed any instrument to aid their vocal music. On festive occasions, they had ample opportunities of cultivating the old traditional songs suited to the occasion and of picking up new ones from some of their new acquaintances. They sang auspicious songs at the time of marriage and songs of glory¹⁶ while watching the standing crops. Women sang while they bathed in a river and beat the water to the tune of their sweet music.¹⁷

Of technical music¹⁸ there are very elaborate discussions in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. We read of music helped by all its six accom-

10 *J.B.H.U.*, II, p. 496.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 495-96.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

13 पल्लविशेषक or पल्ललेख *ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 इनुच्छायानिषादिन्यः जगुर्यशः *Raghu.*, iv. 20 ś. 78.

17 गीतानुगं वारिमृदङ्गवाद्यम् *ibid.*, xvi. 64, cf. *ibid.*, 62.

आस्फालितं यत्प्रमदा कराग्रैः *ibid.*, 13.

18 कलविशुद्धया स्वरसंयोगः श्रूयते *Sāk.*, p. 150.

paniments. The accompaniments themselves have not been specifically enumerated by the poet.

Towns resounded with the sound of music and the description of the city of Kubera might well serve for a type. The city of Alakā is described as resounding with the sound of musical instruments, such as *mṛdaṅga* played evidently by the accomplished ladies.¹⁹ It is the wife of the exiled Yakṣa who, in the absence of her husband, tries and is repulsed by all sorts of music, instrumental and vocal, during her extreme sorrow. She takes to singing to the glories of the family of her lord to the tune of the *vīṇā* placed on her thighs, although such is her anguish that she cannot pursue it with ease and pleasure; and she forgets even her well-practised *mūrcchanā*.²⁰

In the development of fine arts, state patronage was given. It appears from the works of the poet that kings took much interest in the advancement of fine arts of which music formed a most important branch. To the king who had neglected his duties for the luxury of wine and women,²¹ music indeed became 'the food of love' on which he constantly fed himself. "Of him, cupidinous, and living in the company of women, each succeeding festivity richer than its predecessor, superseded the latter rich in its preparations, in places resounding with the sound of the *mṛdaṅga*."²² At another place too much association to music and its accompaniments in regard to a king is made the cause of criticism by his queen

19 संगीताय प्रहृतसुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम् *M.U.* 1, ललितवनिताः *ibid.*

20 उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्यं निक्षिप्य वीणा
मद्गोलाङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
यन्मतीमाद्रौ नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथञ्चि-
द्भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥ *ibid.*, 23.

21 क्षीबिधेय *Raghu.*, xix. 4, कामिनीसहचरस्य *ibid.*, 5.

22 कामिनीसहचरस्य कामिनस्तस्य वेरमधु मृदङ्गनादिषु ।

ऋद्धिमन्तमधिकार्द्धरुत्तरः पूर्वमुत्सवमपोहदुत्सवः ॥ *Raghu.*, xix., 5.

on him.²³ We may note that Indumati, the wife of king Aja was taught fine arts,²⁴ probably music, by her husband himself which shows the royal house cultivating them. Agnivarna is a past master of music and dancing and corrects the courtesans that attend on her to the shame of their teachers²⁵ and naturally the poet calls her a *krti*, an expert.

We read of a music hall, or rather, of a music school²⁶ (*saṅgitaśālā*) which fulfilled the purpose of a dramatic and dancing hall as well, where teachers of the highest order²⁷ (*sutirthāḥ*) imparted scientific and technical training in the arts of music, dancing, acting and painting to the intelligent pupils of the royal household and to others. The music-hall was run at state expense, and the teachers attached to the institution drew regular salaries (*vetana*)²⁸ from the coffers of the state. The poet refers to a *saṅgita-racanā* or a musical concert in the following passage: "Well then let both the parties go to the representation hall (*prekṣāgrhe*) or theatre, and having made the necessary arrangements for the musical concert, send a message here; or rather the sound of the tabor itself will make us rise."²⁹ Thus there were occasions when musical concerts were arranged by the teachers of a *saṅgitaśālā* in which their skill as well as their pupils' was put to test, the present one although having been the result of an intrigue. In the music-hall regular classes appear to have been held and exercises given to and heard from the lady scholars.³⁰

23 यदि राजकार्येणोदस्युपायनिपुणतार्यपुलस्त्य, ततः शोभनं भवेत् *Māl.*, p. 22.

24 *Raghu.*, viii. 67.

25 *Ibid.*, xix. 14.

26 संगीतशाला *Sāk.*, p. 150; *Māl.*, pp. 4, 6.

27 सुतीर्थादभिनयविद्या सुशिक्षिता । दत्तप्रयोगश्चास्मि *Māl.*, p. 14.

प्रयोगनिपुणः प्रयोक्तृभिः *Raghu.*, xix. 36.

28 किं मुधा वेतनदानेनेतेषाम् *ibid.*, p. 17.

29 तेन हि द्वावपि वर्गौ प्रेक्षागृहे संगीतरचनां कृत्वा तत्तत्तत्ततो दत्तं प्रेषयतम् । अथवा मृदङ्गशब्द एव नोत्थापयिष्यति *Māl.*, p. 22.

30 संगीतव्यापारमुज्जिह्वत्वा *Vik.*, p. 27.

It was an institution like the *Śaṅgītaśālā*, referred to above, which turned out women with proficiency in the fine arts of music and drama like *Mālavikā*,³¹ *Parivrājikā*³² and *Śarmiṣṭhā*.³³ The last named, in earlier days, had attained unparalleled skill in the branch of music and her high achievement in that art has been alluded to by the poet in giving her composition (*Chalika*) for a test in acting.³⁴ The treatise written by *Śarmiṣṭhā* is a composition in four parts in which the time kept is the middle one.³⁵ This passage incidentally warrants the existence of a treatise on music by a lady. *Śarmiṣṭhā* has again been mentioned in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*.³⁶ She is said to have composed some musical pieces and laid down some rules regarding music.

There were professional singers also in the society. We read of courtezans³⁷ employed in singing on occasions like the child-birth. This allusion of the poet to courtezans dancing and singing at child-birth has been corroborated by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* where he gives a graphic description of the birth of his hero. It appears that the people called them in as now for these performances. They were accompanied by their attendants,³⁸ who perhaps played on instruments of music while they sang and danced.

These courtezans were employed to sing and dance in the great temple of Mahākālā at Ujjaini.³⁹ They were regular servants of the

31 परमनिपुणा मेधाविनी चेति etc. *Māl.*, p. 8.

32 परिङ्गतकौशिकी *ibid.*, p. 16.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24; *Śāk.*, IV. 6.

34 तस्यास्तु छलिकप्रयोगम् *Māl.*, p. 24. छलिकं नाम नाट्यं *ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 6.

35 शर्मिष्ठायाः कृतिर्लयमध्या चतुष्पदास्ति *ibid.*, p. 24.

36 *Śāk.*, IV. 6.

37 वारियोषिताम् *Raghu.*, iii. 19. गायिका *ibid.*, xix. 35, 14, 15, 19; वेण्याः *M.P.*, 35. पादन्यासैः कृणितरशनास्तत्रलीलावधूतै रञ्जच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरैः कान्तहस्ताः । वेण्या-स्त्वत्तो जखपदसुखान्प्राप्य वर्षाप्रविन्दुनामोद्यन्ते त्वयि मधुकरश्रेणिदीर्घान्कटाक्षान् ॥ *M.P.*, 35.

38 *Raghu.*, xix. 14. 39 पादन्यासैः कृणितरशनास्तत्रलीलावधूतैः...वेण्याः *M.P.*, 35.

temple whose business it was, apart from their demonstration in art in honour of Śiva, to act as the bearers of the Lord's flywhisks.⁴⁰ The interest in music and dancing of certain lay men⁴¹ was so great and their accomplishment in the art so admirable that when the courtezans committed faults in dancing they rose and corrected them by a practical show and thus put their teachers to shame.⁴²

The following musical instruments were in use and have been frequently mentioned by Kālidāsa: *Viṇā*,⁴³ *Varṇśakṛtya*⁴⁴ (incidentally referring to the flute), *Veṇu*⁴⁵ (flute), *Mṛdaṅga*⁴⁶ with its other names, namely *Puṣkara*⁴⁷ and *Muraja*,⁴⁸ *Tūrya*⁴⁹ *Śaṅkha*,⁵⁰ *Dundubhī*⁵¹ and *Ghaṇṭā*.⁵² Of these the three last named were mostly used in warfare. The *Śaṅkha* or conch opened and ended a battle, when it was blown at the end of the battle, its sound announced victory to the blower.⁵³ It was also blown for auspiciousness.⁵⁴ *Tūrya*, however, was a musical instrument of both peace and war.⁵⁵ *Veṇu* was a flute, *Mṛdaṅga*, *Puṣkara* and *Muraja* were kinds of tabor, *Tūrya* was a kind of trumpet, and *Dundubhī* a sort of kettle-drum. *Śaṅkha* was the conch-shell.

Kālidāsa had a good musical ear and a knowledge of the *rāgas* of the Indian music. He notes the songs or airs composed and to be chanted. He gives sporadic indications of his study of the theory

40 रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः *ibid.*

41 अमिर्वाण *Raghu.*, xix; अमिमिल *Māl.*, I and II.

42 नर्तकीरभिनयातिलङ्घनीः पार्श्ववर्तिषु गुरुष्वलज्जयत् *Raghu.*, xix. 14.

43 वीणा *ibid.*, viii. 33, *M.P.*, 45, *ibid.*, v., 23; परिवादिनी *Raghu.*, viii; 35, xix, 35; वल्लकी viii. 41; *Ritu.*, i. 8; सुतन्त्री *Ritu.*, i. 3. 44 *Raghu.*, ii. 12.

45 *Raghu.*, xix. 35.

46 *Raghu.*, xiii. 40; xvi. 13; *Māl.*, p. 21.

47 *Raghu.*, xix. 14; *M.V.*, 3; *Māl.*, I. 21.

48 *Ku.*, vi. 40, *M.P.*, 56, *M.V.*, 1; *Māl.*, I. 22.

49 *Ibid.*, iii. 19; vi. 9, 56; x. 76; xvi. 87; *Vik.*, IV. 12.

50 *Raghu.*, vi. 9; vii. 63, 64; *Ku.*, i. 23.

51 *Raghu.*, x. 76.

52 *Ibid.*, vii. 41.

53 *Ibid.*, 63, 64.

54 *Ibid.*, vi. 9; xvi. 87.

55 *Ibid.*, iii. 19; vi. 9; x. 76.

of the subtle science⁵⁶ of music. His women and *Viṇā* are almost constant companions.

III. Poetry and Drama

Kālidāsa represents the Augustan age of Sanskrit poetry. His own poetry is of the highest order and is the sweetest and most perfect of all that the Sanskrit literature has ever known. *Meghadūta*, a lyrical poem, has charmed the world by its simple imagery and romantic melody. The *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumārasambhava* are two of such narratives as have earned universal credit for the genius of Kālidāsa. The *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is an embodiment of the most tender feelings that sways the mortals and it marks its author out as one of the foremost of the poets of the world of all times.

Kālidāsa himself recognizes the high worth of his poetry and he inserts a pregnant sentence suggesting that the excellence of a work depends not on its priority of composition but on the appreciation that it can elicit from competent critics.⁵⁷ His attitude towards his renowned predecessor the sage Vālmiki is one of respectful humility,⁵⁸ but his self-consciousness in the domain of poetry and drama is more assertive in regard to the classical poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others with whose works he appeals for a critical and impartial comparison and is in no way prepared to acknowledge tamely their vaunted superiority. There can be no mistake about the implication of his famous verse⁵⁹ in the *Mālavikāgni-mitra* in which he makes a reflection on the contemporaneous view

56 काकलिगीत (सूक्ष्मकला Commentator) *Ritu.*, i. 8.

57 सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरङ्गजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ *Māl.*, I. 2.

58 अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णौ सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥ *Raghu.*, i. 4.

59 पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं *Māl.*, I. 2.

60 पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवयवम् ।

सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरङ्गजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ *ibid.*

of some critics who invoked the plea of antiquity and age for their favourite poets. About the well established position of these poets there can be little doubt since of Bhāsa⁶¹ alone we have luckily discovered a number of plays which are of no mean merit. Saumilla⁶² and Kaviputra⁶³ are nothing more than a mere name to us, but there is no doubt about the fact that they had established their name in literary traditions of the times and they were well understood in poetical allusions.

In the time of Kālidāsa the well-cultured (*saṁskārapūta*) Sanskrit language had made a great progress but the simple natural style⁶⁴ of the vernacular, i.e., Prakrit, was held in high honour. The plays abound in the sweetest and simplest expressions of Prakrit; naturally the sphere of Prakrit was wide since it was the common dialect, and in the plays it was that dialect which was spoken by the characters excepting a few like the king, preceptor, chamberlain, ministers and others. It was a time in poetry when all the *vr̥ttis* were well-cultivated and put to practical use during the staging of the drama.⁶⁵

During the time of Kālidāsa the stage was busy and the theatre full. A dramatic performance was a common feature on festive occasions⁶⁶ like the marriage and the advent of the spring. After the rites of marriage were over the period of mirth and merriment ensued and something like a dramatic performance was given by maids who entwined expressive dance in graceful play and whose eloquent motions with an actor's art, showed to the life the passions of the heart,⁶⁷ and who were further accomplished in *vr̥ttis* like the

61 भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां *ibid.*, p. 2.

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Ibid.*

64 वधू सुखग्राह्यनिबन्धनेन *Ku.*, vii. 90.

65 तौ संधिषु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेदं *Ku.*, vii. 91.

66 *Ibid.*, *Māl.*, p. 2; *Vik.*, p. 60.

67 तौ संधिषु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेदं रसान्तरेषु-प्रतिबद्धरागम् । *Ku.*, vii. 91.

Kauśiki.⁶⁸ The play entitled the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was staged on the day of the vernal festival.⁶⁹

The dramatic art⁷⁰ was held in great honour as is evidenced by the speech of Gaṇadāsa, the preceptor of music and dramatic art who refers to one's hereditary lore or *kula-vidyā* while defining this art as quoted below: "Granted that everyone of course thinks highly of his own hereditary lore; but the great regard I have for the dramatic art is not without reason."⁷¹ The above shows that there were different families which specialized in different branches of art. Dramatic art was supposed to be a peaceful sacrifice to the gods (where bloodshed was absent), and divided in two different ways by Śiva in his body (attended with that of Umā). It was an art which aimed at disclosing the human behaviour (life) arising from the three prime qualities of Sattva, Raja and Tama, and it was chequered by various sentiments. 'This nāṭya or scenic art was said to be an amusement which satisfied the varied tastes of the people.'⁷² It is interesting to note that this definition of the dramatic art is much in keeping with similar ideas regarding its origin which have been set forth in works of poetics like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya. Here is a definition of the dramatic art which is remarkably scientific.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in an intellectual contest between two preceptors of music, dancing and acting is held in which the pupils of the respective preceptors vie with each other to establish the repu-

68 *Ibid.* "प्रयोगमायं ललिताङ्गहारम् ॥

69 कालिदासप्रथितवस्तु मालविकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटकमस्मिन्वसन्तोऽस्ये प्रयोक्तव्यमिति
Māl., p. 2.

70 नाट्यं *Māl.*, p. 7, l. 4.

71 कामं खलु सर्वस्यापि कुलविद्या बहुमता । न पुनरस्माकं नाट्यं प्रति मिथ्यागौरवम् ।
Māl., p. 7.

72 देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयः शान्तं कर्तुं चालुषं रुद्रेणोदसुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं
द्विधा । तैश्वर्योद्भवमलं लोकचरितं नानारसं दृश्यते नाट्यं भिन्नहर्चेजनस्य बहुधाप्येकं
समाराधनम् ॥ *ibid.*, l. 4.

table skill of their teachers: "The two preceptors of acting, each eager for victory over the other, who wish to see you like two dramatic sentiments in bodily form."⁷³ One of the preceptors says that he learnt the art of acting from a competent authority (*sutīrthāt*), and that furthermore he had given practical lessons in the art of dramatic representations, and had been consequently favoured by the king and the queen.⁷⁴ This statement also speaks highly of the state patronage of fine arts, particularly that of the dramatic art. The following speech further refers to the theory and practice of the art: "Let your Majesty therefore be pleased to examine him and me in the theatrical knowledge and in practical skill. Your Majesty alone is a critical judge of us both."⁷⁵ The art had attained to the position of a well-defined scientific subject.⁷⁶ The king, himself an accomplished person, was considered an adept in the dramatic art by authorities on acting and was deemed fit enough to act as their judge.

Women, it would seem, were specially marked out in the learning of the fine arts and when it was discovered that in judging the performance the king might be suspected by the queen of complicity in the intrigue, which might thus be detected, Kauśikī, a woman ascetic, was approached and addressed thus: "Revered lady, a dispute about superiority in knowledge has arisen between Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta; your reverence, therefore, must occupy the position of judge in this matter."⁷⁷ The word *Prāsṅika* is to be

73 उभावभिनयाचार्यौ परस्परजयैरिणौ

त्वां द्रष्टुमुद्यतौ साक्षाद्भावाविद शरीरिणौ *ibid.*, I. 10.

74 सुतीर्थादभिनयविद्या सुशिक्षिता । दत्तप्रयोगश्चास्मि । देवेन देव्या च परिगृहीतः
Māl., p. 14.

75 तद्वत्भवानिमं मां च शास्त्रे प्रयोगे च विमृशतु । देव एव नौ विशेषज्ञः प्राश्निकः
ibid., p. 15.

76 *Ibid.*, I. 4.

77 भगवति, अलभतोरहरदत्तगणदासयोः परस्परं विज्ञानसंघर्षिणोर्भगवत्या प्राश्निकपद-
मध्यासितव्यम् । *Māl.*, p. 17.

noted in this connection. This signifies examination. The art of dancing was recognized as one chiefly of practical demonstration⁷⁸ and although its theory also had considerably developed it was not given such importance as its practice. About the cultivation of the art it has been said: "One man is at his best when exhibiting his art in person; another has as his special qualification in the power of communicating his skill; but only he who possesses both these excellences, should be placed at the head of teachers."⁷⁹ An exposition of the art of dancing, which was in fact a branch of the dramatic art, is thus put in the speech of the Parivrājikā. The contest of the two teachers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the science of dramatic performance (*Vijñāna saṅgharṣa*)⁸⁰ further brings out the notion of the art. The acceptance of an unfit pupil was considered want of discernment on the part of the teacher⁸¹ and it was expected of a teacher to exercise enough care in the choice of his pupil, for on the latter's inherent aptitude for the cultivation of an art depended in a large measure the success of the preceptor's efforts.

In the following extract there is a reference to the dramatic art and its founder Bharata: "The lord of the gods, with the guardians of the quarters, is desirous of seeing today the dramatic performance taught to you by the sage Bharata, which is the substratum of the eight sentiments, and wherein there is charming acting."⁸² The reference to Bharata, *aṣṭarasaśrayaḥ* and *lalitābhinayam* discussed in chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX and X of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* show

78 प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् । *ibid.*

79 क्लृप्ता क्रिया कस्यचिदात्मसंस्था संक्रान्तिरन्यस्य विशेषयुक्ता ।
यस्योभयं साधु स शिक्षकाणां धुरि प्रतिष्ठापयितव्य एव ॥ *ibid.*, I. 16.

80 विज्ञानसंबर्षयोः *ibid.*, p. 17.

81 विनेतुरद्रव्यपरिग्रहोऽपि बुद्धिलाघवं प्रकाशयतीति *ibid.*, p. 19.

विवादे दर्शयिष्यामि क्रियासंभ्रान्तिमात्मनः *Māl.*, I. 19.

82 मुनिना भरतेन यः प्रयोगो भवतीष्वष्टरसाश्रयो निबद्धः ।

ललिताभिनयं तमथ भर्ता मरुतां द्रष्टुमनाः सलोकपालः *Vik.*, II. 17.

that the great work of Bharata on the principles of dramatic art had almost been completed by the time of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa himself refers to Bharata as a *muni* thus denoting antiquity as regards the time of the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One thing more is to be noted in this connection. As this was the first occasion on which the play *Mālavikāgnimitra* was being staged, as is evidenced by the phrase *navena nāṭakena*,⁸³ the Abhirūpas probably included the *Prāśnikas* or judges of the play. It may be noted that according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata special officers technically known as the *Prāśnikas* were charged with the duty of witnessing the performance of new dramatic pieces and reporting on their respective excellences to the king who in such cases acted as the virtual custodian of the interests of young aspiring poets. It may be assumed that the favourable verdict of these judges earned a speedy fame for really deserving sons of the Muse and the patronage of the sovereign at once got them into limelight. And, as we have seen above, there is distinct reference to these *Prāśnika* officers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

In the phrase *prekṣāgrha*⁸⁴ we have a reference to the representation or theatre-hall. Tārānātha, however, has a different reading, *varṇaprekṣā*, in its place which he explains to mean 'the waiting room for the actors', a green-room.

Before staging the final drama a rehearsal was given. On the day of the rehearsal, it appears, Brahmins were fed for the auspicious opening of the theatre which is borne out by the following extract from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*:⁸⁵ "Great Brāhmaṇa, this, indeed, is not the first concert or rehearsal in the retiring room (behind the cur-

83 अभिहितोऽस्मि विद्वत्परिषदा कालिदासप्रथितवस्तु मालविकाग्निमित्रं नाम नाटक-
मस्मिन्वसन्तोत्सवे प्रयोक्तव्यमिति *Māl.*, p. 2.

84 तेन हि द्वावपि वर्गौ प्रेक्षागृहे संगीतरचनां कृत्वा *Māl.*, p. 21.

85 प्रथमोपदेशदर्शने पथमं ब्राह्मणस्य पूजा कर्तव्या *ibid.*, p. 30. महाब्राह्मण, न खलु
प्रथमं नेपथ्यसेवनमिदम् । अन्यथा कथं त्वां दक्षिणीयं नार्चयिष्यामः *ibid.*

tain); otherwise how should we not have honoured you, who are worthy of honour." This feeding of a Brahmin during a rehearsal or the first opening of a theatre refers to a definite social custom. It was customary in ancient times to worship the tutelary deity and make presents to Brahmins by way of *dakṣiṇā* when a person was initiated into some art or śāstra, or at any inaugural ceremony. *Nepathya-sevana* is another reading of the phrase which means a 'sacrifice accompanied with musical entertainment' performed when a dramatic company was formally declared open.⁸⁶

We give below a description of the stage and acting as given by the poet. The Parivrājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* while announcing her decision on the performance of the first part fully analyses the performance and brings out its features: "The meaning was well brought out by her limbs which were eloquent with expression; the movements of her feet (*pādanyāso*) was in perfect unison with time; there was complete identification with the sentiments conveyed, the acting performed by means of the movements of the hands was gentle, while in its successive stages chased away emotion gave rise to another from its substratum; still the interest remained just the same."⁸⁷

*Nepathyaparigatā*⁸⁸ refers to a curtain hanging on the stage. The term for a curtain is *tiraskariṇī*.⁸⁹ The word *sambhartum*⁹⁰ reflects that there were more curtains than one, and that the front curtain was rolled up; for the king speaks of *sambhartum* and not of

86 *Māl.*, p. 30. प्रथमोपदेशदर्शने प्रथमं ब्राह्मणस्य पूजा कर्तव्या ।

87 अंगरेन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः

पादन्यासो लयमनुगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।

शाखायोनिर्मदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पावुद्भूतौ

भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव *ibid.*, II. 8.

88 नेपथ्यपरिगतायाश्चन्द्रदर्शनसमुत्सुकं तस्याः *ibid.*, II. 1.

89 तिरस्करिणी *ibid.*, II. 1, *ibid.*, 11; पटाक्षेपेण *Śāk.*, p. 208; *Vik.*, p. 11.

90 संहर्तुं मधीरतया व्यवसितमिव मे तिरस्करिणीम् *ibid.*, II. 1.

apasārayitum. Thus there were many curtains on the stage which were rolled up and dropped down according to the needs of the stage. A study of the stage directions makes the above facts clearer still. The *praviśati āsanastha rājā*⁹¹ contains a stage direction which ordinarily means that 'the king seated on a throne enters upon the stage.' This would mean a contradiction for if the king was *āsanastha*, he could not be described as *praviśati*. We must therefore suppose that the stage knew certain kind of arrangement by which the curtain could be removed and the characters discovered to the audience in various postures. In Kālidāsa (also in Bhavabhūti) we often come across situations with appropriate stage directions which make it necessary to admit the existence of a removable curtain, if we do not want to make those situations and stage directions absurd. *Praviśati* thus means 'is discovered (sitting)' when the curtains are rolled up to reveal line.

There were different types of stage dresses meant for different kinds of parts played by the characters⁹² of the drama. Kauśikī says: "I speak in my capacity as a judge. Let the two pupils enter dressed in fine attire, that the elegance of movements of all their limbs might be clearly displayed."⁹³ This particular dress was given to those who had to dance on the stage. Among the many styles of dress for the stage was the dress of the *Abhisārikā*. She was 'decked with but a few ornaments and veiled with a blue silk'.⁹⁴ She would dispense with such ornaments as were likely to produce lustre or sound. She was to walk out clad in dark vestments so that she might not be recognized by the people who knew her. A third kind of stage dress has been alluded to in the hunting costume.⁹⁵ The *Yavanis*,⁹⁶ the custodian of the king's arms and forming the

91 *Sāk.*, p. 150.

92 सर्वगसौष्ठवाभिव्यक्तये विगतनेपथ्ययोः पात्रयोः प्रवेशोऽस्तु । *Māl.*, p. 22.

93 *Māl.*, p. 22.

94 नीलांशुकप्रारप्रहोऽभिमारिकावेषः *Vik.*, p. 68.

95 अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् *Sāk.*, 68.

96 *Sāk.*, p. 224.

first row of the bodyguards of the king, put on distinct costumes to distinguish them as foreigners on the stage. In like manner one acting the part of a *mānini* or a wife remonstrating against the conduct of her husband, had a special dress, and so had one acting the part of a woman observing a vow⁹⁷ or of one repenting.⁹⁸ Every character naturally had a distinct dress. The king had his own, the chamberlain was distinguished by his robe (*kañcuka*) and staff (*vetra*), the ascetics had their dress made of tree-skin (*valkala*), so had Śakuntalā and other daughters of the recluses, and all who acted on the stage.

Thus equipped with curtains, stage dresses and superb acting while staging the excellent pieces containing matchless poetry, the stage of Kālidāsa presented a picture of a considerably advanced state in the theatrical art of the times.

IV. Dancing

*Nṛtya*⁹⁹ or dance had been cultivated in India from very early times and during the age of Kālidāsa it had reached almost a height of consummation with its various divisions and details. In his works as well as in still earlier works dancing has been associated with stage acting. The *Parivrājikā* while judging the demonstration of the two preceptors of art gives an admirable exposition of the art of dancing in her following observation: "The art of dancing consists chiefly in practical demonstration (*prayoga-pradhānam*)."¹⁰⁰ She clearly shows that the art of dancing

97 वसने परिधूसरे वसाना नियमक्षाममुखी श्रुतैकवेणिः ।

अतिनिष्कण्ठस्य शुद्धशीला मम दीर्घं विरहव्रतं बिभर्ति ॥ *Sāk.*, VII. 21.

98 सितांशुका मंगलमात्रभूषणा पवित्रदूर्वाङ्कुरलाञ्छितालका ।

व्रतापदेशोऽङ्कितगवैश्लिना मयि प्रसन्ना वपुषैव लक्ष्यते ॥ *Vik.*, III. 12.

99 *Vik.*, iv. 12; *M.P.*, 36.

100 प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् *Māl.*, p. 17, प्रयोगं pp. 13, 21, 24; I. 5, प्रयोग-सिद्धिं pp. 12, 32, शास्त्रे प्रयोगे च p. 15; प्रयोगविज्ञानम् *Sāk.*, p. 10, प्रयोग *ibid.*, p. 13; प्रयोगेण *Vik.*, p. 60; प्रयोगमाद्यं *Ku.*, vii. 91. प्रयोगनिपुणैः, प्रयोगकृतिः *Raghu.*, xix. 36.

was much allied to that of acting and that is why Kālidāsa deals with both of them as almost one art. In consequence, a separate study of this art is difficult since the affinity between the two, as treated by the poet, is so great.

There were several modes of dancing practised. And although Kālidāsa does not give a detailed and specific reference to the kinds of dance, we get nevertheless a glimpse into the manysidedness of it from what we gather from his writings. Thus Gaṇadāsa, the teacher of music, dancing and acting, asserts to have taught Mālavikā the five-limb dance¹⁰¹ (*pañcāṅgābbhinaya*); perhaps the allusion in this passage is made to the five kinds of dance as given in the *Saṅgitaratnākara*. We read of yet another kind of dance known as *Chalika*.¹⁰² It was based on the *catuspādā*¹⁰³ i.e. a song of four parts, and it has been regarded as the most difficult of dances to be demonstrated as is evidenced from the following expression: "My lord, they consider the *Chalika* dance, based on the *Catuspada*, the most difficult to be enacted."¹⁰⁴ *Chalika*, as explained by the commentator Kāṣayavema,¹⁰⁵ is that kind of dance in which the dancer, while acting the part of another, gives expression thereby to his own sentiments.

The art of dancing like that of music was kept alive by professionals like courtezans who have been frequently referred to by Kālidāsa. We have already alluded to their employment as dancing girls in the temple of Mahākālā at Ujjaini. Female dancers called *nartakī*¹⁰⁶ and *vāṇinī* pursued the exclusive calling of the professional dancer.

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101 पञ्चाङ्गादिकमभिनयमुपदिश्य *Māl.*, p. 14.

102 छलिकं *Māl.*, pp. 4, 5, 6, 21, 24. Dif. reading चलितं.

103 चतुष्पादोत्थं छलिकं *ibid.*, pp. 21, 24.

104 शर्भिष्ठायाः कृतिं चतुष्पादोत्थं छलिकं दुष्प्रयोज्यमुदाहरन्ति *ibid.*, p. 21.

105 तद् एतच्चलितं नाम साक्षाद् यद् अभिनीयते । व्यपदिश्य परावृत्तं स्वामिप्राय-
प्रकाशकम् ।

106 *Raghu.*, xix. 14, 15 19.

The Kingdom of Khotan under the Mauryas*

The existence of a version of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka at Shahbazgarhi,¹ as well as the mention in the fifth and the thirteenth Edicts of people like Gandhāras, over whom Aśoka ruled, show beyond doubt that the Mauryan empire extended west of the Indus. Fa-hien also mentions Dharmavivardhana as a son of Aśoka, whom he appointed as the Viceroy of Gandhāra. Elsewhere in our paper, "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurvan Empire,"² we have shown that towards the west the Mauryan empire was conterminous with the Syrian empire under the Selucids,³ and included, besides the whole of modern Afghanistan, considerable parts of Eastern Persia and Central Asia.

Strabo informs us that "the Indus formed the boundary between India and Arianê, which lay immediately to the west, and was subject to the Persians; in later times the Indians occupied a *great part* of the Arianê which they received from the Macedonians."⁴ In the following passage Strabo gives some details of the countries west of the Indus and how they came under the control of the Indians. "The order in which the nations of Arianê are placed is as follows: along the Indus are the Paropamisadai at the base of the Paropamisos range; then towards the south are the Arachotoi; to the south of whom succeed Gedrosenoi with other nations who occupy the coast. The Indus runs in a parallel course along the breadth of these regions.

* This paper was read before VIIIth International Historical Congress, Zurich, 1938.

1 Shahbazgarhi is a village on the Makam river, nine miles from Mardan, the head-quarters of the Yusufzai sub-division of the Peshawar district of the North-West Frontier Province.

2 *IHQ.*, vol XIII, No. 3.

3 This is evident from the Second Rock Edict of Aśoka where the Yona king Antiyaka is referred to as a border-king.

4 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 15. (1901. ed).

The Indians possess some of the countries lying along the Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleukos Nikator gave them to Sandrakottos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants."⁵

The information left to us by Strabo, that the empire of Candragupta extended over several of the nations west of the Indus, is in a striking degree supported by the Indian traditions as preserved in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*. According to it Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Kambojas, Pārasikas, Vāhlikas were some of the people with whose help Candragupta conquered Magadha." In the paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan empire," referred to above, we have identified afresh all the above people as well as the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yavanas and Nābhakas, mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions, and have shown that some of them belonged to the regions west of the Indus and others to Central Asia. It was under the great Candragupta himself that the Mauryan empire extended over these regions.⁷

In the light of the conclusion arrived at in the paper referred to above, that the Mauryan empire extended to the highlands of Bal'kh, Badakshan and Pamir,⁸ it may be important to consider

5 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

6 Act I.

7 Dr. Banerjee-Śāstri wrongly thinks that Mahāpadma Nanda had conquered all the dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas as contemporary with the Śiśunāgas, and his empire extended to the whole of northern India, including even the country of the Asmakas, west of the Indus (See *JBORS.*, vol. XXIII, part III (1937), pp. 287 ff.). Pauranic traditions on which Dr. Banerjee-Śāstri has mostly relied seem to indicate that only the Paurava dynasty of Kauśāmbi and the Aiksvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā came to an end at the rise of Mahāpadma Nanda, as Kṣemaka and Sumitra are mentioned as the last kings of these two lines respectively. It will be wrong to conclude that the other dynasties also came to an end along with these. We can at least safely say that the North West, the Punjab and Sindh were outside the Nanda empire, which is evident from the accounts we have of Alexander's invasion in these parts.

8 We have associated Nabhakas of Aśokan inscription with Nawak Pass

carefully the various lines of evidence, which seem to suggest that the Mauryan empire also extended to the adjoining regions of Khotan and other parts of the Chinese Turkestan.

Tibetan and Chinese traditions

The Tibetan records in more than one form assert the connection of the kingdom of Khotan with the Mauryas. At the head of the kingdom of Khotan dynasty the Tibetan texts place Kustana, son of Aśoka. These texts have preserved the following legend, which seems to have grown round the establishment of the kingdom of Khotan by Kustana. In the thirtieth year Aśoka's consort bore a son. The sooth-sayers being summoned declared that the child would dethrone him, and that he would be king during his father's lifetime. Then the king, fearing that this child would dethrone him, gave orders that he should be abandoned, and the mother, apprehending that if the child were not abandoned the king would have him put to death, did as he had ordered. But when the child had been abandoned, then arose a breast on the earth from which he derived sustenance, so that he did not die. For this reason he was called Kustana, or breast of the earth. This child was miraculously carried off by Vaiśravaṇa to the king of China, who had 999 sons, but wanted one more to complete a thousand, and brought up the boy. Kustana having found out his true origin wanted a kingdom for himself, and accordingly when twelve years

(35° 46' N. 70° 3' E.) in the Badakshan region and Nābhhapanktis of Aśokan inscription with the Pamir region ('Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire,' *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, no. 3). That the Pamir region was included in the Mauryan empire is further borne out by the fact that, as recorded by Hiuen Tsang, Aśoka built stūpa in the chief town (identified with Tashkurghan) of Chieh-p'an-t'o (Sarikol) (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 302). In making archaeological survey of Tashkurghan, Stein traced "the probable remains of the ancient stūpa, which local tradition ascribed to king Aśoka, in a high mound outside the north wall of the town" (*Preliminary Report of Archaeological Survey of Chinese Turkestan*, p. 11).

old he got together a host of 10,000 men, and with them went to seek a home in the west, and while thus employed he came to Khotan. About that time Yaśas, a minister of Aśoka, had been obliged to leave India as his relatives had become obnoxious to the king; so he left the country with 7,000 men, and sought a home to the west and to the east, and thus he came into the country below the river of U-then. Two followers of Kustana who had run away came at Tola upon a tract of the uninhabited land which looked inviting, and thence visited Yaśas' encampment to the south of it. When Yaśas had learnt who their chief was, he sent a message to Kustana: 'Let us here unite and establish ourselves in this district of U-then; and thou shalt be king and I minister.' Then Kustana came with all his followers and met Yaśas in the country (south of the U-then river) called 'Hang-gu-jo.' The prince and the minister could not agree about the location of their home, and a quarrel between their hosts was imminent. But this was averted by the appearance of Vaiśravaṇa and Śrīmahādevī, to each of whom a temple was built on that very spot and who were henceforth honoured as the chief guardians of the realm. Kustana was made king and Yaśas minister.⁹

The Tibetan records also inform us that Kustana was aged nineteen when he founded the kingdom of Khotan, 234 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa.¹⁰ This date is in accord with the Ceylonese traditions which place the coronation of Aśoka himself 218 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, i.e., 16 years before the founding of the kingdom of Khotan by Kustana.¹¹ It seems likely that in the 16th year of his reign Aśoka sent his son Kustana as a viceroy to Khotan. As

9 Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 234 ff.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

11 This makes us think that it was not in the thirtieth year of Aśoka's reign that Kustana was born, but he was born, perhaps, when Aśoka was thirty years old, which seems more correct because as we shall note below, according to the Chinese traditions, the founder of the kingdom of Khotan was the *eldest* son of Aśoka.

suggested by Dr. Thomas. Kustana may be identical with Aśoka's eldest son Kuṇāla, who at one time was the Viceroy of Takṣaśilā,"¹² and who, according to the Chinese traditions noted below, was the founder of the dynasty of the Khotan kings. The existence also of the Arhat Yaśas, the minister associated with Kustana, in the Tibetan texts seems "deserving of credence as he is mentioned in the *Sūtrālamkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa."¹³

Independent Chinese traditions seem to corroborate the Tibetan tradition of Aśoka's son being the founder of the early dynasty of Khotan. Hiuen-Tsang, drawing on local traditions, gives almost a similar account of the founder of the early dynasty of the kings of Khotan as we find in the Tibetan records. According to Hiuen-Tsang's account also the kingdom of Khotan was founded in the time of Aśoka by the collaboration of the Chinese and the Indians, who were banished from Takṣaśilā by Aśoka for having put out the eyes of his eldest son who dwelt at Takṣaśilā.¹⁴ But Hiuen-Tsang's account differs from the Tibetan account in one important point, namely, Hiuen-Tsang puts a son of the king of China at the head of the Khotan dynasty. This appears to be wrong, as we find corroboration of the Tibetan tradition of Aśoka's son being the founder of the Khotan dynasty in the *Life of the pilgrim*, written by Hui-li, and completed and edited by Yen-ts'ung, both of whom were contemporaries and

12 *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 500. *Dīpavādāna* also informs us that Kuṇāla was sent by his father to Takṣaśilā as Viceroy. The same work also informs us that *Dharmavivardhana* was another name of Kuṇāla, (Ch. XXVII).

The local tradition recorded by Hiuen-Tsang in his account of Takṣaśilā, also informs us that the name of the eldest son of Aśoka was Kuṇāla. Compare the following remark of Hiuen-Tsang: "Outside the city to the south-east, on the shady side of a mountain, there is a stūpa, in height 100 feet or so: this is the place where they put out the eyes of Ku-lānga (for Ku-na-lang-na, Kuṇāla), who had been unjustly accused by his step-mother; it was built by Aśoka-rāja." Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western-World*, vol. I, p. 139.

13 *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 507.

14 Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Ancient World*, pp. 309 ff.

pupils of Hiuen-Tsang. The *Life* tells us, "the first ancestor of the king (of Khotan) was the eldest son of king Aśoka and resided in the kingdom of Takṣaśilā."¹⁵ The rest of the account of the origin of the Khotan kingdom found in the *Life* is the same as recorded by Hiuen-Tsang. The biographers of the great Chinese pilgrim seem to have deliberately corrected a mistake made by their master.¹⁶ It is thus apparent that in the time of Hiuen-Tsang even the Chinese were aware of the tradition which placed a son of Aśoka at the head of the Khotan dynasty. This greatly strengthens the truth of the similar independent Tibetan tradition discussed above.

Another Tibetan tradition says, that Aśoka, the king of Āryāvarta, visited Khotan in the year 250 after the death of Buddha.¹⁷ This date of Aśoka's visit to Khotan also fits in with the chronology of his life. From the Rummidei and the Nigali Sagar pillar inscriptions we know that in the 20th year of his reign Aśoka set out on tour. A visit to an outlying province like Khotan can be safely put a few years later, which, dating the events of his reign from the year 218 after the death of Buddha, will come near to 250 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa or in the thirty-second year of his reign.¹⁸

15 A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 159. See Julien's *Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 279; and Beal, *Life*, p. 205.

16 Compare the following remark of Stein:—

"It seems difficult, in view of the greatness of the discrepancy, to assume that the different version here presented was due to a mistake on the part of the biographer Hui-li or of Yen-ts'ung, who completed and edited the work. Our doubt on this point must grow stronger when we find that this version coincides in the essential point with the story as told in the Tibetan *Annals of Li-yul*, which also makes an exiled son of Aśoka ultimately establish his kingdom in Khotan (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 159).

17 Vincent Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 81 (3rd. ed.).

18 We have discussed more in detail the correctness of the various Ceylonese and the Tibetan traditions regarding the dates of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and of the events of Aśoka's reign in another paper "Buddha's Nirvāṇa and some other dates in ancient Indian Chronology," read before the Second Indian Culture Conference, 1937, and

The traditions discussed above may be summarised thus: Sometime in the sixteenth year of his reign Aśoka sent to Khotan, as viceroy, his eldest son, Kuṇāla. It also seems likely that at the disintegration of the Maurya empire after Aśoka's death Khotan was set up under his son as an independent kingdom, and the Maurya dynasty lasted there for several centuries. Tibetan records give the names of a number of the kings of Khotan, as descendants of Aśoka's son. The names generally have Vijaya as a prefix, e.g., Vijayasambhava, Vijayavīrya, Vijayajaya, Vijayasimha, Vijayakīrti.¹⁹ It may be interesting to note that Avijīdasimha is mentioned as king of Khotan in one of Kharoṣṭhī documents, obtained by Stein from the Khotan region.²⁰ He may be identical with Vijayasimha or some other king of Khotan mentioned in the Tibetan records. The question needs careful enquiry.

The use of Indian Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī script in Khotan

The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, collected by Stein in Niya and other sites in the Chinese Turkestan, confirm in a striking degree the Tibetan and the Chinese traditions discussed above. As Stein remarks "the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Niya site prove beyond all doubt that an Indian language²¹ closely allied to the old Prakrits

published in *Indian Culture*, vol. V, no. 3, and also in our paper "Chronology of Aśokan Inscriptions," *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XVII, part 3.

19 Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 237 sqq.

20 Boyer, Rapson and Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, no. 661.

21 In my paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire," (*IHQ.*, vol. XIII, no. 3, p. 415) I happened to remark that the Indian Prakrit used in these inscriptions is a variety of Pāṣāṇī.

It will be interesting to note the following remark of Prof. Hiralal Jain on the nature of this language, "My own study of these documents shows that the language used in them exhibits the characteristic features of Pāṣāṇī Prakrit and that it might be taken to be the older form of the Pāṣāṇī which is described by the later-day grammarians such as Vararuci, Hemacandra and others.....
... Sulika, the ancient name of the area round about Kashgar, which appears in old Sanskrit texts, in Tibetan accounts and in one of the inscriptions themselves, might be taken to suggest that Kashgar and Khotan were probably the original

of North-Western India was in daily use for administrative purposes throughout the Khotan region about the middle of the third century A.D. Considering the character of these hundreds of documents dealing with all the varied affairs of practical life and social organization.²² it is impossible to assume that their language should not have been widely, perhaps universally, known within the territory. The conclusion to be drawn from this current use of an Indian language is greatly strengthened by the Kharoṣṭhī script of the records; for we know that within India this script was peculiar to that region of which Taxila and the adjoining Gandhāra were the historical and cultural centres for centuries before and after the commencement of our era."²³ Even the style of writing in these documents strikingly resembles the old Indian style. As pointed out by Stein it follows the forms of correspondence contained in the Khashmirian manual, the *Lokapraśāsa*.²⁴ Thus, it seems that like the language and the script even the style of these documents also was introduced from the north-western parts of India.

How the extension of an Indian Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī script to Khotan and the adjoining regions came about has been a great puzzle. Neither the language nor the script of the documents discovered there can be satisfactorily accounted for by the spread of Buddhism alone, which, "so far as our available evidence goes, brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as its ecclesiastical language and the writing in Brāhmī characters."²⁵ The use of the Indian Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhī script in these regions cannot also

home of Cūlikā Paiśāci." (Summary of the papers submitted to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, 1937, p. 61).

22 As Stein observes "A great portion of these documents, there can be no doubt, contain official correspondence and records of various kinds, such as reports and orders to local officials on matters of administration and police, complaints, summaries, directions for the supply of transport, etc., to persons travelling on public business." (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 364).

23 *Ancient Khotan*, p. 163.

24 *Ibid.* p. 365. N. 8.

25 *Ibid.* p. 369.

be accounted for by the temporary, if at all any, extension over there of the Kuṣāṇa power from the North-Western borderlands of India. Because, as Stein observes, "on the one hand, such a political connexion, if it ever really existed, must, in view of the Chinese historical records, have been very transitory, while on the other hand the forces that might have affected it were themselves Central Asian rather than Indian."²⁶

The use in Khotan of both a Prakrit dialect and a script, which belonged, as shown unmistakably by the Aśokan and the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions, to the Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā regions, can be adequately accounted for if we recognize the truth underlying the Tibetan and the Chinese traditions regarding the extension of the Mauryan empire to Khotan and the adjoining regions. Stein correctly remarks regarding the Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered from the Niya and other sites, "When we take into account the distinctly secular character of most of them, this evidence of the language must be considered a striking confirmation of the old local tradition, recorded by Hsüan-tsang as well as in the Tibetan *Annals of Li-yul*, according to which the territory of Khotan received a large portion of its early population by immigration from the region of Takṣaśilā or Taxila. It must certainly lead us to believe in some historical fact underlying this tradition, if in an outlying settlement of ancient Khotan we find a mass of multifarious records, accumulated by chance, and all closely connected with indigenous administration and ordinary life, written in a language which has its nearest extant congener in that of the inscriptions and coins from the extreme North-West of India during the centuries immediately before and after the commencement of the Christian era."²⁷

²⁶ *Ancient Khotan*, p. 369.

²⁷ *Ancient Khotan*, p. 368. Also compare the following remark of Stein. "The current use in Khotan of both a Prakrit dialect and of the Kharoṣṭhī script becomes at once intelligible if we recognise a substratum of historical fact in the

A wrong turn has been given to the study of the political history of the Mauryan period by the assumption that Candragupta was an illegitimate son of the Nanda king and belonged to Magadha. Elsewhere we have shown that he was not related to Nandas and did not belong to Magadha. He originally came from the Gandhāra region and that it was in the north-west, and perhaps also over Central Asia, that his power was first consolidated; Magadha, like many other parts of India, was subsequently conquered by him.²⁸ Once it is assumed that Candragupta and the Maurya dynasty founded by him hailed from Magadha, one fails to see how the Mauryan empire could extend to Central Asia much less to Eastern Turkestan. Consequently, inspite of very strong evidences, scholars have failed to see clearly the extent of the Mauryan empire beyond the north-west of India. Our conclusion that Gandhāra was the original home of the Mauryas, will fully explain how the extension of their highly organised and well administered empire over Khotan and the adjoining region brought into use in these areas also for official purposes the Indian Prakrit of the north-western India and the Kharoṣṭhi script.

The use of both these was extended even far towards the east of the Tarim Basin. Describing the excavations at numerous ruins of the Loulan site, which also brought to light a large number of Kharoṣṭhi documents, Stein remarks, "the frequency of these finds and the observations I was able to make on the spot as to their outward appearance and apparent character seemed to justify my draw-

old local tradition heard by Hiuen-Tsang, which asserted a partial occupation of Khotan by Indian immigrants from the region of ancient Taxila."

28 See our papers, "Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?" *Annals of the BORI.*, vol. XVIII, part II; "Candragupta and Śaśigupta" *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, no. 2. The issues raised in these papers are discussed in great detail in our paper "Gandhāra Origin of the Maurya Dynasty, and the identification of Candragupta with Śaśigupta," read before the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, 1937.

ng at the time the important conclusion that the same Indian language found in the records of the Niya site had also been regularly used, at that early period, in the Lop region for indigenous administration and business. Considering how far removed Lop Nor is from Khotan, this assumed uniform extension of an Indian script and language to the extreme east of the Tarim Basin was bound to raise fresh problems."²⁹

As the Kharoṣṭhī documents, collected by Stein from the various sites of Chinese Turkestan, belong to the later stratas, they may not throw much light on the actual history of these regions in the centuries preceding the Christian era. But the very forms of epithets like "priyadarśanaṣa priyadevaṃ"³⁰ used in several of these Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions cannot but remind us of "Devānampriyen priyadarśinā"³¹ of the Aśokan inscriptions. These were the regnal titles borne by Aśoka and also, perhaps, by his father and grandfather.³² By the time when the Kharoṣṭhī documents collected by Stein were written, the regnal title used by the Mauryas had sunk into the position of secondary importance, as we find Mahānubhava Mahārāja, corresponding to Sanskrit Mahānubhāva Mahārāja, as the royal title used in several of these Kharoṣṭhī documents. It is a well known fact in history that the regnal titles of one period become secondary titles in the next. The fact that the regnal titles used by the Mauryas play a secondary rôle in these Kharoṣṭhī documents indicates the persistence of traditions of a period earlier than the one to which these documents belong.

In several of these documents we also come across the name Kuṇāla.³³ This reminds us of Aśoka's son, round whom so much

29 *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 413.

30, N. iv. 13 and other. See Boyer, Rapson and Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, pt. I, pp. 31 ff.

31 First Rock Edict. Manshera.

32 In *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act VI, Candragupta receives the epithet of Priyadarśana.

33 Boyer, Rapson and Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 25, 64, 107, 119, 160, 294, 305, 515, 701.

legend had grown up. The use of this name also indicates the persistence of the traditions of the Aśokan times down to the period to which these documents belong, i.e., about the middle of the third century A.D.³⁴

Racial traces of Indian immigration to Khotan

A settlement of immigrants from the extreme north-west of India, such as the Khotan tradition assumes and which is so clearly indicated by the language and the script of the documents discovered there, would necessarily have left its marks in the racial composition of the population. Holdich draws attention to the affinity of certain sections of the present population of Chinese Turkestan to the Indo-Aryan type yet familiar in the north-west and Kashmir. As he remarks "Strange as it may seem the ancient people of this desert waste—the people who now occupy the cultivated strip of land at the foot of the Kuen Lun mountain which shut them from Tibet—are an Indian race, or rather a race of Indian extraction, far more allied to the Indo-European than to any Mongol, Chinese, Tibetan, or Turk race with which they may have been recently admixed."³⁵ Stein also remarks to the same effect; "I was frequently struck by a certain curious resemblance in general appearance of features between the Khotanese and the Kashmiris, a resemblance difficult to define yet all the more noteworthy on account of the unmistakable peculiarity of the type presented by the Kashmiris."³⁶

Geographical indications

Geographically also it is more than probable that the Chinese Turkestan in those earlier centuries was politically controlled by the same power as controlled the highlands of the Hindukush and the Pamirs. In the south it is cut off from Tibet by the snow covered

³⁴ *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 369-370.

³⁵ *Gates of India*, p. 172.

³⁶ *Ancient Khotan*, p. 165.

Kuen-lun range. Towards the east is Nan Shan and the desert of Gobi. Towards the north it is bounded by equally inaccessible Tien Shan. It was more easily accessible from the west. The route from Badakshan through Wakhan valley and the Wakhjir pass to Chinese Turkestan was a very ancient and important one. As Sir Aurel Stein observes "Wakhan valley from the earliest times must have been a main route linking Western Asia, and through it the classical world, with innermost Central Asia and thus the Far East. Nature itself, as it were, seems to have intended Wakhan to serve as the more direct thoroughfare from the fertile regions of Badakshan to the line of oases along the southern rim of the Tarim Basin."³⁷ He makes the following similar observation regarding the Wakhjir Pass. "The Wakhjir Pass connects the Tāghidumbāsh Pamir and the Sarikol valleys with the head waters of the Oxus. Over it there must have passed since ancient times an important line of communication between Chinese Turkestan and the Iranian territories on the Oxus. Notwithstanding its great elevation, the Wakhjir Pass and its approaches both from west and east are comparatively easy. Comparing the topographical facts with Hiuen-Tsiang's account in the *Si-yu-ki*, I am led to conclude that the route followed by the great Chinese pilgrim, when travelling about A.D. 649 from Badakshan towards Khotan, through the valley of Pomilo (Pamir) into Sarikol, actually traversed this Pass."³⁸ There were also other important routes from the west to Chinese Turkestan.

The comparative inaccessibility of the Chinese Turkestan from other directions than the west explains the fact that it was not open to the political influence of the Chinese unless we come down to the former Han Dynasty in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., (c. 140 B.C.). The first irruption of the Tibetans in these regions belongs to

³⁷ *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 60.

³⁸ *Archaeological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, pp. 10, 11.

a yet later date, about 662 A.D. In the light of the conclusion elsewhere set forth³⁹ and referred to in the beginning of this paper that the Mauryan empire extended to the highlands of Badakshan and Pamir, we feel certain of the truth underlying the various traditions, discussed above, and which are fully borne out by the evidence of race, language, and the script used, that in the era preceding the inroads of the Chinese, a great part of the Chinese Turkestan was also politically controlled by the Mauryas. It was, in all probability, conquered by the great Candragupta himself, who originally hailed from the Gandhāra region, and whose empire, as is known beyond doubt, extended far towards the west of the Indus.

H. C. SETH

39 "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan empire." *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, pt. 3.

Purāṇic Hindu Society before 200 A.D.

The analysis of the extant Purāṇas,¹ which have lost their traditional character of 'pañca-lakṣaṇa' and grown up to be encyclopædic works by incorporating chapters not only on religious and social matters but also on law, politics, poetics, grammar, medicine, music, dancing and sculpture, show that they began to incorporate Smṛti-matter from about 200 A.D. and that there were two main stages in the development of their Smṛti materials. In the first stage, which covered a period ranging approximately from the beginning of the third to the end of the fifth century A.D., the Purāṇas dealt only with those topics on Hindu rites and customs which formed the subject-matter of the early Smṛti-Saṃhitās such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya.² But in the second stage, which began from about the beginning of the sixth century A.D., we find a well-marked improvement in the varieties of the Smṛti-topics. In this stage the new topics added relate mainly to various kinds of gifts, initiation, sacrifices to the planets and their pacification, *homa*, consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of images etc., *saṃdhyā*, glorification of Brahmins and their worship, glorification of holy places, *tithis*, *utsarga*, *vrata* and *pūjā*. These topics are found neither in the works of Manu and Yājñavalkya nor in the Purāṇas, or portions thereof, which were written earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Hence the question arises as to what led to such a remarkable change in the form and character of the Purāṇas and determined the stages in the development of their Smṛti materials. To answer this

1 My analysis of most of the Mahāpurāṇas have been published in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, *Indian Culture* and *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Those remaining will appear in due course in the same journals.

2 These topics are: *varṇāśrama-dharma*, *ācāra*, *āhnikā*, *bhakṣyābhakṣya*, *vivāha*, *aśauca*, *śrāddha*, *dravya-suddhi*, *pātaka*, *prāyaścitta*, *naraka*, *karmavipāka* and *yuga-dharma*.

we shall have to review briefly the early religious movements and the foreign invasions and occupations, and their effect on the Brāhmaṇical society. This discussion will, on the one hand, help us to find an explanation as to the present form of the Purāṇas, and on the other, explain the nature of their Smṛti-contents.

Ancient India saw the rise of various religious movements which may be classified, according to their relation to the Vedic (comprising Śrauta and Smārta), as anti-Vedic (viz., Jainism, Ājivakism i.e. the religion of the Ājivakas, and Buddhism), semi-Vedic (consisting of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Brahmiṣm), and non-Vedic (viz., Śāktism). Besides the staunch followers of these religions, there was another class of people who were rather of a mixed type. On the one hand, they had high regard for the sectarian gods and looked upon their worship as the means of attaining salvation; on the other, they valued much the practice of the rules of the varṇāśramadharma and regarded the Vedas as the highest authority. We shall see hereinafter that the Purāṇic dharma originated with this last-mentioned class of people.

Brāhmaṇism

The Brāhmaṇical religion, rooted in the Vedas, allowed the highest place to Brahmins in society. In the *R̥gveda* Brahmins are said to have sprung from the mouth of Puruṣa (the Primeval Being). They formed the intellectual class among the Aryans and commanded,—at least claimed for themselves,—the highest respect. Their duties were the performance of sacrifices, the study of the Vedas, and making gifts, and they depended, for maintenance, upon the liberality of kings and others received mainly in the forms of priestly fees and gifts. They enjoyed allowances and preferences even in the courts of justice. In marriage, inheritance etc. Brahmins enjoyed greater privileges than the other castes. Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had their prescribed duties which they were

required to perform. Śūdras were to serve the twice-born, who claimed absolute right over the earnings of their respective slaves.³ Such a state of Brāhmaṇism continued, more or less smoothly, for a time until there arose many new religious systems, some of which were clear protests against the position of Brahmins and the authority of the Vedas, while others also were not very favourable to the varṇāśramadharmā. The rise and propagation of these rival faiths proved very fatal to the sacrificial religion of the Vedas which was already on the decline. We find that long before the time of Manu the Śrauta rites were gradually becoming obsolete, and the orthodox Vedic religionists were turning Smārtas.

Probably long before the time of Gautama Buddha there were revolts against the Brāhmaṇical doctrines. The *Suttanipāta*, in one of its sections called *Mahāvagga*,⁴ mentions sixty-three different philosophical schools—probably all of them non-Brāhmaṇical—existing at the time of the Buddha; and there are passages in Jain literature exhibiting a far larger number of such heretical doctrines.⁵ Of the teachers of these anti-Vedic religious systems the names of Vardhamāna Mahāvira, Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta and Gautama Buddha are too well-known to be overlooked, and these three non-Brāhmaṇical teachers were the most formidable enemies of Brāhmaṇism.

Jainism

Mahāvira, the son of a nobleman of Vaiśālī, practised severe austerity and became the founder, or rather the reformer, of the Jain Church. According to Jain traditions Mahāvira was immediately preceded by Pārśva, the 23rd Tirthaṅkara. Professor Jacobi and others hold that this Pārśva was the real founder of Jainism. For want of information, literary or otherwise, we are not sure what

3 *Gautama-dharmasūtra*, X, 65—tadārtho'sya nicayaḥ syāt.

4 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, 2, p. 93.

5 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 150.

the teachings of Pārśva were and in what respects Mahāvīra differed from his predecessor. 'We are told that Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows, viz., not to injure life, to be truthful, not to steal and to possess no property, while Mahāvīra added a fifth requisition, viz., that of chastity. Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment. Mahāvīra, on his part, followed the more rigid rule which obliged the ascetic to be completely naked.'⁶ Over and above these, Mahāvīra valued most the fourth stage of life and recommended it to his followers. These teachings of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were largely antagonistic to the ideas and tenets of Brāhmaṇism. Moreover, the Jains did not recognise the authority of the Vedas. They had little faith in caste distinctions and in the Brāhmaṇical rites and duties.

During the lifetime of Mahāvīra the spread of Jainism was rather limited. Though 'there seems to be little doubt that the Jains have more claim to include the parricide king (Ajātaśatru) amongst their converts than the Buddhists',⁷ Jainism does not seem generally to have overstepped the boundaries of the kingdoms of Magadha and Aṅga where the great teacher principally dwelt. After the death of Mahāvīra about 468 B.C.,⁸ his followers and successors succeeded in popularising the faith to a much greater degree, so that it did not fail to gain the support of kings and commoners. From the evidence of the legendary tales related by Jain writers, of whom Hemacandra is the most important, it seems that Udāyin, the successor of Ajātaśatru, was a great champion of the faith. He was so partial to the Jains that his partiality turned out to be the very cause of his death.⁹ From the fact that the Jains do not speak against the Nandas it seems that the Nanda kings were not

6 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 154. Also *SBE.*, vol. XLV, p. 121 and Dr. Hoernle in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 264.

7 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 161.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 156.

9 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 164

unfavourably disposed towards Jainism. The Jain tradition tells us that the Nanda kings had a line of Jain ministers of whom Kalpaka was the first. This Kalpaka was made to accept the minister-ship against his will, and with his help the Nanda kings uprooted the Kṣtriya rulers from the face of the earth.¹⁰ From all these we are tempted to suppose that the Nanda kings were Jains.¹¹ This supposition is strengthened by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, wherein Nanda-rāja is found connected with an idol of the first Jina.¹² From the evidence of this inscription we know that Khāravela was a strong upholder of the Jain religion.¹³ According to Jain literary tradition Saṃprati, a grandson of Aśoka, was a staunch Jain. He reigned probably in Ujjain, which, as the later Jain authors say, came to be regarded as one of the most important centres of Jainism even before the death of Aśoka. The numerous Mathurā inscriptions, 'discovered by Cunningham and Führer, show that in the period ranging from about the middle of the second century B.C. to the end of the Kuṣāṇa rule Jainism was firmly established in Mathurā where there grew up 'a widespread and firmly established Jain community, strongly supported by pious lay devotees, and very zealous in the consecration and worship of images and shrines devoted to Mahāvira and his predecessors.'¹⁴

Ājīvakism

Mahāvira had a great rival in Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, who lived with him for six years and practised austerities. At last they were separated by a dispute, and Gosāla soon set up a new religious system of his own. His followers were called Ājīvakas, and his

¹⁰ *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, edited by Haribhadrasūri, Benares, 1905, pp. 691-693.

¹¹ Smith, *JRAS.*, 1918, p. 546—"I may mention that I had come independently to the opinion that the Nandas were Jains."

¹² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLIII, 1914, p. 173.

¹³ *JBORS.*, vol. IV, 1918, pp. 364-404.

¹⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 167

teachings resembled much those of Mahāvīra. He made Śrāvastī his headquarters, and in course of time came to have a grand following there.¹⁵ The Jains tell us that Gosāla was not very strict about moral matters.

Want of sufficient evidence, literary or otherwise, leaves us in darkness as to the spread and popularity of the system. It is mainly from the Jain works that we gather scrappy accounts about the Ājīvakas. The way, in which the Jain authors attack Gosāla in their works, shows that the Ājīvakas formed a powerful sect which arrested the spread of Jainism. That the Ājīvaka sect continued to exist during the reign of Aśoka and his successors is shown by a few inscriptions. The three cave inscriptions of Aśoka at Barābar in the Gayā district¹⁶ record the dedication of cave dwellings for the use of the Ājīvakas who 'went about' naked and were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind.¹⁷ Another inscription of Aśoka names the Ājīvakas along with the Buddhists, Brāhmins and others.¹⁸ Daśaratha, a grandson of Aśoka, is known from three inscriptions to have bestowed on the Ājīvaka sect, caves in the Nāgārjuna hills.¹⁹ These evidences show that the Ājīvaka sect did not lose hold on the society but commanded respect even of kings.

Buddhism

The third great heretical system is Buddhism preached by Gautama Buddha who also, like Mahāvīra and Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, was a non-Brāhmin and preached a system which was in every way detrimental to the interests of Brāhmaṇism. The Buddhists, especially those who entered the Saṅgha, practised ahimsā, did not show regard to the Vedas and Brahmins, ignored the Vedic gods, did not

15 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 162.

16 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, pp. 181-182.

17 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 177.

18 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 131.

19 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 103-104 and 134-136.

recognise caste distinctions, and cared little for the varṇāśrama-dharma. In their opinion śrāddha was a mere policy of Brahmins. These and similar other ideas and practices made the Buddhists the bitterest enemies of Brāhmaṇism.

Buddhism had found great patrons in kings of whom Aśoka and Kaṇiṣka are the most important. Aśoka was a non-Brāhmin, and a Śūdra according to the Purāṇas.^{19a} He did his best to popularise Buddhism in India and abroad and looked upon the Buddhist monks with special favour. In his time the Buddhists increased overwhelmingly in number mainly at the cost of the followers of Brāhmaṇism. Aśoka himself says; "The gods who were worshipped as true divinities in India have been rendered false.....by my zeal." After the downfall of the Mauryas, there was a Brāhmaṇic revival under the Śuṅgas, but the impetus which Buddhism received from Aśoka was not to be stopped. The inscriptions of the reign of the early Āndhras show that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition at that period.²⁰ The rule of the Kuṣāṇa kings also was very favourable to Buddhism. According to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, "these kings who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turuṣka race, built at Śuṣkalettra and other places, maṭhas, caityas and similar (structures). During the powerful reign of these (kings) the land of Kāśmīra was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by (practising) the law of religious mendicancy (pravrajyā) had acquired great renown."²¹ "The general prevalence of Buddhism in Northern India, including Kashmir, Afghanistan and Swat, during the two centuries immediately preceding and

19a The word 'Śūdra' is used in the Purāṇas to mean the members of the fourth caste as well as those who went out of the Brāhmaṇical fold by embracing faiths other than Brāhmaṇism, no matter whether the latter were originally Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas. So, in the case of the Nandas, Mauryas and others, this word might be used in the latter sense.

20 *Indian Antiquary*, XLVIII, 1919, pp. 77 f.

21 Stein, *Kalhana's Chornicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, vol. I, p. 31.

the two next following the Christian era, is simply attested by the numerous remains of Buddhist monuments erected during that period, and a multitude of inscriptions which are almost all either Buddhist or Jain.²²

Vaiṣṇavism

We have seen above the nature and spread of the three great heresies. We shall now direct our attention to two other religious movements, viz., Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Materials for the reconstruction of the early history of these religions are so meagre that we cannot say definitely how these systems grew up and what contributions the Aryans and non-Aryans made to their growth.

The earliest records of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are contained in the *Mahābhārata*; but even there these systems do not seem to appear in their true character, because 'the priests have preserved for us, not so much the opinions the people actually held, as the opinions the priests wished them to hold.'²³ It is, therefore, quite probable that in the present *Mahābhārata*, which is practically a work of those who believed in the Vedas and in the caste and āśrama rules, and in which the attempt at popularising the Vedas and the varṇāśramadharmā and elevating the position of Brāhmins is clearly discernible, the forms of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism have been influenced by the ideas and motive of its authors.

The term Vaiṣṇavism is very comprehensive in its denotation; but the modern Vaiṣṇavas consist generally of the Pāñcarātras and the Bhāgavatas. These two sections, though originally different,²⁴ are designated by the generic term Vaiṣṇava on

²² Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 318.

²³ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 210. See also Richard Fick, *Social Organisation in north-east India in Buddha's time*, p. 14.

²⁴ *IHQ.*, VI, 1930, pp. 315 f. and 437 f.; VII, 1931, pp. 93 f., 343 f. and 735 f.; and VIII, 1932, pp. 64 f. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 30 f.

account of the identification of their respective sectarian deities with Viṣṇu.

The earliest document of the Pāñcarātra is the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, XII, 335-351). Here we are told that there were seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis who proclaimed on the mount Meru, a Śāstra which was on a par (*sammita*) with the four Vedas.²⁵ This Śāstra contained one lac of verses, and it was meant for the populace.²⁶ As it was to direct them both in activity (*pravṛtti*) and inactivity (*niṣṛtti*), it was made consistent with the four Vedas.²⁷ We do not know for certain whether there was really any ancient Pāñcarātra work ascribed to the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis, but the very reference to making the scripture, which was meant for the commoners, conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the originally non-Vedic, if not also anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāñcarātra system. The *Mahābhārata* itself admits that the Pāñcarātra system is different from the Vedic, for it says: "Know, O saintly king, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views."²⁸ It has been held that the above mentioned scripture compiled by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis was the forerunner of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.²⁹ But this view seems to be untenable because of the fact that, as we shall see afterwards, the prescriptions of the early Saṃhitās of this sect are not at all favourable to the varṇāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas. On the other hand, the influence of the varṇāśramadharmā on the Saṃhitās increases with their comparatively late dates. It seems, therefore, that the original non-

25 *Mahābhārata*, XII, 335, 27b-29a.

26 Cf. loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yaśmād dharmah pravartate—*Mahābhārata*, XII, 335, 39; also *Mbh.*, XII, 335, 29a—loka-dharmam anuttamaṃ.

27 *Mbh.*, XII, 335, 40.

28 *Ibid.*, XII, 349, 1 and 64.

29 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 98.

Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pāñcarātras were permeated through the Saṃhitās while the idea of reconciling the scripture of the seven Ṛṣis with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics and the Purāṇas.

Of the early character of Bhāgavatism we can scarcely say anything definitely. That this system also was not, in its real character, very favourably inclined towards the varṇāśramadharma and the Brahmins, seems to be suggested by the facts that the Vṛṣṇis among whom Kṛṣṇa was born, were noted for their irreverent attitude towards Brahmins,³⁰ and that the casteless foreigners were freely admitted into the Bhāgavata fold. The Besnagar inscription³¹ of the second century B.C. mentions Heliodoros, an ambassador of the Greek king Antialkidas, as a Bhāgavata. The inscription further tells us that this Heliodoros erected, in honour of Vāsudeva, a flag-staff on the top of which there was an image of Garuḍa. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (II, 4, 18) also refers to the acceptance of Vaiṣṇavism by the foreigners:

किरात-हूणान्द्र-पुलिन्द-पुक्वसा आभीर-सुद्धा यवनाः खशादयः ।

चेऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाश्रयाः शुध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवे नमः ॥

We should note that these casteless foreign races were held in great contempt by the Purāṇic Brahmins who called them 'sinners',³² 'mlecchas',³³ and 'inimical to Brāhmaṇism',³⁴ and that the authors of the Purāṇas always warned the people against disclosing the contents of these 'holy books' to such people.³⁵ The admittance of the casteless foreigners into the Vaiṣṇava fold, and the

30 *Arthasāstra of Kautilya*, text, edited by R. Shāma Sāstry, p. 12. Cowell's *Ītaka*, vol. IV, pp. 55-56 and vol. V, p. 138.

31 Lüders, Inscription No. 669, *Epigraphia Indica*, X, 1909-10, Appendix.

32 *Bhāgavata*, II, 4, 18.

33 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, 38, 28.

34 *Ibid.*, IV, 24, 18—abrahmanyān.

35 Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 103, 69b-70.

encouragement to saṁnyāsa for the practice of Yoga,³⁶ as contrasted with the conservative and orthodox views of the Purāṇas, tend to show that the character of Vaiṣṇavism, which was accepted by these foreigners, must have been against the varṇāśramadharma and, therefore, a menace to it. From the position of women and Śūdras in the Vaiṣṇavism of the epics and the Purāṇas it seems that in popular Vaiṣṇavism also initiation was open to them, and they were allowed to worship Viṣṇu themselves.

Inscriptions and authors of the pre-Christian era testify to the early spread and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. Pāṇini (IV, 3, 95 and 98) speaks for the formation of the word 'vāsudevaka' to mean 'a person the object of whose Bhakti is Vāsudeva.' Megasthenes, who lived in the court of Candragupta Maurya, informs us that the worship of Viṣṇu (under the form of Kṛṣṇa) was very popular especially among the Śūrasenas.³⁷ In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (text, p. 403) there is mention of the worshippers of god Saṁkarṣaṇa. Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV, 3, 98), mentions 'vāsudeva-vargyaḥ' and 'vāsudeva-vargiṇaḥ' (i.e. the followers of Vāsudeva), and regards Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as a divine being rather than a mere Kṣatriya.³⁸ In the Ghoṣuṇḍi Stone Inscription³⁹ of the pre-Christian era there is a clear reference to the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Nānāghāt Cave Inscription⁴⁰ begins with an invocation of several gods including Saṁkarṣaṇa and

36 Cf. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, text, p. 403 wherein there is mention of spies, disguised as ascetics with shaved heads or braided hair, and pretending to be the worshippers of god Saṁkarṣaṇa. Megasthenes calls the worshippers of Siva and Kṛṣṇa 'philosophers.' See McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 97.

37 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 201. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 408, 485.

38 *Indian Antiquary*, III, 1874, pp. 14-16.

39 *Ibid.*, vol. LXI, 1932, p. 203. Also see *JASB.*, vol. 56, i, 1887, pp. 74 f.; *Memoirs No. 4 of the ASI.*, 1920, p. 119; *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, 1921-2, pp. 25 f.; *IHQ.*, vol. IX, 1933, pp. 795 f.

40 Lüders, Inscription No. 1112, *Ep. Ind.*, X, 1909-10, Appendix, p. 121.

Vāsudeva. The name 'Vāsudeva' was very popular with the Indians as well as the foreigners. The Peshāwar Museum Inscription (no. 21) names a Brahmin Vāsudeva, son of Indradeva and resident of Obhara, who caused a well to be dug.⁴¹ The ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty was named Bhāgavata, and the founder of the Kāṇva dynasty was named Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva was also the name of the successor of the Kuṣāṇa king Huiṣka. These evidences sufficiently prove the spread and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. If the suggestion that the Ghoṣuṇḍi Stone Inscription belongs to the Kāṇva dynasty⁴² is accepted, then it becomes evident that Vaiṣṇavism 'found favour not only with the foreigners such as the Śakas, Yavanas etc. but also with the Vedic Aryans of the royal family like the Kāṇvas, from an early date.'

Śaivism

The early character of Śaivism also does not seem to have been very favourable to the varṇāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas. This irreverent character of Śaivism seems to be hinted at in a dialogue between Dakṣa and Śiva in the *Mahābhārata*, in which the latter says that in ancient times he formulated the Pāśupata system which was 'contradictory to, though in a very few cases agreeing with, the rules of the varṇāśramadharmā' and which was denounced by the unwise.⁴³ It is perhaps on account of their

41 *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. II, part 1, p. 157.

42 *IHQ.*, IX, 1933, pp. 795-799.

43

×	×	×
×	×	×

वेदात् षडङ्गादुद्धृत्य सांख्ययोगाच्च युक्तिः ।
 अपूर्वं सर्वतोभद्रं विश्वतोमुखमव्ययम् ।
 अर्न्धर्देशार्थसंयुक्तं गूढमग्राह्यनिन्दितम् ॥
 वर्णाश्रमकृतेर्धर्मैर्विपरीतं कश्चित् समम् ।
 गतो तेरथ्यवसितमत्याश्रममिदं व्रतम् ॥
 मया पाशुपतं दत्तं शुभमुत्पादितं पुरा ।
 × × ×

characteristic non-Brahmanical ideas and practices that the worshippers of Śiva (originally called Pāśupatas) have been looked down upon by the Smṛti-writers. The Smṛti-candrikā (II, 310) quotes from the Ṣaṭtriṃśanmata three lines which run as follows:

बीहान् पाशुपताङ्गान् लोकयतिक-कापिलान् ।

बिकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्मृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविरोत् ॥

कापालिकांस्तु संस्तुरय प्राणायामोऽधिको मतः ।

'A man should bathe with all his clothes on if he chances to touch the Bauddhas, the Pāśupatas, the Jainas, the Lokāyatikas, the Kāpilas, and those Brāhmins who have taken up the duties not meant for them. But if he touches the Kāpālikas, he should perform prāṇāyāma in addition.' There is another verse quoted in the same work (II, 311), which says: "One should bathe with the garments on after touching the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the Lokāyatikas, the Nāstikas, the Brāhmins who have taken up the duties not meant for them, and the Sūdras." The Kāpālikas, Sāttvatas, Bauddhas, Jainas and others are called 'durācārāḥ śaucācāra-bahiṣkṛtāḥ' in a passage quoted by Aparārka (commentary, p. 143) from a *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, and are classed by him with the outcasts (*patita*—com., p. 143). Examples of such hatred borne towards the Śiva-worshippers, and especially the Kāpālikas, are not rare in Sanskrit literature. The main causes of this hatred seem to be the peculiar manners and customs of these sectaries. The Pāśupatas used to remain completely naked or with a piece of rag (*kaupina*) on,⁴⁴ bear awkward signs, hold a torch in the hand,

These verses are found quoted in Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya* (pp. 17-18). The readings given by Aparārka are sometimes different and also perhaps better; viz., he reads 'śaktitaiḥ' for 'yuktitaiḥ', 'arthair daśārdhaiḥ saṃyuktaṃ' for 'abhair daśārdha-saṃyuktaṃ', 'śatāntaiḥ' for 'gatāṃ taiḥ', 'anyāśramam' for 'atyāśramam', 'smṛtaṃ' for 'vrataṃ', 'pūrvam' for 'dakṣa', and 'yogaṃ' for 'śubham'.

These verses are also found, with variations in readings, in *Linga-p.*, II, 20, 9-11; *Vāyu-p.*, 30, 293-295; *Brahma-p.*, 40, 108-110, and so on. Hence their antiquity can scarcely be questioned.

44 *Karma*, I, 33, 8; II, 37, 100; etc.

laugh, sing, dance, shout, make amorous gestures and do similar other acts. They besmeared their bodies with ashes, and used to live in the cemeteries. They cared little for the caste and āśrama rules, and admitted the casteless foreigners into their fold. The Śūdras and women were allowed to have initiation (dikṣā) and to worship the deity. The dress and manners of the Kāpālikas were much more repulsive. Their sacred thread was made of hair, their rosaries consisted of human bones, they held in their hands skulls which were besmeared with blood, and they wore matted hair ornamented with pieces of bones.⁴⁵ By these and similar other repulsive acts they could not but excite the hatred of at least the members of the Brāhmaṇical fold. There was another reason why the Śiva-worshippers were not in good grace of those who believed in the varṇāśramadharmā. It was that they, like the Pāñcarātras, laid special stress on saṃnyāsa for the practice of Yoga, and thus encouraged the breach of order and discipline in society.

From early times the worship of Śiva became very popular. The inscriptions and early authors give ample evidence in this direction. "A round copper seal, measuring 1.35 × 1.35 inches, with two rings on the back, was found at Sirkap in the year 1914-5. It shows the figure of Śiva with trident in left hand and club in right....."⁴⁶ Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, mentions the Śiva-bhāgavatas, devotees of Śiva, and speaks of the stress they lay on the worship of images.⁴⁷ Megasthenes speaks of the popularity of the worship of Śiva especially in the hill regions, and compares Candragupta's hunting expedition to the processions of Dionysus (i.e. Śiva). Aśoka is said to have been a devotee of Śiva in his

45 *Varāha-p.*, 97, 13-14 and 20; *Brhat-saṃhitā*, p. 61.

46 *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. II, part 1, p. 102.

47 *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini V, 2, 76.

early life.⁴⁸ 'The Śaka and Kuṣāṇa kings who reigned from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. were usually Śivaïtes or Buddhists and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva'.⁴⁹ The Kuṣāṇa king Kadphises II (78-110 A.D.) was so ardent a worshipper of Śiva that he had a picture of the god stamped on his coins.⁵⁰ Among the forms of the deities stamped on the coins of Huviṣka, there is the figure of the 'Phallic Śiva'.⁵¹ Vāsudeva (182-220 A.D.), another Kuṣāṇa king, was a worshipper of Śiva.⁵² The above instances amply testify to the spread and popularity of Śiva-worship in ancient India. The popularity of the worship of this god is further proved by the fact that in numerous cases the names of kings as well as commoners are found connected with that of Śiva. The Shahdaur Inscription names one 'renowned, rich and wealthy' Śiva-rakṣita (protected by Śiva'; cf. 'Buddha-rakṣita') who made a donation of ten thousand Kārṣāpaṇas.⁵³ The Bimarān Vase Inscription mentions one Śiva-rakṣita, 'the Mūjavat scion'.⁵⁴ A seal inscription discovered in the Punjab belongs to 'Śivasena, the Kṣatrapa in the town of Abhisāraprastha'.⁵⁵ A cave inscription at Nasik refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta.⁵⁶ It is needless to multiply examples.

We have said above that the original character of these two religions was most probably non-Brāhmaṇical. By this it is not meant that those who worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva were all influenced by the non-Brāhmaṇical ideas and practices,

48 Smith, *Early Hist. of Ind.*, p. 185.

49 H. C. Roy Choudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 100.

50 Smith, *Early Hist. of Ind.*, p. 318; Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, part III, p. 8.

51 Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, part III, p. 101.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

53 *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 16-17.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

56 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 1905-6, p. 88. *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, 1918, p. 156.

and violated the Brāhmanical rules of castes and āśramas. What we mean to say is that these two religions in their popular character were imbued with non-Brāhmanical ideas and practices. On the other hand, it seems that among the early worshippers of these two deities there was one section of people who, though won over to the worship of these deities, looked upon the Vedas as authorities, attached great importance to the varṇāśramadhārma and the smṛti rules, and did not like to give them up. We shall call them Smārta-Vaiṣṇavas and Smārta-Saivas. The *Jayākhyā-saṃhitā* mentions the Smārta adherents to the Pāñcarātra system. It divides the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavas into three groups, with further sub-divisions, according to the extent of their renunciation (saṃnyāsa), the nature of their attachment to the sect, and their method of worshipping Viṣṇu. The first group consists of the Yatis, the Ekāntins, the Vaikhānasas, the Karma-sāttvatas and the Śikhins; the second group, of the Āptas (i.e. those who join the order wholeheartedly), the Anāptas, the Ārambhins and the Saṃpravartins; and the third group, of the Yogins, the Japa-niṣṭhas, the Tāpasas, the Śāstrajñas and the Śāstra-dhāraṇakas. The Anāptas, the Ārambhins and the Saṃpravartins are defined as follows:

वर्णधर्ममनुजिह्वल्य ह्याप्तादप्येन कर्मणा ।
यजन्ति श्रद्धया देवमनासास्ते प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
विना तेनार्थसिद्धयर्थं विश्वात्मानं यजन्ति ये ।
आरम्भिणस्ते बोद्धव्या वैष्णवा ब्राह्मणादयः ॥
श्रद्धया ये प्रवर्तन्ते स्वयं संपूजने हरेः ।
अमार्गेण तु विप्रेन्द्र बिद्धि तान् संप्रवर्तिनः ॥

‘Those, who do not give up the duties imposed on them by their castes but worship the god with devotion (śraddhā) with acts prescribed by the Āptas, are called Anāptas. The Vaiṣṇava Brahmins and others who, without caring for it (i.e. the instruction of the Āptas), worship the universal soul for the attainment of the desired object, are called Ārambhins. O best of Brahmins, know those

people as Saṃpravartins who, out of śraddhā, of themselves set to worship Hari in a wrong way.⁵⁷ Probably among the Śiva-worshippers also there were adherents of the types of these Anāptas, Ārambhins and Saṃpravartins mentioned above. It is undoubtedly these types of Brahmin adherents to Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism to whom the composite character of Purāṇic Hinduism was originally due, and who were also the authors of the present Purāṇas; because these works exhibit, on the one hand, the sectarian zeal in glorifying the respective deities, and, on the other, try to establish the varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas.

Brahmāism

Besides the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas there grew up in ancient India another sect which inculcated the worship of Brahmā. Of the early history and character of this Brahmā-sect we know almost nothing. The accounts which we find in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa) are of comparatively late dates. Though from these accounts we cannot form any clear idea of the early character of the sect, it is clear that the Brahmā-sect attached great importance to asceticism for the realisation of the supreme Brahma.

Social disorder

The different sects and systems of religion that we have just reviewed created an atmosphere which did not in an orthodox way conform to Vedic or Brāhmaṇical ideas. This atmosphere was further disturbed by the advent of the casteless foreigners such as the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kuṣāṇas, Ābhīras and others, who founded extensive kingdoms and settled in this country. Though these foreigners accepted Buddhism, Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism, and were soon Indianised, their anti-Brāhmaṇic manners and customs could not but

influence the people, especially their co-religionists. Most of these alien tribes being originally nomadic, they can be expected to have had a variable standard of morality which also certainly affected the people.

Further trouble was created to Brahmins by the political supremacy of non-Kṣatriyas, or rather Sūdras as the Purāṇas hold, under the Nandas, the Mauryas and probably also the Āndhras.⁵⁸ The Brahmins always emphasised the low social status of the Sūdras and reduced them to servitude. In religious life also the latter enjoyed little privilege and freedom. It is natural, therefore, that these

58 The way in which the land of the Āndhras was looked down upon by the Aryans shows that the inhabitants of this place could never claim a position better than that of the Sūdras. About the origin of the people of Southern India Baudhāyana says: "Those people are of mixed origin, who are inhabitants of Avanti, Āṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvr̥t, Sindhu and Sauvira" (*Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, I, 1, 29). The land of the Āndhras and others lay outside the pale of Āryāvarta, beyond which, as Manu says, lived the Mlecchas. It was for this reason that the orthodox Brāhmaṇists deemed it sinful to go to these parts of India. Vyāsa says: "One should shun the lands of the Āṅgas, Vaṅgas, Āndhras and other Mleccha tribes, and also those tracts of land where there are no antelopes" (see *Smṛti-candrikā*, I, p. 22). Devala, quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* (on *Yāj.* III, 292), says: "By going to Sindhu, Sauvira, Surāṣṭra, the Frontier Provinces, Āṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīṅga and Andhra, one deserves to be purified again." Similar other passages, quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* (I, pp. 22-23 and 24) from the *Ādi* and the *Skanda-purāṇa*, show that the twice-born, who went to these countries except in times of distress, were looked upon as fallen from their castes (patita). As to the origin of the Āndhras, the twice-born had a low opinion. According to Manu their origin is as follows:—The issue of a Brahmin on his wedded Sūdra wife is known as a Niṣāda (*Manu*, X, 8), and that of a Vaiśya on a Brahmin woman is a Vaideha (*Manu*, X, 11). Again, the issue of a Niṣāda father and a Vaideha mother is a Kārāvara, and that of a Vaideha father on a Kārāvara mother is an Āndhra (*Manu*, X, 36). This idea about the origin of the Āndhras shows that they could not claim a status better than that of the Sūdras. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (XII, 1, 20) calls the founder of the Āndhra dynasty a Vṛṣala i.e. Sūdra:

हत्वा कारवं सुशर्माणं तदभृत्यो वृषलो बली ।

गं भोक्तव्यन्भ्रजातीयः कंचित् कालमसत्तमः ॥

'After murdering Suśarman of the Kāṇva dynasty, his servant, a powerful and most wicked Vṛṣala of the Āndhra race, will enjoy the earth for some time.'

down-trodden Sūdras should have revolted against the Brāhmins when they had political power in their hand. How these powerful Sūdras behaved with the Brahmins, we shall see later on.

We have enumerated above all the forces that, acting simultaneously produced a state of society which was favourable neither to the propagation of Brāhmanical ideas nor to the orthodox Brahmins. An account of the social disorder can be gathered from the early Buddhist literature and the Purāṇas. In the latter treatises there are chapters on the description of the Kali age which can reasonably be taken to give an account of the Hindu society during the period ranging from the time of the prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism (i.e. from the reign of the Nandas) to the end of the Āndhra rule in western India. As these chapters speak of 'many Sūdra kings' who ruled in the Kali age and encouraged the spread of Buddhism and Jainism,⁵⁹ and as in the Purāṇas Mahāpadma Nanda is called the first Sūdra monarch,⁶⁰ it must be admitted that they point to a period covering roughly the reigns of the Nandas and the Mauryas who, with a very few exceptions, were supporters of the heresies. The references in these chapters to the performance of horse-sacrifices by the Sūdra kings⁶¹ seem to point to the rule of the Āndhra dynasty, the founder of which is called a Vṛṣala by the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. From the evidence of inscriptions we know that the Āndhra kings performed many sacrifices including the Aśva-medha and the Gavāmayana.⁶² During his excavations at Besnagar

59 *Matsya*, 144, 40 and 43; *Vāyu*, 58, 40; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 41; *Kūrma*, I, 29, 7; and so on.

60 *Matsya*, 272, 17b-18a; *Vāyū*, 99, 326b-327a; *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 74, 139b-140a; and *Viṣṇu*, IV, 24, 4-5. Also *Bhāgavata*, XII, 1, 7-8.

61 yajanti hy aśvamedhaiś ca rājāṇaḥ śūdra-yonayah—*Matsya*, 144, 43a. yajante cāśvamedhena rājāṇaḥ śūdra-yonayah—*Brahmāṇḍa* II, 31, 67b. *Vāyu* 58, 67a wrongly reads 'nāśvamedhena' for 'cāśvamedhena' of the *Brahmāṇḍa*.

62 *Indian Antiquary*, XLVIII, 1919, p. 77.

D. R. Bhandarkar discovered a sacrificial hall (yajña-śālā) and near it a seal inscription which reads as follows:

L. 1. ṭimitra-dāṭṛsya[sa]—ho(tā)=

L. 2. p(o)tā—maṃtra—sajana[? i].

On this inscription he made the following remarks: "The meaning of this legend.....is not clear, but the words *hotā*, *potā* and *maṃtra*, which are technical to sacrificial literature, indicate that the sealing is really connected with the Yajña-śālā. And the import of the legend appears to be: 'Of the donor Ṭimitra accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, Hymn-kinsmen and.....' Ṭimitra doubtless is the name of an individual, and seems to be the Sanskritised form of the Greek Demetrius. And it appears that this Greek personage called Demetrius was the dātā or *yajamāna* who instituted the sacrifice. The performance of a Brāhmaṇic sacrifice by a Greek is not a thing that needs surprise us, because we know that many Greeks like other foreign people, such as Śakas and Pahlavas, became Buddhists or Hindus. Nay, at Vidiśā itself, as evidenced from an inscription incised on the Khām Bābā pillar, we have an instance of a Greek ambassador Heliodora (Heliodoros) calling himself a Bhāgavata or a devotee of Vāsudeva."⁶⁷ From this remark it seems that the Greek Demetrius performed a sacrifice, but this sacrifice could not be meant by the lines of the Purāṇas referred to above, because the Greeks are always called Yavanas and not Śūdras. That the Purāṇic chapters on the description of the Kali age point to the period mentioned above is further shown by the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which describes the full swing of Kali (kalivṛddhi) as follows:

"Whenever there is noticed an increase (in the number) of the heretics, then, Oh Maitreya, should the full swing of Kali be estimated by the wise. Whenever there is a decrease in the number of the good who follow the path of the Vedas, and the efforts of

those who cultivate Dharma relax, then, Maitreya, the predominance of Kali should be guessed by the learned. Whenever Puruṣottama, the god of sacrifices, becomes no longer the object of these (i.e. sacrifices), then the force of Kali should be understood. When the people do not show respect to the sayings of the Vedas but are inclined towards the heretics, then, Oh the best of the twice-born, the augmented influence of the Kali age should be inferred.”⁶⁴

This description ‘points undoubtedly to the prevalence of Jainism, and especially of Buddhism, which became very powerful from the time of Aśoka Maurya. The other Purāṇas also ascribe the social disorder more to the heretics, viz., the Buddhists, the Jains and the Kāpālikas,⁶⁵ than to anything else. From all that has been said above it becomes evident that the Purāṇic chapters on the Kali age are the records of the state of society during the period with which we are concerned here. The numerous verses found common to these chapters show that these must have been derived from a common source which was very old. This source is probably to be traced in a tradition, for the origin of which the turmoil in society caused by the forces enumerated above should be held responsible. Now, the question may arise as to the real historical value of these chapters. Though the accounts contained in these chapters may appear to us rather hyperbolical, we should not set them aside as historically worthless. The authors of the present Purāṇas being Brahmins, it is not expected that the picture, they themselves present before us, of their own degradation and humiliation on the one hand and the rise of the servile Sūdras on the other, should be totally false. Moreover, many of the statements of the Purāṇas can be supported by those contained in inscriptions and early Buddhist literature. Even if their statements could not have been thus supported, their value would have still remained, for, with all

⁶⁴ *Viṣṇu-p.*, VI, 1, 44-47.

⁶⁵ *Kūrma*, I, 29, 13; *Matsya*, 144, 40; *Vāyu*, 58, 64; and *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 65.

their probable exaggerations, they record the apprehension created in the minds of Brahmins by the rise of the heresies.

Let us now see what information the Purāṇic chapters supply of the state of society during the said period. For this purpose we shall use, as our sources, generally the verses common to the chapters on the description of the Kali age in the following Purāṇas, viz., *Vāyu* (chap. 58), *Brahmāṇḍa* (II, 31), *Matsya* (chap. 144), *Bhāgavata* (XII, 2), *Viṣṇu* (VI, 1) and *Kūrma* (I, 29), because these Purāṇas come from comparatively early dates. These chapters give us the picture of a society in which the people often neglected the caste and āśrama rules and were influenced by the non-Brahmanical and anti-Brahmanical ideas and beliefs. The spread of the heresies told upon the people to such an extent that the members of all the four castes and āśramas were affected more or less. The people did not often like to observe the rules of castes and to carry into execution the duties enjoined by the *R̥g*-, the *Sāma*- and the *Yajur-veda*.⁶⁶ Their mind was always occupied with the thoughts of money, and they did not hesitate to adopt unfair means to acquire it.⁶⁷ The twice-born gave up the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices⁶⁸ which were reserved for the 'foolish'.⁶⁹ They forsook their own dharma, became wandering mendicants 'in hundreds and thousands', and worshipped gods with popular songs, but could not attain the supreme Brahma.⁷⁰ They neglected the rules of snāna, homa, japa, dāna etc. and spoke ill of Brahmins, the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas.⁷¹ They performed various acts on the authority of non-Vedic works, lost all attraction for their own duties, cared little for the rules of conduct, mixed with the heretics,

66 *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, 10 and 49.

67 *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 20a and 21b.

68 *Vāyu*, 58, 38; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 39a; *Matsya*, 144, 38a; and *Kūrma*, I, 29, 5a.

69 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 5b.

70 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 23b-24; *Vāyu*, 58, 50a; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 51b.

71 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 8-9 and *Viṣṇu* VI, 1, 32b.

and became professional beggars.⁷² They alarmed the people with their bad ambitions, bad education, bad customs and bad earnings.⁷³ On account of the spread of Buddhism and Jainism, the supremacy of Brahmins was often questioned. Men of all degrees pretended to be equal with Brahmins⁷⁴ and defied their authority.⁷⁵ They did not care for the directions of Brahmins in fasts, observation of vows, and making gifts, but were guided by their own *a priori* speculations.⁷⁶ The Vaiśyas gave up trade and agriculture and earned their livelihood by servitude or the exercise of mechanical arts.⁷⁷ In this way the pure Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were almost extinct,⁷⁸ and the prevailing caste was the Śūdra.⁷⁹ The Purāṇas further say that in the Kali age the majority of kings were Śūdras.⁸⁰ This political supremacy of the Śūdras made their position felt by the members of the higher castes. The Purāṇas give interesting accounts of this elevated position of the Śūdras. The *Kūrma-purāṇa* says:

"The foolish (Śūdra) commoners drive away the Brahmins when the latter are found occupying seats, and the Śūdra officers of state beat them. Śūdras occupy better seats in the midst of Brahmins, and the kings insult the latter. The Brahmins, who are less educated in the Vedas and are less fortunate and powerful, honour the Śūdras with flowers, decoratives and other auspicious things. Though thus honoured, the Śūdras do not care to favour the Brahmins even with a kind glance. Brahmins do not venture to enter the houses of Śūdras but stand at the gates for an opportunity to pay respect to them. The Brahmins, who depend

72 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 10-11; *Vāyu*, 58, 52a; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 53b and 54b.

73 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 4; *Matsya*, 144, 35b-36a; *Vāyu*, 58, 36; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 36.

74 *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, 23a.

75 *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 49.

76 *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 15.

77 *Ibid.*, VI, 1, 36.

78 *Matsya*, 144, 38b; *Vāyu*, 58, 38c; and *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 39b.

79 *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, 51b शूद्रप्रायास्तथा वर्णा भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ।

Also *Matsya*, 144, 78b; *Bhāgavata*, XII, 2, 14a.

80 *Matsya*, 144, 40a; *Vāyu*, 58, 40a; and so on.

upon Śūdras for their livelihood, surround them, when they are seated in vehicles, with a view to honour them with praises, and teach them the Vedas. Thus even the best of Brahmins fare against the directions of the Vedas, turn non-believers, and sell the fruit of their penance and sacrifices."⁸¹ The Śūdras, who had knowledge of Dharma and Arthā, read the Vedas, and the Śūdra monarchs performed horse-sacrifices."⁸² Brahmins became spiritually connected with Śūdras who claimed equality of status as regards bed, seat and dining."⁸³ In religion also the Śūdras exhibited abnormal zeal. Naturally the Śūdras had a special attraction for Buddhism, because it denounced caste system and challenged the supremacy of Brahmins. They were further encouraged by the acceptance of Buddhism and Jainism by the kings who belonged to their own caste, the result being that many of them became Buddhist monks and began to preach Buddhism. The *Vāyu* (58, 59) and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (II, 31, 59b-60a) say, "With white teeth, eyes brought under control, heads shaved and red clothes on, the Śūdras will perform religious deeds."⁸⁴

Besides the above causes of disturbance, there were also others which seemed to destroy social peace and order. Kings turned robbers, and the officers lost all sympathy for their masters."⁸⁵ There was a great spread of Śaivism with the result that buildings and squares were marked with tridents, and women used these to tie their hair."⁸⁶ Some people put on red clothes, some became Nirgranthas, some turned Kāpālikas, some sold the Vedas, and

81 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 17-23.

82 *Matsya*, 144, 42-43; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 67; *Vāyu*, 58, 66b-67a. The *Vāyu* has wrong readings.

83 *Matsya*, 144, 39; *Vāyu*, 58, 39; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 40; *Kūrma*, I, 29, 6.

84 Also cf. *Kūrma*, I, 29, 13; which reads 'aṅgīkāśāḥ'.

85 *Vāyu*, 58, 42; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 43; *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, 34.

86 *Kūrma*, I, 29, 12; *Brahmāṇḍa*, (II, 31, 50) reads 'śiva-śūlā dvijās tathā'.

some sold the tirthas.⁸⁷ Women used to abandon their poor husbands and go to the rich.⁸⁸ They became prone to enjoyment, were lax about moral character,⁸⁹ and disobeyed their husbands.⁹⁰ They were selfish, remained unclean, and told lies.⁹¹ They were wicked and always hankered after union with wicked people.⁹² The life and property of the people were made insecure by a remarkable increase of petty thieves, burglars and robbers.⁹³ Murder of children, women and heroes, slaughter of cows, abortion, cheating, misery, diseases, devastation etc. prevailed⁹⁴ and vitiated the atmosphere.

Thus the Purāṇas give a dismal picture of the troubles of the Kali age. In spite of obvious exaggerations, this description refers to the disintegration of the social fabric, on account of the vigour of Buddhism from the time of Aśoka Maurya, the position of Sūdras as kings and perhaps also as high state officers, and the settlement of the immoral and casteless nomads, viz., Śakas, Pahlavas and Ābhiras.

Hindu Society in the Jātakas

The picture of Hindu society, which the Jātakas present, is in many respects similar to that found in the Purāṇas. A study of the Jātakas create in us the impression that 'the world of India was one in which the ancient priestly caste had lost its authority, that nobles and merchants were more regarded than Brahmins',⁹⁵ and that the people, not excepting even Brahmins, often did not care to

87 Vāyu, 58, 64b-65a; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 65; *Kūrma*, I, 29, 16; and *Matsya*, 144, 40b.

88 *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, 18.

89-92 *Viṣṇu*, VI, 1, verses 21, 29b, 30 and 31 respectively.

93 Vāyu, 58, 60; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 31, 60b-61a; *Kūrma*, I, 29, 14.

94 *Matsya*, 144, 43-46; Vāyu, 58, 67-69; *Brahmāṇḍa* II, 31, 68-70; *Kūrma*, I, 29, 15.

95 *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, I, p. 221. Richard Fick, *Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time*, pp. 89 f. Also cf. *Viṣṇu-p.*, VI, 1, 19.

set much store by the Brāhmaṇical rules of castes and āśramas.⁹⁶ Brahmins were often found to follow professions which were against the prescriptions of the 'law-books'. Thus, for earning their livelihood, they became caravan-guards, agriculturists, goatherds and cowherds, hawkers, carpenters, snake-charmers, hunters, carriage-drivers, wheelwrights, archers or weavers, without incurring any social stigma. Sometimes they mastered, or pretended to be masters of, astrology, palmistry, magic etc., for earning money. The Brahmins, who were employed as state officials, were sometimes found guilty of misconduct for the sake of money.⁹⁷ There are indications in the Jātakas that among the Kṣatriyas and the middle classes also the pursuance of the hereditary profession was not compulsory and the change of vocations was of common occurrence.⁹⁸

In the India of the Jātakas the gulf between the different castes was narrowed to a great extent. There are many instances in which the members of different castes—princes, Brahmins, Śreṣṭhins—are found to form friendship, to interdine, to intermarry and to send their sons to the same teacher, there being no reflection passed on them for doing so.⁹⁹ That such contamination of castes was in progress in the early centuries of the Christian era is also evidenced by the Nasik inscription of Rājā Vasiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyī in which he is said to have 'stopped the contamination of the four Varṇas' (viṇivātita-cātuvaṇa-sakarasa).¹⁰⁰

Buddhism encouraged pravrajyā (wandering mendicancy) for the attainment of Nirvāṇa, and, as a result, the order of the four stages of life was often violated. The Jātakas contain numerous examples of Kṣatriyas and Brahmins who turned wandering mendicants imme-

96 *Camb. Hist. of India.*, I, p. 210.

97 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 203-204 and 209; Ishan Chandra Ghosh, *Jātaka*, vol. II, Upakramanikā, pp. 11-12; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 56-57.

98 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 56 f.; *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, I, p. 210.

99 *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, I, p. 209.

100 *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, 1905-06, pp. 60-61.

diately after studentship.¹⁰¹ People believed that the whole family was sanctified if any of its members accepted pravrajyā, and consequently parents and relatives sometimes instigated their wards to become wandering mendicants.¹⁰² The wandering life was not restricted among Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. People of other castes also were equally free to accept it. The Bodhisattva in the Kaḷyāṇa-dharmajāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 171) was a Śreṣṭhin of Benares; Kuddāla-pañḍita in the Kuddāla-jāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 70) was a Parṇika; Mātaṅga in the Mātaṅga-jāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 497), and Citta and Saṃbhūta in the Citta-saṃbhūta-jāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 498) were Caṇḍālas; and Dūkūlaka in the Śyāma-jāṭaka (Fausböll, No. 540) was a Niṣāda.

Buddhism allowed more freedom to women especially in religious matters, and thus became instrumental to their advancement. The attractive power of Buddha's Dhamma was felt as well by women as by men. With the hope of better rebirth, or the total annihilation of it, the former often renounced the world and accepted the more rigorous life of the Bhikkhunis.¹⁰³ We should mention here that the Śvetāmbara Jains also gave women admission into their order. This is shown especially by the frequent mention of nuns in the Mathurā inscriptions. The freedom which Buddhism and Jainism thus allowed to women could not but make them have, at least in a good number of cases, a far greater attraction for these two faiths than for Hinduism.

The Śūdras

About the conduct of the Śūdras we know little from the Buddhist literature. That a strained relation existed between them and the

101 See Samuddhi-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 167; Lomaśa-kāśyapa-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 433; Kṛṣṇa-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 440; and Soṇananda-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 532.

102 See Cullaśreṣṭhi-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 4; Aśātamantra-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 51; and Saṃstava-jāṭaka—Fausböll, No. 162.

103 Bimala Charan Law, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, pp. 66 f.

Brahmins during this period, is evident from Manu who says, "Let (the first part of) a Brahmin's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kṣatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaiśya's with wealth, but a Śūdra's (express something) contemptible."¹⁰⁴ The selection of such a name for a Śūdra seems to be the outcome of great enmity and deep hatred.

We have given above accounts of Indian society as gathered from two opposite sources—one Purāṇic and the other Buddhistic. The similarity between the two accounts is very great. In numerous cases what the Purāṇas formulate, the Jātakas seem to illustrate. These accounts clearly show that the authority of the Vedas was often not recognised, the varṇāśramadharmā was neglected, and there was a remarkable increase in the number of saṃyāsins and parivrājakas. The social position of the orthodox Brahmins was much lowered, and there was a gradual decrease in their numerical strength, many of them being influenced by the non-Brāhmaṇical ideas and practices. The Śūdras became defiant of the upper three castes and often went out of the Hindu fold to the great disadvantage of their co-religionists, especially the Brahmins. Women became prone to demoralisation, and many of them took up the wandering life and thus created disadvantages to their families. In short, the condition of Brāhmaṇism became very insecure. Consequently, the Brāhmaṇists felt it necessary to make an attempt to re-establish the varṇāśramadharmā, the authority of the Vedas, and the moral rules among women, Śūdras and those members of the upper three castes who, being influenced by faiths other than Brāhmaṇism, disregarded the Vedas and violated the rules of the varṇāśramadharmā. This attempt seems to have been made by two sections of the people in two different ways, viz., by the orthodox Brāhmaṇists who first began to preach the performance of Gṛhya rites through Smṛti works, and by the more numerous Smārta-Vaiṣṇavas and Smārta-Saivas who

introduced Smṛti materials into the *Mahābbhārata* and the Purāṇas in order to preach Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism as against the heretical religions and also to establish the varṇāśramadharmā, the authority of the Vedas, and the moral rules not only among the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas but also among others. That this intention was at the base of the introduction of smṛti-matter into the *Mahābbhārata* and the Purāṇas is evidenced by the Purāṇas themselves. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* says, "Women, Sūdras and the mean twice-born are unfit for hearing the Vedas, and are consequently ignorant of performing, in this world, the good (in the shape of) work; for this reason, the sage, by (his) grace, compiled the legend of Bhārata with a view that their good in this behalf may be effected;"¹⁰⁵ and "verily, pretending (to compile) the Bhārata, I have pointed out the meaning of the Vedas, and in it (i.e. Bhārata) can surely be found the meaning of (all those subjects of which) Dharma is the first even by women, Sūdras and others."¹⁰⁶ The *Devībhāgavata* (I, 3, 21) says, "Women, Sūdras and the mean twice-born (dvija-bandhu) are not entitled to hear the Vedas; it is only for their good that the Purāṇas have been written." The contents of the *Mahābbhārata* and the earlier Purāṇas (viz., *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu*) as compared to those of the later Purāṇas seem also to betray such a motive of their authors. It should be noted here that this attempt of the Smārta devotees of the different deities to preach their respective faiths with a view to establishing the varṇāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas was responsible for giving rise to Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Brahmāism, Śāktism etc. as distinct from their popular prototypes.¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰⁵ *Bhāgavata*, I, 4, 25.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 4, 29.

¹⁰⁷ By popular Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Brahmāism we mean those types of these religions which were current among the common people, who regardless of the Brāhmanical rules of castes and āśramas, and imbibed Tantric practices. Popular Śāktism is the Śāktism of the Tantras.

Kalinga Style of Architecture

Uptil recently, the temples of Orissa or ancient Kalinga used to be classified under the North Indian, Indo-Aryan or Nāgara style. Certain well marked peculiarities, however, clearly distinguish the Orissan group, together with the neighbouring temples outside the present geographical boundaries of Orissa, from the other existing Śikhara temples of North India, whether of the Central Provinces, Rajputana, Guzerat or Kangra.

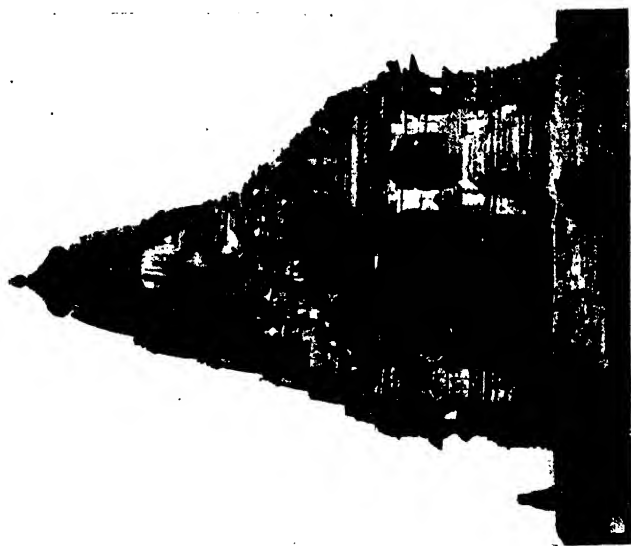
Śikhara temples, characterised by the Orissan spire, are now found to be distributed over the entire area from Chotanagpur (Bihar) in the north, Barakar (Bengal) in the east, Amarakantaka (C.P.) in the west and Vizagapatam (Madras) in the south. It is of no mean significance that in ancient Indian literature, approximately this very region was usually known as Tri-Kalinga.

According to R. D. Banerji "the Orissan style, though originally regarded as belonging to the Nāgara class, is not Nāgara at all. Even before the Muhammadan conquest the Orissan temple-type had come to be regarded as a separate style in Indian temple architecture. An inscription in the Mukha-maṇḍapa of the Amṛteśvara temple at Holal contains an interesting record.¹ It serves as a label for the capital of a finely carved pillar called Śrī-Kāra in the inscription. The inscription records that the sculptor Bammoja, the pupil of Pādoja of Soge was a Viśvakarman, i.e., architect of the Kali age and had mastered the sixty-four kalās or arts and had invented (? studied) the four types of buildings, viz. Nāgara, Kalinga, Drāvila (Draviḍa) and Veśāra. This inscription from Holal in the Bellary district proves that long before the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India, the architects of Kalinga had won for themselves separate recognition among contemporary architects all

1. *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle for Epigraphy*, for 1915, pp. 49-50.



Temple of Lingarāja
Bhubanesvara



Temple of Kandārva Mahādeva
Khajurāho

over India.”² But although the peculiarities and differences are obvious to the discerning eye, they are not as vital as to divide the Nāgara and Kaliṅga groups into two well marked compartments. We would like to suggest that it would be better if we regard the Kaliṅga style of architecture as a sub-class of the Nāgara style rather than an independent class by itself.

A comparative study of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara, the crowning glory of the Kaliṅga type and the Kandārya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho, the most magnificent specimen of Nāgara type, may help in bringing out the peculiar characteristics of these two variants of the Rekha type. Both of them are contemporary structures of c. 1,000 A.D.

The most arresting features of the Khajurāho temple are the impression of enormous height and the visible factors to emphasize the same. Firstly, the entire structure consisting of the Śikhara and the Maṇḍapam before it, rests on a spacious and high platform. The temple complex itself is well supported on a still higher basement, formed by receding tiers of mouldings. Huge pillared side chapels and massive round piers embedded in the wall and richly decorated provide the continuous and unbroken tendency towards vertical projection carried upwards by a series of miniature Śikharas rising in rhythmical formation to culminate in the central massif. Miniature Śikharas, clustering round the main tower in great profusion, are the distinguishing features of the typical Nāgara style. Compared with the Liṅgarāja tower, the mass of the Vimāna of the Kandārya Mahādeva, is more broken in character both in outline and formation, because of sharp angular lines and tough plastic details. But the construction of the latter temple as a whole is more compact and cohesive than its Orissan contemporary. There is greater organic contact between the Śikhara and the Maṇḍapa. The entire mass is almost a reproduction of a rugged gigantic rock.

2 R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 335

Addition of projecting chapels, in the front, has greatly enhanced the angle of inclination of the Khajurāho example. Consequently the Bhuvaneśvara pyramidal massif conforms more or less to a right angled triangle; while the Khajurāho complex assumes the shape of an isosceles triangle.

From an architectural point of view, the Khajurāho temple may be more effective and inspiring, owing to its broad massive base and slender tapering tower. To emphasise further the sense of verticality, a solidly compressed tight mass, defined by tensely rigid lines, has been shot up the sky with immense force. But even without the platform and other paraphernalia, the structural massiveness and simplicity of form of the Liṅgarāja temple make it more dignified and restful. Its mighty ribs and columns of miniature Śikharas—forming part of the wall surface and not dominating it—gracefully carry the eye upward. Yet the vertical urge is skilfully balanced by the huge round Āmalaka on the top, as well as by the pronounced horizontal surface flutings. In Bhuvaneśvara, architecture is conceived only in terms of volume and solidity without due regard to voids and spatial considerations. In Khajurāho—almost Gothic in conception—there is ample provision for the latter in the innumerable pillared porticos and constant series of projections and recesses. Kandārya Mahādeva, with its dynamic vitality of form enlivened with gorgeous patterns of light and shade playing on its pedestals, pilasters and porticoes, contrasts vividly with the charming restraint of the fully balanced bulging form and gliding contour of the Liṅgarāja. The outline of the Orissan Śikhara rises in a gentle almost vertical sweep to curve spontaneously over the top of the Āmalaka and slant down along the mighty projecting Gaja-Siṃha, the broad tapering roofs of the Jagamohana.

The spire of Khajurāho strikes one as an unassailable mountain peak. The shadow of the Liṅgarāja tower appears like a great Yogi seated in Vajrāsana.

A Note on the *Sābdanirṇaya*

The *Sābdanirṇaya* which has long been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series professes to be a work of Prakāśātman, the writer of the famous commentary, *Pañcapādikā-vivarāṇa*. The first two invocatory verses of the *Sābdanirṇaya*, as well as the first two verses in its colophon correspond with the second, third, eighth and sixth verses respectively in the printed text of the *Pañcapādikā-vivarāṇa* except that the 'vah' of the last line of the first invocatory verse of the *Sābdanirṇaya*, viz., *bhūyāt samagravaradaiva Sarasvatī vah* is found changed in the *Vivarāṇa* verse into *nah*. The penultimate verse of the colophon of the *Sābdanirṇaya* which is identical with the sixth introductory verse of the *Vivarāṇa* speaks of our author being the disciple of Ananyānubhava.

The work true to its name deals with all topics that come under the heading of verbal knowledge (*Sābdapramāṇa* and *Sābdapramiti*), and is written in the metrical form with the writer's own comments (*vr̥tti*)—the usual style of a *Prakarāṇa* work. The work which, as Prakāśātman says, is primarily meant for the enlightenment of the uninitiated¹ is really food for thought for even the most astute intellect. For, a careful reading of the work discloses a curious, though anticipated, similarity in the wordings, as well as in dialectical antinomies, of the arguments employed in similar contexts by Prakāśātman in the third, fourth and fifth *varṇaka* of his classical commentary. So that in understanding the *Sābdanirṇaya* we happen to have in many places the fortunate and invaluable help of the commentaries of the *Vivarāṇa*, but for which, the work, published as it is without any commentary, would have presented enormous difficulties. Even so, this help is not always available, for the *Sābdanirṇaya* is not a reproduction of the plan of the *Vivarāṇa*,

1 The last verse in the colophon of the *Sābdanirṇaya*:

प्रकाशात्मयतीन्द्रेण प्रणिपत्य जनादेनम् । प्रतिबोधाय बालानां प्रणीतः शाब्दनिर्णयः ॥

which, as a commentary, has to follow the arrangement of thought of another; but it exhibits an independent plan of treatment, so necessary for a *Prakarāṇa* work, which entails new ventures of thought and new modes of approach to the problems of verbal knowledge as a synthetic whole

This work, relegated to obscurity, compels our attention by showing its helpfulness in understanding the drift of Prakāśātman's close-knitted thought in the commentary, by allowing us, so to say, an opportunity to have a closer view of his enigmatic mind. For, while in the *Sābdanirṇaya* such topics as the *Sābdāparokṣavāda*, the conception of *Ajñāna*, etc., are touched on and briefly explained, there are others, specially his vindication of the validity of verbal knowledge, his theory of *tātparya*, his doctrine of the *Anvitābhīdāna* and the feasibility of *lakṣaṇā* in its connexion, which receive a thoroughness of treatment here that is instructive even for a student of Prakāśātman's famous commentary. It is however, beyond the scope of this paper to epitomize the originality of these theories, important though they are. Our purpose here is an humbler one of taking note of a singular historical anomaly bearing upon this work. Nevertheless, we shall have occasion to deal at some length with Prakāśātman's theory of *tātparya* on which, as we have said, the present work throws a flood of light.

The author of the *Siddhāntaleśa* in course of stating the position of the author of the *Vivaraṇa* as regards the topic, "Discussion for establishing the authoritativeness of scriptural texts over perceptual knowledge,"² makes mention of a work called *Nyāyanirṇaya*, where, Appayadikṣita points out, Vivaraṇācārya has established that not even 'indirect import' (*avāntara-tātparya*) can be admitted in the case of words combining with a sentence.³ This has been

2 *Siddhāntaleśa* (Benares ed.), p. 279. श्रुतेः प्रत्यक्षात् बलीयस्तस्य व्यवस्थितत्वविचारः ।

3 *Ibid.*, p. 286: पदैकवाक्यतायामेव परमवान्तरतात्पर्योन्म्युपगमादिति विवरणाचारैर्न्यायनिर्णये व्यावस्थापनेन ।

elucidated in the commentary thus: The words by their explicit mention form into one sentence by signifying one connected whole of sentence-meaning. There the meaning of isolated words are not something unique like the meaning of the sentence, and so with regard to the word-meanings no syntactical or constructive import, not even an indirect one, is admitted.⁴

To understand more fully the drift of the laconic clause of the *Siddhāntaleśa*, let us round it up with its immediate context. It has already been argued by the author of the *Bhāmatī* that the scriptural texts technically known as *arthavāda*, e.g., 'vajrabastah Purandarah,' *vāyur vai kṣepiṣṭhā devatā*,' etc., serving merely to recommend injunctions, form with the injunction a single sentence. This does not, however, mean that there is a combination of the *arthavāda*-sentence with the *vidhi*-sentence, but the combination of a single word-meaning, like eulogy or commendation indicated by *lakṣaṇā* by the *arthavāda*-sentence in question, with the *vidhi*-sentence. As such *arthavāda*-sentences can have no import of their own, just as words which have been employed to convey the meaning of a sentence can have no syntactical import besides their own individual meanings which are only a means to the realisation of the complete meaning of the sentence.

The author of the *Vivaraṇa*, on the other hand, controverts the above position by making out that the meaning of the sentences in such *arthavāda* texts contributing as they do to the knowledge of the commendatory character of the preceptory texts is self-sufficient enough to yield us the conception of a particular deity, e.g., of Indra and of Vāyu in the above-mentioned *arthavāda* texts. But this import is an indirect one inasmuch as such *arthavāda* texts never stand alone, but must always be combined with the preceptory texts to form into a grand sentence. The construction of the meaning of

4 .Op. cit., Commentary, p. 286: पदानां सतामेव एकवाक्यार्थबोधनेन एकवाक्यत्वमित्यर्थः । तत्रै पदार्थानां वाक्यार्थस्येवापूर्वत्वाभावात् न तेषु अवान्तरतात्पर्यमपि स्वीक्रियते इत्यर्थः ।

arthavāda texts in conjunction with the preceptory texts is thus different from the conjoining of words into a sentence. For, according to the author of the *Vivaraṇa*, words when entering into the body of the sentence have no import of their own, not even a subsidiary import. Hence the construction of the *arthavāda* texts with the preceptory texts must be viewed as the combining of one sentence with another; and as a general rule every sentence has some sort of import or meaning of its own (*vākyārthe tātparyasya utsargataḥ siddhatvāt*). So that this meaning cannot be obliterated beyond all recognition when *arthavāda* sentences combine with the preceptory sentences in their recommendatory character.

Now this position as to the construction of *arthavāda* texts that they have an import or *tātparya* of their own finds unequivocal expression in the *Sābdanirṇaya* where *Prakāśātman* characterises *arthavāda* texts like '*vāyur vai kṣepiṣṭhā devatā*', etc., as '*yogyaviṣaya*', i.e., as having a content compatible with its meaning. He adds that an *arthavāda*-sentence in spite of its being combined with a precept does not assert the precept but asserts commendation, etc., as consistent with other *pramāṇas*.⁵ Thus it would appear that, according to *Prakāśātman*, an *arthavāda* sentence itself has the capacity to signify commendation etc. The import of an *arthavāda* sentence being not directly assertible, it cannot overrule *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas*, but it has to be construed consistently with *pratyakṣa* and other *pramāṇas* and this sometimes reduces itself into the assertion of the bare praise or commendation (*prāśastya*) by having resort to *lakṣaṇā*. Thus the syntactical combination of an *arthavāda* text with a precept is, according to the author of the *Vivaraṇa* (as made out both in the *Siddhāntaleśa* and the *Sābdanirṇaya*) that of a sentence combining with another sentence.

Incidentally it may be noted that *Prakāśātman* makes a clear distinction between *tātparya*, or 'objective intention' (*tatpratīti-*

5 *Sābdanirṇaya*, p. 67: विधिसंसर्गोऽपि अर्थवादेन न विधिः प्रतिपद्यते किन्तु प्रशंसादिव प्रमाणान्तरयोगोऽर्थः ।

jananayogyatva)—the most essential of conditions of a valid and significant sentence and the means by which that significance is realised viz., *tātparya* in the rather technical sense of *śakti* or power inherently associated with words or word-meanings. And he stoutly denies *tātparya* in the latter sense not only to word-meanings but to the sentence-meaning as well.⁶ His view in this respect is that words in their mutual association not only realise their own isolated meanings, but also their construed meaning or *samsarga-bodha*. This is elaborately established in the *Śābdanirṇaya* where it is held that the meaning of the sentence is nothing other than the word-meanings synthesised together and as such the sentence in itself does not require any new power or *śakti*.⁷ Prakāśātman refutes *tātparya* in this sense of *śakti* or power as it is more or less dependent on *subjective* intention or the speaker's motive (*tatpratiticcayoccāritatva*). He is led to this criticism in that no speaker being admitted in the case of scriptural texts, it must be the *objective* intention or *tātparya* in the former sense that will decide the validity of verbal knowledge. Thus we find: "wherein lies the authoritativeness of the Veda? It lies in its producing uncontradicted knowledge by itself."⁸ As the author of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* points out: "Refutation of *tātparya* in the fourth *varṇaka* of his commentary by Vivaraṇācārya cannot be taken to be aimed against *tātparya* in the sense of *tatpratitiṣṭhanakatva*, for, then all discussions to realise the meanings of Vedāntic texts become futile."⁹

Taking all these facts into our consideration, we may say that the *Śābdanirṇaya* whose identity of authorship with Vivaraṇācārya

6 Vide *Śābdanirṇaya*, p. 27, *Vivaraṇa*, p. 807 and the *Tattvadipana*, *ad. loc.*

7 *Śābdanirṇaya*, p. 18: पदार्था एव संसृष्टा वाक्यार्थ इति न पृथक् वाक्यस्य शक्तिग्रहणापेक्षा ।

8 *Śābdanirṇaya* p. 67: प्रामाण्यं तर्हि वेदस्य कथं तस्मिन् सति अबाध्यमानप्रमितजननात् । Cf. *Siddhāntaleśa*, commentary, p. 286. तात्पर्यविषये एव वेदस्य प्रमितिजनकत्वमिति नियमस्य न्यायनिर्णये विवरणाचार्यैर्व्यावस्थानेन इत्यर्थः ।

9 *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, C.U. edition, pp. 220-21.

is undoubted, is the work that is referred to by both the author of the *Siddhāntaleśa* and its commentator under the name of *Nyāyanirṇaya*. That the work was held in high authority and was known under the name of *Śābdanirṇaya* is attested by the fact that the commentator of the *Tattvapradīpikā*, belonging probably to the date of 1300-1400 A.D.,¹⁰ quotes a *kārikā* in his commentary,¹¹ which is the *kārikā* 33 of our *Śābdanirṇaya* by naming the work as *Śābdanirṇaya*. Another verse also quoted therein without any reference to its source is found to be identical with *Kārikā* 63 of our *Śābdanirṇaya*.

The question that now becomes pertinent is how to explain this anomaly of title occurring, as we say, in the *Siddhāntaleśa* and its commentary. This is not so difficult. The fact that these authors were rather late in the field, belonging to the sixteenth century and later, would easily make for the chance of such an anomaly of title taking place. In fact anomalies of this nature occur in the *Siddhāntaleśa* in reference to other writers also of no mean repute. Thus Professor Suryanarayana Sastri in his informative introduction to the English translation of the *Siddhāntaleśa* (p. 4) points out: "In some cases, Appaya seems either not to have had access to originals or relied on defective memory. Thus his references to the *Brahmasiddhi* are uniformly unfortunate in the matter of both commission and omission....." So Appaya's reference to the *Śābdanirṇaya* under a different though allied title (for it is not unusual, specially with *mīmāṃsā* writers, to designate verbal knowledge as *nyāya*) is a similar instance of careless, if not defective, memory.

MAKHANLAL MUKHERJI

¹⁰ Vide p. xxiii of the Introduction to *Mahāvaidyāvidambana* (G.O.S.), where this question of the date of Pratyagrūpa-bhagavān is briefly discussed.

¹¹ Vide commentary on the *Citsukhi*, N.S.P. edition, p. 147.

The Doctrine of *Sabdabrahman*—A criticism by Jayantabhāṭṭa*

Grammarians' position reviewed

The doctrine of *Sabdabrahman* has been strongly criticised by Jayantabhāṭṭa in his monumental work, the *Nyāyamañjarī*. He opens his criticism by saying that the Absolute can never be the Word-Principle, which is the very thesis of the grammarians. He makes bold to opine that the Word-Principle is neither eternal nor ubiquitous for the obvious reason that it is limited by time and space. The indivisible character of the Word-Principle also is strongly denied by Jayanta and he makes no secret of his conviction that there is no logic in the argument that whatever is permanent should be called the Word-Principle. He subsequently reviews the arguments of the grammarians who state that every cognition is associated with a verbal form and that any cognition which is free from a verbal association cannot manifest itself and is not on that account materially different from a cognition which has not arisen at all. The grammarians have said that each and every cognition is determinate (*savikalpaka*) and that it should at least be specified in a manner that 'this is such,' in order to justify the fact that it is born. A cognition which cannot be so described should not unnecessarily be called a cognition at all. Even the young boys, who are as yet ignorant of the relationship subsisting between a word and an object, communicate their cognition through the medium of such vague, indefinite and general words as 'this' or 'that.' It is for these reasons that the grammarians contend that if a cognition becomes destitute of a verbal association, it ceases to shine and manifest itself. Hence they urge that a cognition does not present as its content an object in its naked form but an object couched or determined by word. Advancing further they point

* Reference: *Nyāyamañjarī* (KSS), pp. 73-82 (vol. 1) and pp. 99-103 (vol. 2).

out that when we enquire about the substantive-element in the content of a cognition we have no other means but to describe it with the help of word or comprehend it through such a cognition as has not forsaken its verbal association. From this they draw the conclusion that the substantive, namely, the object, is of the form of word and that word appears only as an attribute of the former. Under the circumstances, as the substantive cannot be described or comprehended separately from its determinant, the grammarians insist that the former is the transformation of the latter. Word or *Śabdabrahman* is thus the only reality which under the influence of *nescience* appears in diverse forms which we are wont to call objects and as soon as the veil of *nescience* is removed, the reality shines in its purest form, in its undimmed lustre and glory. This is how Jayanta understands and explains the grammarians' doctrine of *Śabdabrahman*.

Is cognition invariably determinate?

Jayanta with his penetrative insight realises that the thesis of the grammarians rests primarily on the supposition that each and every cognition is determinate. He, therefore, starts his criticism by pointing out that the cognition of an object in its pure form free from any association with an attribute in general and word in particular is undeniable. And Jayanta develops this point by telling us that the young boys who have not yet been initiated into the science that discusses the relationship subsisting between word and object are apt to cognise an object without a verbal form. And even if we take up the cases of grown up people who are in the knowledge of that relationship, we can prove beyond all vestiges of doubt that such men, too, can have an indeterminate knowledge (*nirvikalpaka-jñāna*) of an object prior to the determinate knowledge that follows. Our experience tells us that when grown up people cognise an object, an impression of that object with a word is roused up and they recollect the particular word that signifies it.

The impression has been lying in an undisturbed state and as soon as there is an occasion for it to be awakened, it arises and there is the recollection of the word. From this it becomes clear how the indeterminate cognition of an object becomes determinate only at a later stage. Jayanta, therefore, opines that it is not correct to say that each and every cognition is invariably determinate. There is an indeterminate knowledge prior to a determinate cognition and the cognition of an object is not necessarily associated with a verbal form. Jayanta further adds that even in those cases where the cognition is sought to be expressed through the medium of general and indefinite expressions such as 'this' or 'that,' we must be constrained to admit an indeterminate cognition which gives us the knowledge of the object in its pure form without any verbal association and it is only subsequently when the impression of the connection between that object and the general expression already known from usage is revived in the memory that there arises the determinate cognition. Jayanta strongly asserts that unless the process described above is admitted to be correct we can hardly explain to our satisfaction all the points that arise in this connection. If it be once conceded that the impression of the relationship between a word and an object is not required to be roused for purposes of a determinate cognition that follows in the wake of an indeterminate knowledge, we fail to explain why we do not read any meaning in the chirpings and twitterings of birds. In that case we are not acquainted with the relation, if any, between the notes of birds and any object signified by them and consequently the question of a revival of the impression of any such relation does not arise at all and we do not understand any import as expressed by the same.

Word—not an attribute in determinate cognition

The grammarians, as we have seen, regard all cognition as determinate, the substantive-element in the content being an object

having word as its attribute. But Jayanta, as we shall presently see, critically examines this view and comes to the conclusion that such a view can hardly be accepted as logically sound. At the outset he enquires about the instrument (*karana*) which presents the attribute-element in the content of a cognition. Obviously, the required instrument is not the auditory organ. The attribute, namely, word, is comprehended in the beginning by the said sense-organ and it ceases to function after that. It is then that the determinate cognition arises. And as the auditory organ has once ceased to function, it cannot function again to present the verbal form in the subsequent cognition. If, however, the grammarians would say that the instrument meant is the mind, Jayanta argues and convinces us that such a supposition would land us in fresh difficulties. It is admitted on all hands that the mind serves as an instrument of the cognition of external objects only with the aid of an external sense-organ. If, in the present case, the grammarians would posit that the mind can independently be an instrument of the cognition of external objects, they would be accused of undertaking a venture for which there is no adequate justification.

Having dismissed the two answers that might be anticipated to such a question, Jayanta proceeds to examine the views of Bhartṛhari on this point. Bhartṛhari regards word as a self-luminous substance. It is like the sun or the lamp which manifests itself and other objects as well.¹ To be more precise, word itself is the instrument which presents its own form as an attribute and object as a substantive in the content of a cognition. Jayanta fully realises the weight of the view which is upheld by the great exponent of the doctrine of *Śabdabrahman*. He, therefore, sets forth a very careful and trenchant criticism by saying that Bhartṛhari has explained his doctrine with a bad analogy. False

1 *Vākyapadiya* (BSS) I. 50.

analogy has been responsible for many a stupendous blunder and Jayanta makes no secret of the fact that the present case is no exception to that. We have already observed that according to Bhartṛhari word manifests itself and object as well. But Jayanta says that it is not certainly consistent with logical principles that one and the same thing can be the object (*karma*) and the instrument (*karana*) of any particular action. The sunbeam is regarded as an instrument in so far as the manifestation of objects is concerned; but it is not an instrument but an object when it reveals itself. Thus in the instance cited above there are two different actions, namely, 'to manifest oneself' and 'to manifest others' and of these two the sunbeam is the object in the first and instrument in the second. In order to make his position perfectly sound Jayanta next raises certain apparent inconsistencies to which his criticism might be exposed and he takes upon himself the burden of solving them satisfactorily. Thus he anticipates an opponent who might enquire of him about the instrument in the case where the sunbeam is the object of the verb 'to manifest'. Jayanta replies by saying that the instrument in that case is the eye which without the aid of anything else helps in giving effect to the action. Objections, however might still be continued to show that in other cases where the eye acts as the instrument of any particular action, it requires the aid of light. But in the present case it has been said that the help of an auxiliary is not requisitioned by the eye which acts alone. Thus Jayanta is accused of violating a rule which his critics are not inclined to pass over. Jayanta steers clear of the difficulty by pointing out that the case under consideration is a peculiar one and should be studied by itself. It is the order of wordly objects which is the final authority to explain why the eye requires the aid of light at the time it cognises any object other than light and why again it becomes sufficient by itself when it cognises light.

To come to the point, the sunbeam is at first perceived by the eye when it is regarded as an object (*karma*) but the next moment it becomes an instrument (*karana*) in effecting the cognition of an object (*artha*) with the help of the eye. Thus the sunbeam which is not evanescent in character appears to be the object of an action at one point of time while on a subsequent moment it becomes the instrument of a different action. Having explained the niceties involved in the illustration, Jayanta turns round to declare that what holds good in the case of the illustration cited above, does not apply to the case of word which is under discussion. Word is short-lived and does not last for several moments. Consequently, we can never maintain that it is the object of one action while the instrument of a different one. So in the opinion of Jayanta, the grammarians are constrained to admit that word is the object and the instrument of one and the same action. And this is obviously nothing short of a dogmatic statement.

Jayanta, therefore, comes to the conclusion that word is the instrument of cognition but there is hardly any justification for the view that it is the content of cognition. He admits that smoke is required to be known before we infer the existence of fire; so we should perceive word in the first place in order that we draw the verbal cognition later on. But surely, says Jayanta, there is no question of cognising smoke at the time we comprehend fire. Likewise, word is not perceived at the time we apprehend an object. If, however, any unusual insistence is displayed in maintaining that word is cognised at the time of the cognition of an object, it fails to win the approval of the right-thinking mind. Thus we see how Jayanta hurls a most deadly weapon against the school of grammarians represented by Bhartṛhari, Puṇyārāja and others. To sum up, Jayanta believes that what is comprehended with the cognition of a word is not an object as qualified by a word but an object with the fact of its being the denotation of word and nothing else.

Objects are not transformations of Word

Having discussed the grammarians' theory of a qualified knowledge with word as an attribute and object as a substantive in the content, Jayanta takes up for discussion their fundamental proposition, namely, all the objects of the world are transformations of the one indivisible Word-Principle. The grammarians, as we have already seen, opine that the cognition of an object without a verbal association being an impossibility, objects should be regarded as mere transformations of word. Jayanta thinks that this argument of the grammarians is hardly convincing and satisfactory. Every object is endowed with many an attribute and it is word which helps us in understanding only one such attribute. There is, therefore, no justification for the belief that word is superimposed on object or that word assumes transformation in the form of object. Jayanta draws instances from our everyday life to establish his point of contention. Thus he says that the sunbeam or the sense-organ or the lamp is regarded as the instrument of the cognition of objects but we never say that any one of them is superimposed on the object revealed by it. If that is so, will it not be perfectly unjustified to say that word which is not anything but a medium for the cognition of an object is identical with it? Jayanta does not see any reason why the case of word should be considered to be a special one and so he boldly denies the possibility of superimposition as maintained by the grammarians. The grammarians might say that the non-distinction between word and object is due to the impression that the same form stands for the word and the object. To be explicit, the same form 'cow' stands for the word 'cow' and the cow-concept. And it is this sameness of form which makes us think that the two are identical. But Jayanta says that the impression of sameness of form in both the word and the object is absolutely false. He quotes from Kumāṛila's *Ślokaṁvārttika* to show that the form 'cow' means the three letters when it is used to

denote the word, cow; and it implies the animal with dew-lap, horns and the like when it is used to refer to the cow-concept. It is, therefore, never in the fitness of things to suggest a non-distinction between word and object on such flimsy grounds.

Jayanta, of course, does not stop here. He is not satisfied only with a discussion which is purely theoretical. He does not simply criticise the grammarians' theory by pointing out that it is founded on a mistaken view of things. But he proposes to draw our attention to some of the practical difficulties which are bound to creep in in case the grammarians' doctrine is accepted. The grammarians, as we have already stated, think that word is superimposed on object or that word transforms as object. If that is so, they cannot but admit that word expresses an object independently of anything else in as much as it should signify an object on which it is superimposed and not any other. If this position be upheld, numerous practical difficulties are sure to appear which we study in the following paragraphs:—

1. We know of certain words which are used to signify different senses on different occasions and in different contexts. Jayanta tells us that we are never accustomed to think that such words become different on different occasions. The reason, of course, is not far to seek. The form is the same at every time and it is only natural that we recognise it as one and the same word. But if we agree with the grammarians in saying that word is superimposed on object, all the different senses signified by such words being identical with one and the same form cannot but be looked upon as identical in themselves. For obvious reasons, says Jayanta, we cannot uphold this position.

2. Again, if the grammarians doctrine is believed to be true, we cannot explain how in the case of synonyms we notice the same sense signified by each one of them. The words are all different from

one another and if the sense of one is believed to be identical with it, it should naturally be different from the sense of another.

3. Moreover, there are certain words which seek construction amongst themselves with the relationship of apposition (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) but these words have different forms. Thus the words 'tree' and 'mango' though differing in their forms are known to be related to each other, the relationship in question being one of apposition. But the grammarians with their theory cannot explain such relationship in view of the fact that the two words mentioned above are as different from each other as any two other words e.g. 'pitcher' and 'canvas' which in our opinion, too, do not bear the relationship mentioned above.

4. Further, word is always of the form of an accomplished entity whereas an object signified by it is not so. Hence unless it is admitted that objects are also in the nature of accomplished entities there is no sense in saying with the grammarians that word is identical with object. But it is a matter of common knowledge that all objects signified by words are not invariably accomplished entities, some of them being in the process of accomplishment as well.

5. Jayanta again contends that the assumption of the grammarians to the effect that a particular word signifies a particular object and not any other is hardly warranted.

6. Then again it is pointed out that if all words are supposed to undergo evolution in the form of objects, the position comes to this that the reality of objects is shaken to its very foundations and we are bound to accept that words are ubiquitous. Jayanta as a *Naiyāyika* fully believing in the reality of objects implied by words can hardly give his consent to it. He, therefore, rejects it as a mere dogmatic statement.

7. Last though not the least, Jayanta argues that it is admitted on all hands that the knowledge of the relationship between a word

and an object is required for purposes of the cognition of an object from a word. But if the grammarians maintain that a word is expressive of an object through a power innate to it, we do not see any useful purpose to be served by posting the knowledge of the relationship described above. And if it is posited at all, the reality of objects must be admitted.. But the grammarians do not acknowledge such a reality for in their opinion all objects are mere appearances of word which is the only real principle.

Doctrine of transformation of Word is absolutely untenable

We have seen above how Jayanta exposes the hollowness of the grammarians' doctrine of transformation of word into the worldly objects. But we would surely be accused of doing injustice to him if we do not study in detail the various other objections which he advanced to deal a most staggering blow to the favourite doctrine of his opponents. He continues to write that the doctrine fails to impress him for the simple reason that the fact of superimposition on which it is based cannot be logically proved. Thus he opines that superimposition can occur under two circumstances: similarity (*sādrśya*) and contraction (*anurāga*). The mother-o'-pearl is the locus of superimposition for a piece of silver in which case there is similarity between the two. Again there may be a case of superimposition when the marble contracts the reddish glow from a crimson flower beside it. But neither of the two instances cited above will apply to the case of word and object. In the opinion of grammarians, word is concrete while object is not so. Consequently, they differ from each other and the question of superimposition due to similarity cannot arise. As regards the other illustration of superimposition it may be pointed out that as word and object are located in different substrata and as they are comprehended by the different sense-organs, it is never justifiable to think of contraction between the two.

Jayanta concludes this section by incidentally referring to the fact that word and object do not also stand in the relation of an original and its reflected image. And the reason is not far to seek. Word and object reside in different loci which are very remote to each other. It may be upheld, of course, that as word is ubiquitous, it becomes quite possible for us to think that it resides close to object and consequently the relationship spoken of before may be rightly imagined. But Jayanta replies by saying that such a supposition instead of solving all difficulties gives rise to preposterous issues: for it results in a confusion of superimposition as all words are ubiquitous and consequently proximate to all objects.

Is any other explanation of the doctrine possible?

We bring our study of Jayanta's criticism to a close by showing how the master anticipates any new orientation or explanation of the doctrine he criticises and how again he rejects it after a most strict examination. We have already seen that when the grammarians say that all objects of the world are mere transformations of word, Jayanta understands them to mean formal transformations (*vivarta*) as distinguished from material transformations (*pariṇāma*). It seems, therefore, to us that according to Jayanta's exposition the grammarians' philosophy is on a par with the philosophy of Śaṅkara. When Jayanta writes to say that the grammarians regard all objects as fictitious and word as the only reality, he evidently asks us to believe that the grammarians are exponents of monism. Again when he criticises their view by saying that objects should not be conceived as fictitious, it becomes quite clear that he refutes the case for monism. But Jayanta anticipates that there might be a few thinkers who would say that the evolution of word does not imply any formal transformation but a material change. He, however, makes short work of such an explanation by pointing out that it leads us to assume non-eternality of word as also dualism. And we know

that neither of the two assumptions could find favour with the grammarians. In all cases of material change the substance that changes into another does not retain its original form when the new one is born—milk ceases to exist when curd is made from it. And on this analogy it may be said that word does not exist when object comes into existence. Hence word turns out to be something which is not eternal and we know quite well that the grammarians cannot accept this position. Bhartṛhari describes word as something without a beginning and an end, which means that it is eternal. Further, if material change be the meaning of the expression 'transformation' (*vivarta*) we cannot but acknowledge that word and object have separate existences of their own as is the case with milk and curd. This means that we lend our support to the cause of dualism which Bhartṛhari and his followers will refuse to accept. From the line of argument that Jayanta adopts it appears to us that he is inclined to think that the term '*vivarta*' in Bhartṛhari's philosophy means formal transformation only.

Jayanta next sums up his criticism by saying that the term *vivarta* does not imply false superimposition, for in that case word and object could not have separate existences of their own. He further points out that the term cannot also be taken to mean this that word gives us the knowledge of objects without losing its own character and that it is invariably associated with every cognition of an object, as it has been already proved that such an explanation only contradicts our experience. Jayanta next discusses whether the term may be so explained as to mean that word is the creative principle of the objective world. The answer that he gives to this is that if the creative principle of the world is believed to be Word or *Śabdabrahman*, it would obviously be on a par with God but as Word is not regarded as a conscious principle we are hardly justified in identifying it with God. If, however, it is maintained for the sake of argument that *Śabdabrahman* is not only ubiquitous but also con-

scious, Jayanta smiles and says that then there is no utility whatsoever in having a separate *Śabdabrahman* which is only another name for God.

Conclusions

Jayanta, as we have seen in the foregoing paragraphs, has left no stone unturned in criticising the doctrine of *Śabdabrahman* from all possible angles of vision, and finally rejecting it as absolutely untenable. He quotes an ancient text which tells us that there are two *Brahmans*, *Śabdabrahman* and *Parabrahman*. If any reliance is to be placed on it, Jayanta thinks that the grammarians' belief in *Śabdabrahman* as the Ultimate Principle become unjustifiable. The text says that *Śabdabrahman* is to be comprehended at the outset and the realisation of this will lead us on to the vision of *Parabrahman* which is the *summum bonum* of all human existence. The two cannot also be regarded as the Ultimate Realities for the obvious reason that by doing so we strike at the root of monism which is the grammarians' philosophy. Therefore it must be admitted that any one of them is false while the other is the truth. And there is no room for doubt that *Śabdabrahman* is a fictitious principle for *Parabrahman*, as the very name suggests, is the Highest Reality. Hence Jayanta boldly declares that the grammarians' conception of *Śabdabrahman* as the Ultimate Principle is hardly valid and should not deserve any serious attention.

GAURI NATH SHASTRI

Sanskrit Poetess Ramabai

The poetess Ramābāi was born at Gaṅgāmūla in Mysore. Her father's name was Ananta Sūri and mother's Ambā.¹

Her work, called *Lakṣmīśvara-campū-kāvya*, was published in 1801 of the Śaka era, i.e., 1879-80 A.D.² Hence it is probable that our poetess was born about the middle of the 19th century A.D.

When the king of Darbhanga went to Calcutta on some business, he invited our poetess to his court and honoured her highly. Pleased at this, she promised the king that she would compose a poetical work about the events and festivities in connection with his accession to the throne. It is this that led to the composition of the *Lakṣmīśvara-campū-kāvya*.³ This is her first work. We do not as yet know of any other work by her. From the very fact that she was highly honoured by the king of Darbhanga, it is evident that she must have been very well-known as a learned and cultured woman of her time; specially so, when we find that though a native of South India, her fame spread as far as Calcutta and Darbhanga.

Kālidāsa was led to compose his *Raghu-vaṃśa* out of his admiration for the kings of the Raghu clan. He believes, however, that it is mere wantonness on his part to undertake the work.⁴ This modesty is very charming indeed on the part of a great poet. But Bhavabhūti asserts that the goddess of learning follows him like a subjugated woman;⁵ the people who treat him with contempt know nothing.⁶ The poet was, undoubtedly, led to make these remarks out of his painful sense of humility at not being duly honoured by his fellowmen, but such arrogant assertions do not appeal to us very

1 See p. 53, v. 2, see also the last verse.

2 Printed from the Bhāratamitra Yantrālaya. 3 See Introduction, p. 2.

4 *Raghu-vaṃśa*, canto I. 5 The opening verse of the *Uttara-Rāma-caritā*.

6 *Mālati-Mādhava*, Prastāvanā.

much. In the very same manner, we are pleased and pained respectively by the assertions of Ramā and Vijjā. Vijjā feels no hesitation whatsoever to call herself the goddess of learning incarnate.⁷ But Ramā says that she has undertaken the task of writing a poetical composition out of mere womanly wantonness,—she is by no means an adept in the science of rhetoric⁸ and other sciences so she counts upon the indulgence of the learned scholars to overlook her short-comings.⁹ This womanly modesty and simplicity of a poetess of the 19th century are laudable indeed,—more so in contrast to her vain sister of an earlier age.¹⁰

The *Lakṣmīśvara-campū-kāvya* contains five stavakas or cantos. It begins with the description of the city of Darbhanga. In the first canto,¹¹ the poetess describes, in minute details, the high ramparts surrounding the city, the numerous beautifully decorated shops lining the streets, the great wealth and prosperity of the city, its charming natural scenery, hills—high and low, rows of trees adorned with fresh green foliage, crystal-clear tanks covered with lotuses, peacocks dancing here and there, rainbow-like arches decked with new blossoms, neat houses with fountains in front and cooled by gentle wind, the ways and manners of the inhabitants and so forth. The king,¹² the lucky owner of such a beautiful city,—she goes on,—was a highly renowned personality, well-versed in all scriptures, and peerless in might and majesty. His glory spread far and wide. The fickle goddess of fortune, attracted by his good qualities, deigned, as it were, to stay in his kingdom for ever. In course of time, the queen-consort gave birth to a lovely son. The king's joy knew no bounds. The liberal gifts and donations that he

7 *Sārīngadhara-paddhati*, verse no. 180; *Subhāsita-hārāvali*, Bhandarkar Institute MS., f. 34 b, v. 145.

8 We find her, however, very clever in rhetoric. See below.

9 See Intro. p. 3.

10 Vijjā flourished about the middle of the 8th century A.D.

11 See pp. 1 ff.

12 Nam not given.

made on that auspicious occasion surpassed even the raining clouds, so to speak, in generosity.¹³ In due course, the christening and other ceremonies were performed with great eclat and the boy was named Lakṣmīśvara (or Lord of the Goddess of Fortune). The king had nothing more to long for—his wise and sympathetic rule bestowed peace and prosperity on all his subjects, his luck secured for him domestic bliss and peace. Thus, surrounded by contented and loyal subjects in court, by his loving wife and son at home, the king's life was one long stretch of unbroken peace and happiness.

In course of time, Lakṣmīśvara grew up to be a fit son of his father, endowed with all good qualities, grave and thoughtful by nature, handsome to look at. After a time, the god-fearing king closed his mortal career to the great grief of his loyal subjects, and the queen too, who as a Sati, burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre. Lakṣmīśvara performed all the obsequies with due respect. Here ends the first canto.

In the second canto,¹⁴ we read that Lakṣmīśvara left his kingdom and went to Benares for study. There he learnt native and foreign languages and mastered all sorts of sciences and scriptures with great credit, specially, the military science and politics. His teachers were all struck by his keen intellect and sweet behaviour. In course of time, Lakṣmīśvara grew up to be a very fine young man with thick curly hair, wide forehead, sturdy arms, and broad chest. Endowed, thus, with a fine physique and mentally equipped with sound learning, Lakṣmīśvara returned home with the blessings and good wishes of his elders. Everyone was glad to welcome him back. Then, the old Premier of the kingdom selected a beautiful, cultured and highly connected bride for him, and on an auspicious day, the marriage ceremony was performed with great eclat. The entire palace was adorned with high arches covered with new blossoms. The sweet sound of musical instruments mixed with the deep, solemn

13 Cp. *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya* (also called *Rāvaṇa-vadha*) 1, 3.

14 See p. 13.

and faultless utterances of the Veda by the Brāhmaṇas, the silvery laughter of festive ladies, songs of professional singers and humming of bees—resounded from one corner of the city to the other. No less resounding were the loud eulogies by the devoted bards from various places. The court-officials liberally distributed alms to all beggars and poor men. In the midst of all this pomp and rejoicing, two loving hearts were united in holy matrimony.

After his marriage Lakṣmīśvara spent his time sometimes in glens, green and shadowy trees; sometimes in pleasure-gardens, echoing with the cooing of birds and humming of honey-loving bees, and cooled by gentle wind; sometimes, again, accompanied by his wife, in the topmost turret of his palace, bathed in the silvery autumnal moon-light. Immersed in the sweet and loving companionship of his bride, he was, at times, deaf to the calls of the busy world outside; what need can one, whose heart is full, have for the outer world and its blandishments?

But still, the king was not unmindful of his royal duties. Like the wind of spring, he delighted the hearts of all, and shone—like the sun, the sky, the ocean, Śiva, Indra, and Kṛṣṇa—in beauty and virtue.¹⁵

After a time, however, the queen Rājyaśrī begged of the king to take leave of his royal duties for a short time, so that they two might enjoy each other's company uninterruptedly. The king complied with her request and then the king and the queen went for holiday to a lovely garden-house.

The third canto contains a vivid and charming description of the honey-moon of a royal couple,—a loving bridegroom, a devoted bride and lovely spring, what more is needed to make a perfect picture? Womanlike our poetess does her best to portray the picture with sympathetic life-like touches. It was spring—which was radiant and agreeable like the pure heart of a good man.¹⁶ Blood-

15 Pp. 19-20.

16 Cp. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X, 15. 3; *Rāmāyaṇa*, I 2.5.

red Palāśa-buds had sprung up in the midst of dark green foliage looking just like the red beaks of green parrots and flooding the entire forest, as it were, with their crimson glory keeping pace with the golden sun-rays.

On the other hand, the queen Rājyaśrī, spring incarnate, was presenting a no less charming picture. Her coral-red lips were parted in a gentle smile, lovely like the Mālātī blossom; her cheeks were soft and pink like a pair of full-blown lotuses; and her eyes, like a pair of drooping red-lotuses; her breast was soft and white. her hair black like bees. She was wearing a blue garment, surpassing even the sapphire tinge of the ramāla, her anklets were tinkling more sweetly than the cackling of swans, and the dazzling whiteness of the pearls of her necklace surpassed even the brilliance of water-drops on a lotus-leaf.

The spring, the cooing of the cuckoo, the Karṇikāra buds, the vāñjula, vakula and kuravaka blossoms, and the blossoming creepers—all these supplied a perfect setting for the successful love-making of the royal couple.

The queen, like a care-free child, was over-joyed at every little thing. She rambled here and there, chattered happily, enjoying herself immensely in the companionship of her husband. Amidst the thousand distractions of his life dedicated to the service of his people, she could not have her husband by her side to her heart's content. But now for the time being, though short, he was hers, wholly hers, with no outside claim. That was why her joy knew no bounds, and why the whole world appeared as a paradise to her.

The sun scorches the world all day long, then out of sorrow merges itself in the sea. Then the moon appears to soothe the world. The repentant sun rises again and wipes away the tear-like dews of the earth. Such is the course of the world—sorrow and joy alternating eternally.

The fourth canto¹⁷ begins with a belauding of the king by the bards early in the morning. There follows a beautiful description of the morning; sweet music had begun to herald the rise of the sun. Gentle wind was rustling and frolicking through the green foliage; and the trees were showering flowers, as if for the king. The cuckoos had begun to sing lustily; and within the cages too, the parrots and other birds had commenced their morning eulogy of the king. The red-lotus, having cast an angry glance at the sun for its long delay, had begun to weep again. The white-lotus, waved by the cool morning-breeze, had started playing with the cackling young swans. Cranes were sporting in the clear water of the tank, and the tank itself seemed to have swallowed down the heaven with the moon and stars. The moon has waned, not so the king's fame, hence the moon had become pale with shame and been looking for a place of escape; now it had an escape in the bottom of the tank. The pair of geese were enjoying each other's company after their long separation during the night. The eastern horizon had become crimson with rage at the sun spending the night elsewhere. The sun had begun to deluge the world in its golden glory. Let the king too spread his glory far and wide.

After his morning duties, the king went out to hunt accompanied by soldiers, horses, elephants and hunting dogs. The king enjoyed a successful hunting expedition. He went to a deep forest, where the thick leaves were being constantly joined together by the wind, and it seemed as if the Goddess of the Forest was, with joined palms, rendering her homage to the king. The chirping birds too, returning to their nests in the evening, seemed to extend a right royal welcome to him.

Having spent the night by the side of the lake, the king returned to the palace in the morning.

The fifth, the last canto,¹⁸ contains a description of the festi-

vities in connection with the accession to the throne. Lakṣmīśvara is depicted as engaged in heavy royal duties, sparing no pains to further the well-being of his subjects. When the rainy season arrived with its banner of dark clouds, the royal banner too was simultaneously unfurled in connection with the coronation of the king. At an auspicious moment, he was universally acclaimed the king by all court-officials and foreign representatives. Poms and festivals continued for a good many days. Here the book ends.

The poetess has, in this book, told us about the closing period of the life of the hero's father, about the hero's birth, education, marriage, recreation, skill in royal duties and great popularity. But she could, surely, have enlightened us also on a good many historically important events in the life of Lakṣmīśvara from his birth to accession, but unfortunately does not. Of the five cantos, the first two cantos alone contain accounts of some ordinary events of his life, but the last three cantos are practically devoid of events. It is for this reason that in these three cantos, the poetess, in the absence of any historical events, has recourse continually to descriptions of natural scenery and so on, and introduced some distractions leaving out the main theme. Thus, the poetess fails to supply an uninterrupted chronology of the childhood and youth of Lakṣmīśvara, and specially from the third canto onward, the inquisitive reader very naturally longs to have at least some bits of historical information, and not mere poetic imagination. In the third canto, we find the spring in its full glory, the sun rises and sets, so does the moon, the morning comes again,—but he whose presence we eagerly await does not come to us as we would have liked him to do,—no light is thrown on his life or feelings,—for her Nature is all, men nothing. In the fourth canto too, though we meet Lakṣmīśvara once more, yet we come to know nothing about him,—as the poetess at once sends him out hunting, which is a very common occurrence in the life of all kings,—ancient or

modern. The hero of these last three cantos, thus, is a model king of all ages—a king rejoicing with his dear bride in pleasure-gardens, a king going to hunt, a king acclaimed by his subjects—but the special events in the life of Lakṣmīśvara, his peculiar traits and habits, his individuality, in short, are left untouched.

Hence, we cannot but conclude that although the *Lakṣmīśvara-cāmpū-kāvya* contains some excellent poetical passages and descriptions of nature and is, on the whole, well-written,—sweet in thought and language—yet it is sadly lacking in descriptions of actual historical events, and therefore disappoints the reader, who from the introduction, expects a true picture of the State of Darbhanga of over half a century ago. Womanlike our poetess prefers free thought to plain truth, fancy to fact, imagination to information. She is a poetess through and through, but no historian.

But our poetess, though not a historian, proves herself very clever in rhetoric. She adheres to the principles of the Pāñcālī rīti—a rīti in between the Gaudī and Vaidarbhi.¹⁹ So far as the qualities (*guṇas*) go, her composition is marked with evenness (*śamatā*) and gracefulness (*kānti*).²⁰ She is quite free from vulgarity (*grāmyatā*).²¹ Sweetness (*mādhurya*)²² prevails in her work both in sound and sense. Only rarely she takes recourse to transference (*samādhi*)²³ As regards the embellishments²⁴ she furnishes us excellent examples of Nature-Description,²⁵ Simile,²⁶ Metaphor,²⁷ Poetic-conception,²⁸

19 *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, ch. IX, pp. 467-68 of the Nīṇaya-sāgara ed.

20 For *śamatā* and *kānti*, see *Kāvya-darśa*, ch. I, vv. 47 f.; *op. cit.*, 85 f.

21 Cp. *Kāvya-darśa*, ch. I, v. 63; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, ch. 7, p. 382, 4th ed. of Nīṇaya-sāgara Press.

22 *Kāvya-darśa*, ch. I, vv. 51 f.; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, ch. 8, p. 450, *op. cit.*

23 E.g. p. 25, v. 16: "Dantura."

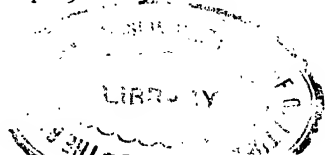
24 Arthālamkāras.

25 Svabhāvokti, e.g. pp. 2-3, vv. 6 f.; p. 16, v. 14 f.

26 Upamā e.g. p. 11, v. 46; p. 15, v. 10, p. 22, vv. 2-4. For Pratibhāstūpamā, see p. 9, v. 10; Paronomastic simile (*śleṣṭopama*), see p. 19, vv. 25 f.

27 Rūpaka, e.g. p. 5, v. 9.

28 Utprekṣā, e.g., p. 24, v. 14; p. 36, v. 16.



Corroboration,²⁹ Presumption,³⁰ Out-matching³¹ and Benediction.³² From the point of view of word-embellishments,³³ our poetess has a strong liking for alliteration³⁴ which is, in fact, a peculiar feature of the book. Her merit in this respect comes to unusual display when she employs at ease words³⁵ of similar or almost similar sounds but with different meanings. The fifth canto of the book is adorned with various sorts of artificial verse-form, viz. Cakra-bandha³⁶ Viśṅgāṭaka-bandha,³⁷ Padma-bandha,³⁸ Muraja-bandha,³⁹ Nāga-bandha,⁴⁰ Gomutrikā-bandha,⁴¹ Gavākṣa-bandha,⁴² and so on. It is undoubtedly true that all such artificial devices often hamper the spontaneous flow of poesy, yet it must be admitted at the same time that the motive which led her to adopt them, viz. showing off her skill in and mastery over the language and versification has been fulfilled successfully. It is indeed no easy matter to set forth her own name,⁴³ her father's name⁴⁴ and so forth through such devices.

Ramābāi is an expert in the employment of metres too. Sometimes we find that she mentions the name of a particular metre, such as Rathoddhatā,⁴⁵ Puṣpitāgrā,⁴⁶ Praharaṣiṇī,⁴⁷ etc. in some particular verse—without damaging the actual theme of the verse and actually uses that particular metre in that verse. This must, indeed, be admitted to be an indication of great skill.

29 Arthantara-nyāsa, p. 32, v. 44; p. 38, v. 26.

30 Vibhāvanā, p. 32, vv. 45-46.

31 Vyatireka, p. 46, v. 21.

32 Āśis, p. 1, vv. 1 f.

33 Śabdālaṃkāras.

34 E.g. Samarodbhāta-śatru-pratibhāta-vikāṭa-viśaṃkāṭa-kaṭaka-kaṃkāṭa-parivṛtā, Sura-vara-kari-puṣkara-Śikara-seka-dviguṇita; Sudhā-sitākāśa-vikāśa-cumbi, etc.

35 E.g., p. 2, Kṛta-sakala-ripu-janādara-bhaṅgā Darbhaṅgā nāmni nagari, p. 2, Prākāram ākāram iva abdhi-sunoh; p. 9, Virājamānam parārājamānam.

36 P. 48, v. 30; p. 52, v. 43; cp. Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*, ch. XIX for these devices. For similar devices in later Roman poetry cp. Martial, 86, 9 f.

37 P. 48, v. 31.

38 P. 48, v. 33.

39 Pp. 48-49, v. 33.

40 P. 49, v. 34.

41 P. 50, v. 36.

42 P. 50, v. 37.

43 See appendix, pp. 1 f.

44 See appendix, p. 8.

45 P. 46, v. 36.

46 P. 26, v. 21.

47 P. 41, v. 39.

Her skill in composing various forms of poetry⁴⁸ is manifest from the examples she furnishes in this work.

Unfortunately, however, the printing of the book is very defective. Nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc. have been unaccountably joined together as one word. Again, words have been separated just as unaccountably, no proper punctuation has been given; in short, the book is really unreadable. Under these circumstances it is not fair to criticise the poetess for all the defects traceable. Still, we notice here a few for which the poetess seems to be responsible.

In verse 11 of the 3rd canto⁴⁹ the second quarter has been hyphenated with the third i.e. the two pādas form parts of the same compound. But such a compound is not desirable. In the second verse of the same canto,⁵⁰ the particle "tarām" in the second line has been used before the verb "virejuh", but it ought to have been used after the verb. In the fourth canto, verse 6, in connection with the auspicious eulogy of the king by the bards,⁵¹ the harsh cawing of crows has been mentioned but such a description fits in neither with an invoking of auspiciousness, nor with the accepted codes. Most probably, because of her excessive fondness for alliteration, she uses from time to time words that are not commonly found in use, e.g. karamba,⁵² janus,⁵³ etc.

Considering all these things, we must say that our poetess has succeeded creditably in her first attempt at poetical composition. Her thought and style have much to commend themselves to the lovers of poetry and her metre and versification to the expert in rhetoric.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURY

48 For the meaning of technical terms Yugmaka, Saṃdānitaka (also called Viśeṣaka and Tilaka), and Kulaka, see *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, ch. VI, Nirṇaya-sāgara ed., p. 371. Yugmaka, e.g. pp. 25-26, vv. 19-20; p. 8, vv. 33-34. Saṃdānitaka, pp. 52-53, vv. 1-3. Kulaka, pp. 22-24, vv. 5-10 (Māgha gives us examples of Kulakas containing more than 10 verses).

49 P. 24. 50 P. 22. 51 P. 34. 52 P. 22, v. 3.

53 P. 22. v. 4. Limited to Vedic Sanskrit except for its use as a part of the compound *tanujanuṣā*.

MISCELLANY

Who were the Pāṇdyas of Madura ?

The Rev. H. Heras writing on "a Proto-Indian Icon" in *JBORS.*, vol. XXIII, (pt. IV, p. 487) observes: ".....the country of the Minas—who formed the bulk of the population of Mohenjo Daro—extended down to the south as we have already shown elsewhere. Vēlūr was its capital. The king of all these Minas seem to have received the title of Minavan and had two fishes as the *lāñchana* of the tribe on his banner. These were precisely the title and *lāñchana* of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura from the first century A.D., who according to tradition had come down from the north. This tradition is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* according to which the Pāṇḍya king was one of the rulers who fought at Iṣṭruksētra."

The seal on the grant of the Pāṇḍyan kings bore an emblem of two fishes with a cane between.¹

In the *Nāyādharmakahā* (Āgamodaya-samiti edn. pp. 223-25) a legendary account of the foundation of Madura is given. After rescuing Draupadī from Amarakaṅkā, the capital of king Paumanābhā, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva crossed back the Lavaṇa-samudra extending over two lakh yojanas and asked the five Pāṇḍavas to cross the Ganges (extending a little over 62 yojanas) and wait for him while he was going to pay a visit to Susthita, king of the salt ocean. Then they discussed whether Kṛṣṇa would be able to cross the Ganges with his arms. Kṛṣṇa was enraged for their failure to appreciate his greatness; shattered their chariots and ordered them to be exiled (*nivvisae ānaveti*). Then at the request of king Pāṇḍu their mother Kuntī went to Kṛṣṇa at Dwarka and said to him, "You are the master of the southern half of Bhārata, you have exiled them, where should

¹ *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Govt. Museum, Madras*, p. 33; R. D. Banerji, *Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India* p. 282 "The early Pāṇḍya kings issued copper coins with the symbol of the fish."

they go?" He said, "Let the five Pāṇḍavas go to the southern coast and let them found Pāṇḍu Mathurā." In this wise was founded Madura or Pāṇḍu Mathurā.

In the Jain canon *Antagaḍa-dasāo* it has been related that after the town of Bārāvai (Dvārāvati, Dwarka) had been destroyed by fire by the anger of sage Dvivāyana, Kṛṣṇa, after the death of his parents, went with his brother Balarāma, towards the boundaries of the southern ocean (*dāhinaveyālī*) in the direction of Mathura belonging to the five Pāṇḍavas beginning with the celebrated Juhitṭhila, sons of the king Pāṇḍu (*Juhitṭhilapāmokkhaṇaṃ pañcaṇhaṃ pāṇḍavāṇaṃ paṇḍurāyaputtāṇaṃ pāsāṃ paṇḍumahuraṃ sampatthiye*).

It appears, therefore, that according to the Jaina legend the five Pāṇḍavas were exiled by Kṛṣṇa, and asked to found the second Mathura in the south, and after the destruction of Dvārāvati, he was himself proceeding towards Madura.

Two Mathuras, one in the north and the other in the south, have been mentioned as two beautiful sister cities in the story of Annikāputra, in *Parisiṣṭaparvan*² (canto VI, śl. 42, p. 176).

It seems, therefore, that the southern Madura was named after the northern Mathura. This is supported by other traditions.

The Jaina texts represent Kṛṣṇa as the friend of the Pāṇḍavas, beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira; therein we find him to be the rescuer of Draupadī (*Nāyādharmakabā*). The same friendship is noticed also in the *Mahābhārata*. Kṛṣṇa had early associations with Mathura; he killed Kāṃsa, the Yādava king, son-in-law of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha. "This roused Jarāsandha's wrath against Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathura. For a time they resisted him but feeling their position there insecure migrated in a body to Gujrat and established themselves in Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa ultimately obtained

the leadership."³ Bhima and Arjuna with Kṛṣṇa's help killed their common enemy Jarāsandha. After Kṛṣṇa's death the Yādavas abandoned Dwarka under the leadership of Arjuna and went northwards.

In the Jaina texts, therefore, Mādura is definitely associated with the Pāṇḍavas, the sons of Pāṇḍu, beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira. Local tradition also seems to corroborate this. In the western arcade of the great temple of Madura (dedicated to Mīnākṣī, and Sundarēśvara) there are statues of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. But Sanskrit grammar tells a different tale. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Pāṇini (*circa* 7th century B.C.) did not know the Pāṇḍyas (or the Coḍas, and the Keralas). Kātyāyana (*circa* middle of the 4th century B.C.) adds a *vārttika*, *Pāṇḍyor-dyan*, to a *sūtra* of Pāṇini (*janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*, iv. 1. 168) which gives the form Pāṇḍya and not Pāṇḍava. The Pāṇḍyas were an Aryan Kṣatriya tribe from the north, but they had nothing to do with the Pāṇḍavas. In the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (with the Tattvabodhinī and Subodhinī Commentaries) the commentator warns that these Pāṇḍyas are not to be mistaken for the Pāṇḍavas (*Yudhiṣṭhirapitṛvācino guṇavācinaśca Pāṇḍorneha grahaṇam*).⁴

The Kṛṣṇa-Pāṇḍu legend seems to have got into an intricate tangle. Megasthenes identifies Heracles with Kṛṣṇa. He says, "This Heracles was especially worshipped by the Śaurasenī, an Indian people (the Śūrasenas), where there are two great cities, Methora (Mathura, Muttra) and Clisobora (Kṛṣṇapura), and a navigable river the Jobanes (Jumna) flows through their country.....a great number of male children were born to him and only one daughter. Her

3 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 282.

4 Also Dr. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 10: "This is clear, I think, from Kātyāyana's *vārttika*, *Pāṇḍyor-dyan*, which means that the suffix *ya* was to be attached not to Pāṇḍu, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍavas, but to Pāṇḍu which was the name of a Kṣatriya tribe as well as of country."

name was Pandaea, and the country where she was born and which Heracles gave her to rule is called Pandaea after her [the Pāṇḍya kingdom in South India.....]"⁵ Pliny repeats Megasthenes and says that she was assigned by her father just "that portion of India which lies southward and extends to sea."⁶ The more critical Greeks, such as Eratosthenes and Strabo, regarded the legend as unhistorical. But it seems that as in other portions of his account Megasthenes, owing to lack of full comprehension of things Indian, must have mixed truth with fiction. As Bhandarkar points out, Hindu epic or Purāṇa does not know of any daughter of Kṛṣṇa of the name of Pāṇḍyā.⁷ He says: "What appears to be the truth is that there was a tribe called Pāṇḍu round about Mathura, and when a section of them went southwards and were settled there, they were called Pāṇdyas" which denoted descendants of the Pāṇḍu tribe. There was such a tribe in the north of India, e.g., Pandoouoi of the Panjab according to Ptolemy (A.D. 150), and Pāṇḍus of Madhyadeśa according to Varāhamihira (A.D. 6th century).⁸ It is probable, therefore, that the Pāṇdyas had Mathura as their capital and when they proceeded south, they, following an well established practice, named thier new capital, Mathurā (Madhurā) or Madurā, Modoura, as Pliny and Ptolemy testify. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri says that according to Epic tradition Mathura was the seat of a family intimately

5 *CHI.*, p. 408.

6 See *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 9 cf. also the Jaina text *dāhinaveyāli* describing the portion.

7 Dr. Barnett (*CHI.*, p. 597) has made 'Heracles, the god Siva,' who put the south under the rule of his daughter Pāṇḍia. He says: "The Sanskrit epics mention them vaguely, as foreign lands outside their purview, though the legendary connexion of the Pāṇḍyan kings of Madura with the Pāṇḍava heroes of *Mahābhārata* seems to have been acknowledged in the north as early as second century B.C., if any reliance is to be placed on the scholion to Pāṇini iv. i. 168." It seems just the other way.

8 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar supposes that there were two Pāṇḍya kingdoms even in Aśoka's time. He says (*Aśoka*, 1925, p. 40): Even as late as the 6th century A.D. Varāhamihira speaks of Utara-Pāṇdyas....."

associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha.⁹

Bhandarkar says that the Pāṇdyas were an Aryan tribe, and not an alien tribe like the Coḷas or Coras (thief).¹⁰ He takes the Ceras to be a tribe of North India migrating to the south and founding colony there and attempts to identify them with the Ceros of the Mirzapur district.¹¹ But Pargiter tells us that king Marutta of the Turvasa lineage had no son and adopted Duṣyanta the Paurava and "from this line or from Duṣyanta there was a branch which founded the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Kerala etc. in the south. The kings of the line have been mentioned in the following order:—Turvasa... Marutta, Duṣyanta, Sārutha, Aṇḍira and Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Coḷa and Kulya (or Kola)." So the ruling families in Pāṇḍya, Coḷa and Kerala countries were offshoots of the Turvasa branch of the Ailas, and the Aila race is the Aryan race.¹² Both agree that the Pāṇdyas were an Aryan race. They were supposed to have dwelt in the Punjab, or the Madhyadeśa (near Mathura?). But there is a difference of opinion regarding the other two tribes—the Ceras and Coḷas. Fr. Heras suggests the identification of the Pāṇdyas of Madura with the Minas (who formed the bulk of the population of Mohenjo Daro) on the ground of their having the common *lāñchana* of two fishes. We are now confronted with three questions—(1) Were the Minas (the suggested proto-type of the Pāṇdyas) Aryans? (For according to Bhandarkar and Pargiter

9 *Political History of Ancient India* (2nd edn.), p. 206.

10 He regards the Coras to be aborigines. See *Aśoka*, p. 39: "The Sorai were most probably not nomads at all, but have been so called to indicate the Aryan contempt for the aboriginal tribes just as their name, namely Cora (Sora), was used to denote a robber."

11 *Ibid.*, p. 41 "From the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II. 1.1).....that the Ceras were settled not far from Magadha. These were probably the Ceros of the Mirzapur District and passed through the Central Provinces before they were settled in Malabar."

12 F. E. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 108, 292, 295.

the Pāṇḍyas appear to have been Aryans). (2) What was the extent of their country? (3) What was the name of the family which had Mathura as its capital and which was "intimately associated with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha"? Was it a Pāṇḍya family?

The Minas may probably have been the prototype of the Muhanas, an aboriginal tribe in Sind who were undoubtedly identical with the Mianas of Kathiawar. "This people was probably responsible for the old towns named Minnagar in both Sind and Kathiawar and for the term Miani, still applied to their fishing villages in Sind, but formerly having a wider meaning, as shown by the port of Miani in the Porbandar State."¹³

Dvārāvati (of the Yādavas) was in Kathiawar and on the sea and may have been included within the area of the Mīna country "which extended down to the south." Kṛṣṇa's son was Pradyumna (Kāma, the Hindu god of love) who was called Mīnadhvaja (or °ketana) or Makaradhvaja (or °ketana) and used fish-emblems.¹⁴ But did the Yādavas use fish emblems? The Yādavas were friends of the Pāṇḍavas; and the Vārāvatya Yātavas (Yādavas of Dwarka) and the Pāṇḍavas are mentioned together as "Ancient kings before the Buddha" in Jayaswal's *Imperial History of India* (p. 11, *Mmk.*, 333-34). Is there any mention in the *Mahābhārata* about the Pāṇḍavas using fish emblems? Arjuna pierced the eye of the fish at Draupadi's *svayaṃvara*. Has the name of the goddess Mīnākṣī (fish-eyed) of Madura any connexion with the Pāṇḍavas whose statues are installed in her temple?

The ancient Tamil poets knew of some aboriginal (pre-Dravidian) savage tribes named the Mīnavar (fishers) "who may have descendants in the Mīnās."¹⁵ We may ask—Did the Minas

13 *JRAS.*, Jan. 1938, p. 130.

14 But *Mīna* and *Magara* are phallic emblems as I have shown in my article *Svastika*, the fit emblems of Kāma.

15 *CHI.*, vol. I, 595.

of Mohenjo-Daro come from Sind to the south or the Mīnavars of the south go to the north? or was there one Mīna race spread over the entire western side of India stretching north-south-wise?

There are scholars who hold that the Pāṇḍyas, Ceras and Coḷas were Dravidians. If so, how is this to be reconciled with the theory that they were Aryans? The explanation seems to be that with the spread of Brahmanical influence in the south, the Pāṇḍyas, Ceras and Coḷas were given a respectable Aryan origin after the manner of the Rajputs (of Gujar and Hun origin).¹⁶ It may be objected that the Minas of Mohenjo-Daro were pre-Dravidian. But there was no bar to the fusion between the pre-Dravidians and Dravidians, and the Minas may well have been proto-types of the Pāṇḍyas.*

KALIPADA MITRA

Note on *Vṛṣala* as the Greek kingly Title

In a paper *Vṛṣala*, the Greek kingly title of Candragupta Maurya, published in Vol. XIII, No. 4 of the *IHQ.*, we have suggested that the word *Vṛṣala* used for Candragupta by Cānakya in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* is a kingly title. It is the Sanskritised form of the Greek kingly title 'basileus.' We have also argued that "basileus" as equivalent to Rājan and 'basileus basileon' as equivalent to Rājātīrāja, Rājarāja, or Mahārāja were used by several other non-Greek kings of India in their bilingual coins. For instance, 'basileus basileon' was the title borne, along with Rājātīrāja Rājarāja, by Kadphises and Azes. The early Greek historians called Candragupta by this Greek kingly title. Arrian called him "Indian Basilea." Appian and Plutarch also called him as such. It can be taken as certain that the Greek subject of Candra-

¹⁶ R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 282.

* Read at the Indian History Congress at Allahabad in October, 1938.

gupta who are spoken of as Yonas in the Aśokan inscriptions, called him by that epithet. Moreover, as most of the historians believe, he had a Greek wife, daughter of Seleucus, it is likely that he was often addressed by the Greek kingly title even in his court on formal occasions. The author of the drama *Mudrārākṣasa* perhaps knew of this tradition and cautiously made use of it. It is likely that by the time of the author of the drama this significance of the term *Vṛṣala* (Prakrit 'basal') was lost and it was mixed up with the other word *Vṛṣala* which perhaps originally meant one belonging to a non-Brahmanical and heretical sect and subsequently a *Sūdra*.

In light of the conclusion set forth in the paper referred to above, it may be interesting to inquire carefully what the word *Vṛṣala* means in the following passage of the *Purāṇas*.

शतान्यर्धचतुर्थानि भवितारन्नयोदश ।

मुरुण्डा वृषलैः सार्धं भाव्याऽन्या म्लेच्छजातयः ॥ ३६३ ॥

वायुपुराण, अ, ६६,

शतान्यर्धचतुष्काणि भवितव्याश्चयोदश

मुरुण्डा वृषलैः सार्धं भोजयन्ते म्लेच्छसंभवाः ॥ २२ ॥

मत्स्यपुराण, अ, २७३,

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that the word "murauḍa" stands for the Śaka word for master or lord (*muronida*).¹ He argues that "the so-called Murauḍas who ruled in the Ganges valley in the second and third centuries A.D. were in reality the Kuṣāṇas and that the word Murauḍa itself is not the name of a tribe but a Śaka word meaning 'a lord' which was used as a title by the Śakas and after them the Kuṣāṇas while the Kṣatrapas translated it by the corresponding Indian word *Svāmin*. Wherever we meet with the designation murauḍa we are justified in thinking of Śakas or tribes that can be considered as heirs and successors of the Śakas".²

It appears that in the passage from the *Purāṇas* quoted above like the word 'Murauḍa' the word 'Vṛṣala' also stands for some

1 *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, LXXV.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 292-3.

regnal title borne by the Śaka and the Kuṣāṇa rulers. As already mentioned above the bilingual coins of some of these rulers have on one side the Indian kingly titles, Rājan, Rājātirāja, Rājarāja, or Mahārāja, and on the other side the Greek kingly titles, i.e., "basileus" or "basileus basileon". It thus appears that 'Vṛṣala', is the Sanskritised form of 'basileus', not only as used for Candragupta by Cāṇakya in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, but also in the passage from the Purāṇas referred to above.

H. C. SETH

The Home of Subandhu

In summing up his discussion about the time of Subandhu Prof. Louis Gray says that 'the *Vāsavadattā* was written by Subandhu at a place *unknown*,¹ and in fact the personal history of the author including the name of his native place is totally enveloped in darkness. But we need not stand helpless before this weakness of the ancient Indian history which is silent about the time and place of its great poets like Kālidāsa, for the work of Subandhu when carefully read may give some more or less clear hints about his birth-place. And we are going to discuss in this paper those passages of the *Vāsavadattā*, which may be considered to contain such hints.

- (1) Subandhu has used pun in *śarabhedo dadhiṣu* (*Vāsavadattā* ed. Hall,² p. 125) and in *raśanābandho ratikalabeṣu* (p. 128). And in these passages *sara* and *śara* as well as *rasanā* and *raśanā* have been considered to be interchangeable or rather he allowed a confusion between the palatal and the dental sibilant. This kind of confusion as is known to students of the Middle Indo-Aryan, is a feature of Māgadhi. Hence it may be

¹ *Italics in the quotation is ours.* See *Vāsavadattā*, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. 8, p. 12.

² Reference in this paper will always be to F. Hall's edition in *Bibliotheca Indica*.

assumed that Subandhu was born in the Māgadhi speaking area i.e. the North-Eastern India.

- (2) Subandhu unlike any other Sanskrit writer of fame shows some familiarity with fish, and one of his most apt similes occurs in the following passage: *Kālakaiuvertakena tamisrānāyam prakṣipyā gaganama-bāsarasī saṁvā-śapharīnikaram ivāphriyamāṇe tārāgaṇe* (pp. 249-250). The catching of living *śapharī* fish with a black net from a large *puṣkarinī* (*mahāsarasī*) is a very familiar sight in Bengal. The bright silvery hue of these fish sticking in the meshes of the black net makes them objects very fit to be compared with stars of the sky when darkness comes over them after the setting of the moon. Hence from this simile it may be assumed that Subandhu was familiar with a place like Bengal.

- (3) Subandhu's familiarity with fish is again noticed in a passage in which he compares *Pātali* flowers with the *palāva* of the God of Love (*pathikajana-hṛdayamatsyam grabhitum makaraketoḥ palāva iva pātaliḥ puṣpam adṛśyata* p. 138).

The word *palāva* has its development in the new Bengali (dialect) *palo* which is the name for a primitive instrument made of bamboo for catching fish in shallow water. Hence it does not mean 'fishing hook' (*baḍīśa*) as Śivarāma one commentator of the *Vāsavadattā*, guesses. Now this *palo* is available everywhere in Bengal. And the *pālali* flower has more resemblance to the *palo* (= *palāva*) than to *baḍīśa* (fishing hook).³ As Śivarāma was an inhabitant of the up-country where *palo* is unknown he hazarded a guess instead of confessing his ignorance. Thus the use of the word *palāva* shows again that Subandhu was familiar with Bengal.

3 For a representation of the *palo* see the illustration facing page 86 of R. Mookerjee's *Foundations of Indian Economics*, London, 1916.

- (4) The next point which gives a clue as to Subandhu's home is his mention of the *Sundarī* tree. He says *sāgarakūla-bhūmiriva sundarīpādaparāgāśabalābbhiḥ* (pp. 219-220) and *atiorddham api sundarīparivṛtakantḥam.....jalanidhim* (p. 271).

This word (*sundarī*) does not occur in any Skt. lexicon (= *koṣa*), for Sivarāma though very liberal in quoting synonyms could not give any in connection with this word. *Sundarī* trees grow in abundance in the 'Sundarban' or 'Sundariban' area of the Southern Bengal. In answer to my query in this connection Dr. Kalipada Biswas, Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, Bengal, very kindly writes (25.1.35):

'*Heritiera minor* Roxb., a synonym of *H. Fomes* Buch, is the predominant species throughout the Central Sundariban and in the northern islands of the western Sundariban—a circumstance to which the region owes its name of Sundaribans.....This species grows abundant in the Gangetic delta, extending inland to Sylhet and along the shores of the Eastern Peninsula.'

Hence it may again be assumed that Subandhu was familiar with Bengal.

With the data discussed above one should take notice of the fact that Subandhu wrote the first available work in the Gaudī style, the characteristics of which emerged, according to Prof. Keith, 'at the courts of princes of Bengal' (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 60). This fact alone may not give us any indication as to Subandhu's home, for some later writers of Skt. from other parts of India also wrote in this style. But when we consider his familiarity with the *Sundarī* tree, his confusion of sibilants, and his acquaintance with the different methods of catching fish, Subandhu's use of Gaudī style seems to give us grounds to believe that he might have been an inhabitant of Bengal.

Ancient Śarabhapura

The town of Śarabhapura is mentioned in the copper charters issued by Mahāsudevarāja and Mahājayarāja. The charters, which are of about seven sets there, are all silent about its location. In the text of the records of these kings no clue is to be found as to whether this town of Śarabhapura was within the Mahākosala kingdom or in its neighbourhood.

We are equally in the dark about the *caste* and *original home* of this family of Śarabhapura kings, Mahāsudeva and Mahājayarāja and Mahāpravararāja. The sub-divisions or districts together with the villages in which they were situated, and which were given to respective Brahmin grantees referred to in their records have not been definitely identified as yet. The late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal and Prof. V. V. Mirashi's identification of several of these villages and districts are open to question. Their attempt is more or less conjectures based on defective entries in old maps and with wrong pronunciation of the village-names as current at the present age. No doubt the name "Sarappur" partly tallies with the name of Śarabhapura, but unless there are some more clear proofs of its being the ancient town, one should reject its claim. This "Sarappur" is the headquarters of a Zamindari tract by that name in the Gangpur Feudatory State.

During my recent visit to Nandaur where a silver coin of the grand-father of Mahāsudevarāja was discovered, the people gave me interesting stories about a village named *Sarhar* which they suggest to be the present representative of old Śarabhapura. But unless the site, near about Sarhar, yields some relics of the times of these kings, no historian would like to consider its claim.

Nandaur and its coin of Prasannamātra

Sarabhā or *Sarwā* village, near the town of Sheorinārāyan in the Bilaspur district, is another claimant for the honour of being the old capital Śarabhapura.

About five miles N.W. from Bālpur, stands the Church of the American Evangelical Mission just on the bank of the Mānd

river, on whose bank a few miles further north was found the first coin of Śrī Prasannamātra described by me in the *IHQ.*, IX, p. 495 and *J.AHR. Society*, Rajahmundry.

Nandaur is a village about 8 miles from the Sakti railway station of the B. N. Ry. It is in the Jangir Tahsil of Bilaspur, C.P. There are two Nandaurs adjoining each other. One is called Nandaur the big, and the other is called (छोटे नंदौर) small Nandaur. They are two separate villages now with big and deep tanks. In olden days it must have been a town of importance. There are ruins of an old temple and fort. Inscribed stone slabs and images are said to have been found there but they were all destroyed by the ignorant village people. A boat of stone of huge size and of considerable length was lying uncared for there for many years and is now untraceable. A huge stone *Linga* of Śiva with Jalhari still adorns a brick structure erected out of old materials in a part of the extensive ground which used to be the fort in olden days.

The present coin¹ is the second one bearing the legend Śrī Prasannamātra in the famous box-headed script. It has a polish of gold and looks like a gold coin although it is of silver. It is identical with our Society's coin of the same king in every respect. This (our Society's) coin was found at *Śālbāépali*, a village on the Mānd river, which is about 25 miles from Nandaur. Nandaur is about 35 miles from Thakurdiyā, a village in the Sarangarh State, where a set of three copper-plates belonging to Śrī Prasannamātra's grandson, named Mahāpravararāja was found in 1932. It may be pointed out that the box-headed script was in use between 4th and 6th century A.D. by which period the Śarabhapura kings must have flourished.

L. P. PANDEYA

¹ The coin is in possession of Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Bar-at-Law, Bilaspur C.P. to whom it has been presented by the Mahakosala Historical Society. Dr. Rao is the Hon. Life President of the Society. This coin was found in a solitary bit after a heavy shower of rain in a tilled-field at Nandaur and was later on acquired by our Society from the finder, Bhoonu Ram Teli, a teacher in the local Mission School.

REVIEWS

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE PALLAVAS by C. Minakshi. Madras University Historical Series, No. 13. Published by the Madras University, 1938, pp. 316, map and ten full-page plates.

This work forming the major part of a thesis approved by the Madras University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is a fresh indication of the fruitful labours of the junior school of historians working under the competent guidance of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, through which Madras seems destined to become the centre of South Indian historical research at no distant date.

The present work consists of three parts. Part I (Introductory) consisting of two chapters deals with various questions relating to the origin and nationality of the Pallavas. Part II consists of eight chapters under the head 'Administration', while Part III has ten chapters under the general heading 'Social Life'. The authoress gives throughout her work ample evidence of the wide range of her reading and her sound judgment. Her descriptions gain much from the fact that she has visited many of the sites that she treats.

It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to touch on all the important points raised by Dr. M. But a few remarks may be made. Dr. M. fixes (p. 2) the initial date of the Pallava rule in Kāñcī in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. But some of her arguments hardly support her conclusions. If the Mayidavolu grant, which is the earliest Pallava record, bears close affinity to the Karli epigraph of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and the Nasik inscription of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāyi, the origin of the Pallavas should be fixed not in the first half of the 3rd century A.D., but about 150 A.D., the date of Rudradāman's inscription. On the other hand, the omission of all references to the Pallavas in the Śāngam Literature would seem to bring them down to a later period than

the 3rd century A.D. Dr. M. has done well in rejecting (p. 12) both the theory of Pallava descent from the Kurumbar and the late Dr. Jayaswal's view alleging that the Pallavas were Brāhmaṇas and a branch of the Vākātakas. To the arguments against the latter view might have been added the fact that the Pallavas belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, while the Vākātakas belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*. Dr. M's statement (p. 21) that "the possible connection with the Pallavas and the vague indications arising from the spread of the Nāgi legend" form the only evidence in support of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, is based on sound reasoning. It is however difficult to understand why she reproduces and even finds fresh defence (p. 20) for Fleet's far-fetched identification of Pārthivas of Pahladpur inscription with the Pallavas. It is again inexplicable why she quotes in translation a long paper of M. Goloubew suggesting a definite connection of the Pallavas with the Scythians on the one hand and the Cambodians on the other. As a matter of fact Dr. M., criticising this paper, shows (p. 21) how the Nāgi legend regarding the origin of the Pallavas appears only in late Tamil poems. Equally unconvincing is Dr. M's attempt to show (p. 22) that the Pallavas were originally rulers of the Deccan, for wars with the contemporary Deccan powers to which she refers have unfortunately been a feature of South Indian history down to mediæval times, while the early copper-plate charters of the Pallavas would carry their rule, as she herself admits, over the Southern Telugu and part of Bellary districts which properly speaking lie outside Deccan proper.

Turning to Part II, we cannot help thinking that the titles of chapter III ('Administration') and IV ('Ministry') should have been given as 'Kingship' and 'Branches of Administration' respectively, while the material of chapter IX ('Provincial and local Governments') ought to have been incorporated in the chapter last-mentioned. Dr. M's description of Pallava kingship is good so

far as it goes, but it is unfortunate that we should have to wait for the publication of her forthcoming work *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumal temple* for a detailed account of the election of king Nandivarman. Her explanation of the difficult term 'Videl Vidugu' (pp. 45 ff.) which she explains as 'despatched to the victorious bull-mark' is a notable contribution towards solving a perplexing problem of Pallava administration. The rise of self-governing village-assemblies which form a characteristic feature of Imperial Coḷa administration has been traced by Dr. M. from the time of Nandivarman onwards. Considering how this king owed his throne to popular election, it would be interesting to ask whether there was any causal connection between the two processes. Dr. M. duly notices the absence of a regular land-tax (p. 71) and the existence of royal farms and villages (p. 140) under the Pallavas, this last characteristic being shared by them with the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan. It was shown by the present writer in another place (*Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 34-38) that the same peculiarities were shared also by the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Śālaṅkāyanas of the Godāvarī tract and it was suggested that the Vākāṭaka inscriptions marked the beginnings of a land-revenue properly so-called in the Deccan and South India. Dr. M. (p. 140) speaks of a class of private land-lords enjoying full rights of alienation by gift and sale. In view of the importance of the subject, she would have done well in giving full quotations of the relevant texts. As it is, we are left in doubt whether a class of peasant proprietors may not after all be meant by the passages to which she refers. In any case, we have parallels in North India to the enjoyment of proprietary rights by private persons or bodies (For reference see *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 89-91). Dr. M. shows (p. 142) how Grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and temples amounting merely to usufructuary possession of the same were known to the Pallavas. In the work above-mentioned it has

been shown (pp. 9, 20) that such grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas are accompanied in the Smṛtis as well as the Arthaśāstra with full right of alienation. If Dr. M's statement (for which we have only indirect evidence) is based on fact, it would show that the Pallavas applied the traditional rule regarding the tenure of Brahmadāya lands more strictly than was warranted by the authorities. On the vexed question of the site of the ancient capital Dhanakaṭaka, Dr. M. prefers (p. 221) to follow the authority of Sewell who identifies it with modern Bezwada. The famous Purva-śaila and Avara-śaila monasteries to the east and west of the old capital are accordingly identified by her with the caves on the corresponding sides of the Bezwada hill. The authoress's arguments, however, do not appear to be very convincing, and the question must be regarded as still open. Dr. M's further statements in this connection (p. 223), viz. that Buddhism had taken deep root in the Deccan by the first century of the Christian era and that the Pāṇḍya country was a centre of Buddhism in the days of Aśoka appear to be unfortunate. In the chapter on Jaina seats of learning, Dr. M. says (p. 231) that Mahendravarman I after his conversion to Śaivism destroyed the famous Jaina monastery at Pāṭaliputra (preferably Pataliputtiram). But this statement rests on the testimony of the 12th century work *Periyāpurāṇam* and the Pallava referred to therein has been identified by another scholar with a local feudatory of the king (T. N. Ramachandran, 'The Royal Artist Mahendravarman I', *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1933, pp. 52-54). The chapters on music, dancing, and painting (Chaps. XVI-XIX) are well written and they contain a number of original suggestions and criticisms but we cannot account for the complete absence of descriptions of Pallava architecture and sculpture. The concluding chapter (Ch. XX) bearing the title '*Literature*' is a misnomer, as most of it is occupied with proving the identity of the Pallava king known to Sundaramūrti the Śivite saint with Nandivarman III (840-865 A.D.). It

is, to say the least, unfortunate that Bhāravi and Daṇḍin on the one side and the Tevaram composers on the other, should be dismissed in this chapter with the briefest notices.

We have noticed a few slips not mentioned in the errata at the end, which may be corrected in a later edition: 339-414 (p. 212), Mahāsāṅgikas (p. 219), a l'Histour (p. 220), Sthāvira school (p. 224).

We expect the young authoress to make many more contributions to the study of South Indian history, as this work shows signs of a high promise.

U. N. GHOSHAL

NADIR SHAH by L. Lockhart, London, Luzac 1938
344 pp.

This work is the result of an intensive study of a wide variety of documents. Unlike the Mughal or pre-Mughal sources the bulk of the author's materials consisted of printed papers, in various languages, and when one remembers the interest with which Europe watched Nadir's career and the consequent notices that he must have obtained in contemporary writings one is struck by the immense mass of literary matter confronting the author. Our author had perforce to confine himself only to the most important of the contemporary sources. They are however quite comprehensive and cover a considerably wide field, and if he could do no more than mention the existence of an yet unexplored class of materials, (p. 313) it does not detract from the value of the present work which, considering the caution he has exercised in arriving at his conclusions, is hardly likely to be in need of any drastic revision.

The book calls for very little criticism except that contrary to what is usually expected in a work of this kind, little or no attention has been paid to Nadir's governmental system. Although it is true that Nadir was never interested in the peace-time occupations of

administrative improvements, yet details of his "financial exactions" and the machinery set up for preparing the country for his frequent wars, would have increased the value of the work. The few paragraphs devoted to 'Nadir as Statesman and Ruler' are not only inadequate but contain only bare statements of a general nature. The account of his political and military career, however, is not only complete but brings out some very interesting details, as for example, how his frequent outbursts of inhuman cruelty during the later years were mainly due to a continued intestinal trouble which affected his temperament, and the consequence this had on the concluding part of his career (pp. 275-6). Of special interest are the sections on Nadir's invasion of India and the British and Russian attempts to extend their trade in his dominions. The bibliography, given in two sections, will be a great help to the student who may have the time and facility to consult the materials which Dr. Lockhart was unable to utilize.

A series of well-chosen photographs, maps and carefully compiled indices increase the usefulness of this scholarly work which, as Sir E. Denison Ross says in his Foreword, "is bound to hold its own as a standard authority."

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD b. TUGHLUQ by
A. Mahdi Husain, London, Luzac. 1938, xvii + 274 pp.

This is a critical study of that amazing man, Muhammad b. Tughluq whom Ibn Batuta called a 'freak of God'. Few sovereigns in human history have been so grossly misunderstood and misrepresented by their contemporaries. Fewer, still, possess a stronger claim to recognition by posterity for his brilliant natural gifts, and advanced political and religious views. One would hesitate to class him with Sher Shah or Akbar, since his achievements were practically nil and basic principles of his government were repudiated imme-

diately after his death, yet something more than mere sympathy is deserved by this man who with all the moral and material equipments of a great ruler—the author compares him with Al-Mammon of Baghdad—lived long enough to see his vast empire disintegrating from one end to the other.

A necessary amount of prudence and moderation was lacking in his otherwise exemplary character, and this has commonly been held responsible for his failure. While this is true enough there is another very important factor to which, I think for the first time, our attention is drawn in this book, and that is, the antagonism of the ecclesiastics which supplied a moral justification for rebellion, as Dr. Husain has summed it up admirably thus, "He roused the opposition of the *'Ulema* and in his attempt to reform them not only paralysed the right arm of the state but raked up hostilities before which he succumbed and his imperialism perished." By a careful analysis of the sources he has shown that Baranī and Ibn Batuta, who have been the only dependable authorities for the reign, had a concealed ideological bias against the Sultan. What the nature of this bias was we are able to know from two documents which he has discovered and utilised. One of them is the *Futuhus-Salatin* which he has edited and—was recently reviewed by me in these pages, and other, a portion of the Sultan's autobiography preserved in a copy of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in the British Museum. The latter is unfortunately extremely fragmentary but is sufficient to reveal his rationalism and opposition to the *'Ulema* and Saints whom "he had the audacity to treat like ordinary men". It is the point of view of these classes that Ibn Batuta, Baranī and Iṣāmī express. Baranī compared him with Nimrod and Pharaoh while Iṣāmī is more explicit when he tells us that "the Qāzis of the empire had declared war on the emperor and had approved of his execution."

This sectional outlook is responsible for most of the atrocity

stories circulated in connection with the so-called transfer of the capital. The class most affected and whom the Sultan desired to form the nucleus of a Muslim colony in the South was the '*Ulema* and the *Mashaikh*', the upper classes of Muslims, to which, unfortunately for him, all the contemporary writers either belonged or were morally attached. Nor is the reported destruction of Delhi anything more than mere propaganda, for the author has conclusively proved that it was never deserted but, on the contrary, continued to house the main Government departments and the bulk of the Muslim and the Hindu population.

Much of the prevalent misconceptions regarding Muhammad b. Tughluq seem to be due to the confused narrative of Barani who had the habit of taking great liberty with the sequence of events. Many of his acts, removed from their contexts, have thus appeared unintelligible, and been regarded as strange whims of a crazy mind. But Dr. Husain has proved that his motives were by no means irrational and the chronological order which he has very laboriously established shows that most of his 'schemes' had an understandable cause behind them. His alliance with Tarmashirin, the Sunni ruler of Transoxiana against the Shiah Il-Khans of Persia early in his reign and the raising of an army for the projected joint invasion of Khorasan were followed by his attempts to establish a Muslim stronghold in the South with a view to bring that part of the empire under closer control before he embarked on a foreign expedition. The maintenance of this huge army and its ultimate disbandment, when something like a diplomatic revolution in Central Asia, rendered the expedition pointless, created financial and political difficulties which led to the token currency and the enhancement of the land revenue. The discontent thus caused was aggravated by a widespread famine, and fanned by the disaffected '*Ulema*, it resulted in a series of political and agrarian revolts, and the Sultan's ruthless persecution of the rebels only increased the general hostility.

According to the author, the last decade was marked by a new policy aimed at conciliating and regaining the consent and support of the people, and to this he ascribes the successful application for investiture by the Abbaside Caliph of Egypt, an emphatic return to, and insistence on, the orthodox practices of Islam and the introduction of a new code of economic and administrative reforms. Unfortunately for him, the opposition he had provoked proved too deep, and his replacement of the experienced officials by untried, "low-born" men to work the new reforms, whom he, in turn, drove to rebellion by his severe punishments for their failure to produce the expected results, only led to further trouble, and the last five years of his life were spent in futile pursuits of one rebel after another.

The book is thus a scholarly contribution to Indian history and should long remain the standard work on the subject. Disagreements on some of the author's conclusions may, however, still remain, but by exhaustively discussing all the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidences,—and at times, his constant citing of authorities makes tedious reading—he has certainly been able to reduce the margin of any such possible difference of opinion. The chapter on the Coinage, though necessarily based on Edward Thomas and the studies of Nelson Wright, is yet an able summary of the monetary system of this "Prince of moneyers." Considering the uniqueness of the Sultan's autobiography, scholars will be grateful to the author for the facsimile reproduction appended to the book.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

MAHĀKAVI-KṚTTIVĀSA-VIRACITA RĀMĀYAṆA, (Ādikāṇḍa), edited by Dr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. Dacca University Oriental Texts Publication Series, No. 4. Published by Dr. P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Secretary, Oriental Texts Publication Committee, University of Dacca.

We have here a critical edition of a portion of a well-known and immensely popular medieval Bengali work—the earliest known version of the Rāmāyaṇa in Bengali (15th century). The edition is based on as many as ten manuscripts belonging to different parts of Bengal and illustrating the inconceivable changes, accessions and omissions, undergone by the work like other popular works, in its passage through several centuries and various hands. The oldest of these manuscripts—as a matter of fact, the oldest known MS. of the entire work of Kṛttivāsa—is dated 1571 Ś.E. (= 1649 A.D.). The text as found in this MS. has been generally adopted in the edition, while of the numerous deviations noticed in the other MSS., the principal ones have either been incorporated in the text or indicated in the foot-notes. The text thus given in the edition marks a distinct improvement on those available in the market, and is supposed to represent a very near approach to the genuine text of Kṛttivāsa, in so far as it was possible to be reconstructed with the available materials. Much useful information (e.g., a description of the manuscript material, an account of the author as well as of other minor poets extracts from whose works have not infrequently been interpolated in the original text, a discussion of the nature and merits of the popular editions and a note on the problems concerning the reconstruction of the genuine text) find place in the Introduction. The major portion of the Introduction, having been meant for popular journals in which it was originally published, is diffuse and is written in a more or less popular style. The glossary of old and obsolete words found in the text, with an indication of their meanings, given at the end of the volume, is useful. The

text on the whole bears testimony to the arduous and patient labour devoted to the work by the learned editor. We hope he will not lack the energy and encouragement for completing the whole work. Students of Bengali literature will be indebted to Dr. Bhattasali as well as to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Mr. Harekrishna Mukherji (who have published a critical edition of the songs of the famous Vaiṣṇava poet Caṇḍidāsa) for paving the way for dealing with medieval popular texts in Bengali in a scientific and critical fashion.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

JAINA-SIDDHĀNTA-KAUMUDĪ by the Jaina Muni Ratnacandra-ji, published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahore, pp. Super Royal Octavo xii + 411.

This is a grammar of the Ardhamāgadhi Prakrit written in Sanskrit sūtras after the well-known Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It also contains author's introduction and commentary to the sūtras, in Sanskrit. Besides this the grammar is furnished with a dhātupāṭha, a sūtra-pāṭha and an alphabetical index of the sūtras. Though the Ardhamāgadhi has been the language of the canonical literature of the Śvetāmbara Jains it had no complete grammar up to the present time. Hemacandra the celebrated grammarian of Prakrit for reasons best known to him did not care to treat this important dialect of Prakrit in his grammar. Hence the volume under review came to us as a pleasant surprise. We have gone through it with great care and are very glad to say that it has removed to a considerable extent a great want of Prakritists. Muni Ratnacandraji is already well-known to them for his very excellent work in connexion with the Ardhamāgadhi Dictionary. His name should be a guarantee to the accuracy of everything treated in the grammar.

It can be confidently hoped that students of Jain canons will

derive much help from this volume. To a student of the historical grammar of Prakrit also this volume will be of great use. Being in the model of a Sanskrit grammar, the present volume, very clearly brings out the points of similarity between Skt. and AMg. Besides this the difference between the so-called Mahārāṣṭri Pkt. and AMg. has been discussed in the introduction to this work.

From all this it can be said that the Jain Siddhāntakaumudī has been a very useful publication of Mr. Mehar Chand Lachhman Das. He as well as the learned author of the volume is to be congratulated on its production.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

EDITION DE LA PREMIERE ŚĀKHĀ DU PRĀKRṬA-KALPATĀRU DE RĀMAŚARMAN par Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1939, pages Super Royal 8vo. xiii + 94.

This small volume is from the hands of the late Mme. Nitti-Dolci whose premature death has removed from amongst Prakritists a very earnest and promising student. In this she has edited for the first time the first *śākhā* of the *Prākṛṭa-kalpātāru* of Rāmaśarman except its eighth *stavaka* which was discussed earlier by Sir George A. Grierson (*Mem Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, VIII, 2. pp. 77-170). The two other *śākhās* also have been edited by him in the *Indian Antiquary* (1923, 1927-28) and the Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume (1925). Hence the present volume completes the edition of Rāmaśarman's Pkt. Grammar. Though this grammar does not contain almost anything that does not occur in Mārkaṇḍeya's or Hemacandra's work yet in some minor details it gives new information. For example in I. 6, 13; II. 11; V. 3, 24; VI. 2. 34 Rāmaśarman differs to some extent from other grammarians of Pkt.

As the present edition has been prepared from the unique and not very correct Ms., in some few cases correct reading has been missed but it will not diminish the usefulness of the work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH CENTENARY VOLUME

This volume is a souvenir on the first century of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death. The Editors inform us that it does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the life and work of the great Maharaja. But they claim that 'some of the topics dealt with in the present volume are quite new and it is hoped that they will lead to a new orientation of the appraisal of the Maharaja's achievements.' Undoubtedly the chapters on civil administration, taxation, agriculture and irrigation give details that are interesting and useful and add considerably to our knowledge of the history of the period. At the same time we must confess that a careful perusal of this book leaves a feeling of disappointment behind. Most of the other chapters are either rapid surveys containing facile generalisations or mere repetitions of what has been written elsewhere. The paper of Mr. Kohli on the military system is taken almost bodily from his articles in the *Journal of Indian History*. The chapters on the 'Consolidation of the misls', 'Relations with the British', 'North-west frontier policy' should not have been of such a general nature. These very essential features of Ranjit Singh's work deserved a less stereotyped and a more original treatment.

When a writer does not try to verify his statements of facts in the light of original sources and is intent only upon making general statement for the sake of effect, his conclusions are bound to be vitiated by his preconceived views. Prof. Sayad Abdul Qadir writes "Ranjit Singh was conscious of the handicaps that circumstances had placed upon his power and he made the best of a bad bargain. He saved himself, his kingdom and his people from untimely death, while Tipu Sultan perhaps wrongly lost the opportunity of not only perpetuating his dynasty but also of establishing a second centre of Islamic culture and civilization in the South. With Mysore (in the South) and Oudh (in the North) in Muslim hands, the idea of Pakistan—the gospel of despair—would not have found favour with

the Mussalmans.' But in view of the fact that Ranjit Singh's kingdom was absorbed in 1849, only a decade after his death, what justification can there be for saying that he saved his kingdom and his people from untimely death. This is a historical claptrap and not a balanced historical judgment.

We read in p. 255 that Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent stalwart Sikhs with their families to settle in the frontier districts; they founded cities and garhis and became the neighbours and friends of the Pathians. There was no interference with their religious or social liberties.—But such important statements of facts require to be substantiated by reference to the original sources from which they have been drawn. We are surprised to find that many such statements have been made and the cautious student will naturally ask 'what is the source of information?'

N. K. SINHA

DIE YAJUŚ DES AŚVAMEDHA by Dr. Shrikrishna Bhawe, Professor of Baroda College (Bonner Orientalische Studien, edited by P. Kahle and W. Kirfel, No. 25); published by W. Kohlhammer; Stuttgart, 1939; pages 135.

Dr. Bhawe has earned the gratitude of all students of the Śruti literature by publishing this edition of the Yajus relating to the Horse-sacrifice. He has successfully reconstructed the *mantras* from the sections of the *Yajurveda* in the tradition of the five different schools. A thorough and systematic study of the *Yajurveda* is of utmost importance for the proper understanding of the very complicated Karmakāṇḍa, and the book under review is a happy move in that direction. It may be hoped that the learned author will not stop with his study of the sections relating to Aśvamedha, but would also give us similar critical editions of other sections of the *Yajurveda*.

In part I the author gives a comparative study of the traditional text of the Y. V. Schools dealing with the Aś. Yajus; the position of the Aś. Yajus in the different Samhitās such as *Taittiriya*, *Kathaka*, *Vajasaneyi* and *Maitrāyaṇi*; the rituals to be performed in an Aśvamedha; the order of the *mantras* and the succession of the rituals in the above Samhitās; criticism of the Yajus on a comparison of the texts; interpretation of the essentials of the Aśvamedha, etc.

Part II of the work gives the text of the Yajus relating to the Aśvamedha on a comparative study of the different Samhitās.

Some of the author's conclusions are interesting (e.g. when he observes that the Aś. Yajus sections are comparatively later, p. 69). We may not, however, fully agree with Dr. Bhawe in all cases (cf. his criticism of Kopper's views regarding the fertility motif of the Aś., p. 66 f.). Nevertheless, we recommend this excellent work to all lovers of Vedic studies.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

MALAY by Swami Sadananda with a foreword by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Lit.D.

Researches of a number of scholars into the domain of expansion of Aryan culture outside India have shown how Indian culture spread beyond the shores of India. Swami Sadananda has in his own unpretentious way thrown light on the trail of Hindu culture towards the Eastern regions. The present monograph on Malay is a welcome addition to his previous publications on Greater India. In the first chapter Swamiji has shown how the Indo-Malayan affinity dates back to the pre-Aryan days. His suggestion that Suvarṇabhūmi of the Sanskrit Epic might in all probability refer to this eastern peninsula of Asia receives corroboration from further researches. The history of Malacca of old has been carefully prepared from the diversified reports of Chinese envoys and the memoranda of traders and travellers of different races. The equation of

many administrative terms with their Sanskrit equivalents is interesting. As a travel diary, the book provides a pleasant reading and it should encourage men with greater resources and competency to dive deep into the intricate subject of Aryan expansion in the east.

R. N. SARKAR

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY ABROAD by Kalidas Nag M.A., D.Litt. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1937. Pp. ix + 125 with 20 plates.

Invited by the Institute of International Education, New York to deliver a series of lectures on Indian Art and Archæology as Visiting Professor and by the League of Nations, Geneva to study from within the Intellectual Co-operation and other activities of the League as a temporary Collaborator, Dr. Nag went abroad in 1930-31. The present monograph is presented in the form of a report intended primarily for Indian students desiring to specialize in art and archæology in the research centres of Europe and America.

A rough survey is given here of almost all the institutions and schools, academies and museums, pertaining to the above subjects, in the Near East, Europe and the Americas with special reference to Greece, Italy, France, the U.S.A. and the Latin States of South America. Like a true pilgrim Dr. Nag wandered through the corridors of time so graphically documented with the inspiring relics of ancient Athens and Delphi, the priceless treasures of the Vatican Rome, the staggering wealth of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the superb collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and intriguing records of the Aztec and the Inca.

Speaking of the Museum Movement in the West, the author pointedly brings to our notice that there are now about 8,000

museums in the world. Of these about 6,500 are in Europe and the U.S.A. In the East, Japan naturally leads with more than 160 museums, followed closely by China and Soviet Russia. "But India with historical and archæological sites far exceeding in number and importance showed a really poor record of 90 only after five centuries of European contact and more than three centuries of relation with Britain." America has realised the great import of museums as a deciding factor in modern public education as no progressive country ever has. Her record is simply amazing. We read that in 1929-30, during the worst phase of the world depression 52 public museums were started i.e. "one new museum every fortnight which is slightly higher than the average rate for the past ten years or one museum every 16 days."

A representative group of illustrations, wisely selected and well reproduced, greatly enhances the value of this interesting monograph.

D. P. GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XVII, pars IV

- F. B. J. KNIPER.—*Altindisch abhyasa-h, Studium, Gewohnheit usw.* 'Sṛbinda (Rs VII, 32, 2) und Bindā.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

vol. XIX, pt. IV (July, 1939)

- P. K. GODE.—*The Antiquity of Hindoo Nose-ornament called 'Nath.'* Various branches of literature, accounts of foreign observers, and old portrayals of female figures have been used to show that the nose-ornament 'Nath' was in vogue in India about 1000 A.C. The evidence, however, it is stated, goes against the theory that the ornament was a Muslim importation into this country.
- S. K. BELVALKAR.—*The Bhagavadgītā 'Riddle' unriddled.* The number of stanzas found in the current text of the *Bhagavadgītā* does not exactly answer to the traditional description of its extent which is said to have covered 745 ślokaś. An explanation is suggested as to how the traditional number could have been arrived at by the inclusion of the *Gītāsāra* in the *Gītā* proper.
- B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*The Post-Madhva Period.* The writer deals here with the lives and works of some of Madhvācārya's immediate disciples and early followers that have figured in the history of Dvaita literature on the Vedānta philosophy.
- H. R. KAPADIA.—*A Detailed Exposition of the Nāgarī, Gujarātī and Moḍī Scripts.*

Archiv Orientalni, vol. XI, no. 1 (June, 1939)

- G. BONFANTE.—*Civilisation indo-européenne et civilisation hittite.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. X, pt. 1 (1939)

LOUIS RENOU.—*Sur certains emplois d' 'a(n)'° priv. en sanskrit, et notamment dans le R̥gveda.*

L. ALSDORF.—*Middle Indian Miscellanies.* The correctness of forms and the accuracy of meanings of several Middle Indian words in Apabhram̐śa have been discussed in three brief notes.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Some English Loan-words in Gujarati.*

Calcutta Police Journal, vol. I, no. 1 (Summer, 1939)

JADUNATH SARKAR.—*The Police in the Mughul Empire of Delhi.* The system of police administration in the larger cities of the Mughul Empire was under the control of the *Kotwal* exercising his power over a smaller sphere than the modern Commissioner of Police in British India. Offences against moral and religious laws were punished by another officer, while crimes committed in gangs, and risings against the state were dealt with by the military. The ideal of a *Kotwal's* duties as recorded in a *farman* issued by Akbar has been described in the paper.

S. N. MUKHERJEE.—*The Ancient Panja and Modern Finger Prints System.*

NARENDRA NATH LAW.—*Policing Old and New.*

B. C. LAW.—*Crimes in Ancient India.* Criminal acts of diverse nature and measures adopted to restrain them in ancient India previous to the beginning of the Christian era have been discussed.

Calcutta Review, August, 1939

KRISHNAGOPAL GOSWAMI.—*Question of Promiscuity in Ancient India.* The institution of marriage, whether evolved out of promiscuity or co-existing with the very infancy of the human race, is known to have been prevalent in India from the earliest

times. The *Mahābhārata* legend about Uddālaka Śvetaketu ordaining the institution has no evidentiary value.

Ibid., September, 1939

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI.—*Bead Ornaments of Ancient India.*

Hindustan Review, July, 1939

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.—*The Teachings of the Buddha.*

LAJPUT RAI NAIR.—*Ranjit Singh—The Great Soldier-Statesman.*

SHEIKH IFTAKHAR RASOOL.—*Mohen-Jo-Daro: Mound of the Dead.*

Jaina-siddhānta-bhāskara, vol. VI, no. 2

BHUJABALI SASTRI.—क्या वादीभसिंह अकलंक देव के समकालीन हैं ? (*Was Vādibhasimha a contemporary of Akalaṃkadeva?*). Epigraphic evidence has been adduced to show that Vādibhasimha, a Jain scholar of high attainments, flourished about the latter half of the 11th century A.C. The supposition that he was a contemporary of Akalaṃkadeva of the 7th century should therefore be abandoned.

NEMICHANDRA JAIN.—आचार्य नेमिचन्द्र और ज्योतिष-शास्त्र (*The Savant Nemichandra and the Science of Astronomy*). By a discussion of the Astronomical topics found in the *Trilokasara* of Nemichandra, it has been shown here that the author had acquired a deep knowledge of the science of Astronomy.

S. R. TATACHARYA.—दाक्षिणात्य जैनधर्म (*Jainism in the Deccan*). The paper, originally a lecture in English, is a Hindi rendering of the same by M. Vardhamana Hemade.

PARAMANANDA JAIN.—आचार्य वादिराज और उनकी रचनाएँ (*Vadiraja and his Writings*). The article describes briefly the works of Vādirāja, a great Jain scholar of the 11th century A.C.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 59, no. 2 (June, 1939)

F. EDGERTON.—*The Epic Triṣṭubh and its Hypermetric Varieties.*

- M. B. EMENEAU.—*Was there Cross-cousin Marriage among the Śākya?* There is no evidence in Buddhist literature to prove that the cross-cousin marriage was in vogue among the Śākyas. The hypothesis that the hostility between the Buddha and Nanda on one side and Devadatta on the other was based on a "joking-relationship" between cross-cousins is unwarranted. "The cross-cousin type of kinship between the Buddha and Devadatta is in all probability merely a Sinhalese fabrication."

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. VIII, no. 3 (June, 1939)

- R. RAMANUJACHARI AND K. SRINIVASACHARYA.—वेदार्थसंग्रहः. The *Vedārthasamgraha* of Rāmānuja is being edited with English translation and notes.
- V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI AND K. A. SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRI.—मण्डनमिश्रविरचितो भावनाविवेकः नारायणकृतया विषमग्रन्थमेदिकाख्यया व्याख्यया संवलितः. The *Bhāvanāviveka*, a treatise by the great Mīmāṃsā writer Mandana, has been edited with a commentary.

Journal of the Assam Research Society,
vol. VII, no. 2 (July, 1939)

- K. L. BARUA.—*Pre-historic Culture in Assam*.
- R. M. NATH.—*Lui-pada and Matsyendra Nātha*. Lui-pada, the well known mystic of the Buddhist-Tantric School, and Matsyendra, the great Siddha of the Nātha order, are regarded by some as one and the same person. The writer of the paper has discussed the arguments put forward for and against this identification and shown his inclination to believe that the two masters were different, Matsyendra flourishing before Lui-pāda.
- K. L. BARUA.—*Were there Indian Colonists from Assam in Indo-China?* It has been suggested in the paper that "the Alpines, as represented originally by their priests the Nagar-Brahmans,

were the first torch-bearers of culture and civilisation not only in Eastern India but also in Burma and Indo-China."

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXV, part II (June, 1939)

E. H. C. WALSH.—*Notes on Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins (one found at Ramna and one at Machhuatoli in the vicinity of Patna).* The coins of the Ramna hoard are without any Mauryan mark on the reverse, while some of the Machhuatoli coins, issued originally without the mark, have been stamped with it at a later time.

KALIKINKAR DATTA.—*Some Unpublished Letters Relating to the Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the Beginning of the 19th Century.*

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्तिः. The edition of the Vṛtti on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* is being continued.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. VI, no. 2 (July, 1939)

WILHELM GEIGER.—*Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon.*

NIHAR RANJAN RAY.—*Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma.*

BATA KRISHNA GHOSH.—*Recent Researches on Indo-European Fauna.*

B. R. CHATTERJEE.—*Recent Advances in Kambuja Studies.*

Journal of the Madras University, vol. XI, no. 2 (July, 1939)

P. NAGARAJA RAO.—*The Religion of the Gita.*

M. A. SARADAMBAL.—*History and Development of the Musical Compositions of South India.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Letters, vol. IV, 1938, no. 1

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.—*The Dialects of the Khasāli Group.*

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*The Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terracotta Figurines*. This is a summary of all articles, hitherto published, on ancient Indian terracotta figurines.

M. B. EMENEAU.—*Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs*.

Ibid., vol. IV, 1938, no. 2

NARES C. SEN GUPTA.—*Putrikā-putra, or the Appointed Daughter's Son in Ancient Law*.

H. BEVERIDGE.—*On Tamerlane*.

N. B. RAY.—*Interesting Side-light on Firuz Shah Tughlaq's Expedition to Tatta*.

S. K. BANERJI.—*The Quwat-ul-Islam or the Oldest Mosque in Delhi*.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,
July, 1939

A. J. ARBERRY.—*Hand-List of Islamic Manuscripts acquired by the India Office Library, 1936-8*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIII, pt. 1 (January-March, 1939)

K. R. VENKATARAMAN.—*The Jains in Puddukōṭṭai*. Vestiges discovered in the shape of caverns, temples, images and epigraphs show that Jainism flourished in the region now included in the State of Puddukōṭṭai from the early Christian era till about the 14th century A.C.

S. SUBRAHMANYAN.—*The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka: A Study of its First Prapāṭhaka*.

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*Some More Dūtakāvya in Sanskrit*. A dozen of the less known 'messenger-poems' written in imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghasandēśa* have been described.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM.—*The Later Cōlas.—Their Decline and Fall*.

—.—*Local Government in Ancient India*. Epigraphic evidence is available showing the existence of self-governing

institutions in South India in ancient times. Four inscriptions containing detailed information about the working of the village assemblies (*sabhā*) have been discussed in this note.

P. K. GODE.—*The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Kāvya-prakāśa*. (Dated Wednesday, 18th October, 1158).

R. N. SALETOR.—*Sambhāji in Karnāṭaka*.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Bhāgavata and the Bhagavad-Gītā*.—An investigation into the question whether the Kashmiri recension of the *Gītā* was known to the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* shows that the latter knew only the Vulgate of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

—.—*The Yogavāsistha and the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Place of the Origin of the Yogavāsistha*. Parallels in words and ideas culled from the *Gītā* and the *Yogavāsistha* prove that the *Yogavāsistha* used a text of the *Gītā* which was a mix-up of the Kashmiri recension and the Vulgate. As Kashmir only could have been the provenance of such a mixed text, it was possibly the place of origin of the *Yogavāsistha*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, (History, Economics and Sociology: No. 15), vol. VII, pt. 1 (July, 1939)

G. S. GHURYE.—*Two Old Sites in Kathiawar*. Objects like pieces of pottery, metal and beads found at the ancient sites of the village of Rangpur and the town of Vala in Kathiawar have been described.

B. D. VERMA.—*Ādil Shāhī Epigraphy in the Deccan*.

Modern Review, August, 1939

GIRISH PRASHAD MATHUR.—*Maharaja Ranjit Singh: A Study*.

Ibid., September, 1939

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS.—*Significance of Durgā, Śiva and Kālī*. The birth, marriage and death of Durgā are only different representations of the Hindu Eclipse. Śiva is a personification

of eternal time and his wife Kālī signifies in a figurative way the period of calamity, pestilence and war.

Nagpur University Journal, No. 4 (December, 1938)

JWALA PRASAD.—*Philosophy of the Prajñāpāramitās. Sūnyatā and Tatbatā* as described in the Prajñāpāramitā literature of the Buddhists point to an absolute ultimate reality and has nothing to do with the theory of negation or nihilism.

SANT LAL KATARE.—*The Rise of the Hoysaḷas*. The paper deals with the beginning of the Hoysaḷa power that dominated the southern part of the Deccan from the 11th century for about 350 years.

Nāgaripracārīṇī Patrikā, vol. 44, no. 2 ((Śrāvāṇa, Samvat 1996)

PITAMBARDATTA BARATHWAL.—प्राचीन हस्तलिखित हिंदी ग्रंथों का खोज का चौदहवाँ त्रैवार्षिक विवरण (The Fourteenth Triennial Report of the Search for Ancient Hindi Manuscripts).

SALIGRAM SRIVASTAV.—सिकंदर का भारत पर आक्रमण (Alexander's Invasion of India).

RAJENDRASINGH.—काश्मीर का सूर्य-मंदिर (The Sun Temple of Kashmir.)

Osmania Magazine, vol. XII, nos. 1 & 2 (1939)

SYED BAQIR RIZA WASTI.—*Warren Hastings*.

Poona Orientalist, vol. IV, nos. 1 & 2 (April-July, 1939)

LAKSMANA ŚANKARA BHATTA DRAVIDA.—*The Mode of Singing the Sāma Gāna*.

HAR DUTT SARMA.—*An Unpublished Inscription of the Paramāras*. The inscription edited here with English translation records a grant made by Haricandradeva of the Paramāra family of Dhāra on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in 1157 A.C.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Some More References to Kautilya in*

Later Literature. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Vāmaṇa and Jayāditya's *Kāśikā*, Vardhamāna's *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* and Śāṅkara's commentary on the *Harsacarita* have references to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Post-Vyāsarāya Polemics.*

M. HIRIANN.—*Advaitic Conception of Time.*

P. K. GODE.—*The Nature and Contents of a Lost Medical Treatise by Kharanāda or Khāraṇādi.* References to and quotations from a treatise by Khāraṇādi found in various works, specially in the *Āyurvedasāyana* of Hemadri lead to the inference that it was a metrical composition on medicine written before A.C. 1150.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXX, no. 1

M. S. KAUL.—*Report of Gilgit Excavation in 1933.*

V. SRINIVASAN.—*India and Old Ceylon.*

K. N. V. SASTRI.—*Some Particulars relating to Tipu Sultan, His Revenue, Establishment of Troops etc.*

Sahitya-parisat-patrika, vol. 45, no. 4

BENI MADHAB BARUA.—ভেলসংহিতার প্রাচীনত্ব ও বিশেষত্ব (The Antiquity and Importance of the *Bhelasambhita*).

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.—ভারতের মানব ও মানব-সমাজ (Man and Society in India).

SAJANIKANTA DAS.—বাংলা গদ্যের প্রথম যুগ (Beginnings of Bengali Prose).

Young East, vol. 8, no. 2 (1939)

RASTRAPAL SANDILYAYANA.—*Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture.*

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 93, Heft 1

HEINRICH LÜDERS.—*Die Vidyādhara in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst.*

PAUL THIEME.—*Indische Wörter und Sitten.*

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No. 4

New Light on the History of Bengal*

It was in the year 1928, while working on the *Dynastic History of Northern India* that I first fully realized that the political power of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar during the period c. 950 to c. 1150 A.D. has been considerably exaggerated by previous writers. The position was summed up by me as follows:—

"We can now understand why the name of the Pālas was omitted by the Musalman writers from the list of princes, who according to (some of) them, were active in opposing the rising tide of Islam in Northern India. It was not Mahipāla's asceticism or his envy and religious bigotry, that prevented his name from figuring in the lists of the Muslim chroniclers among the opponents of the Yaminis. It was their position as rulers of a comparatively small and decadent principality in the north-east of India, a position that was much too humble to be even compared with that of Dharmapāla, which prevented them from taking any intelligent interest or playing any ambitious role in pan-Indian affairs."¹

The position taken up by me has recently received support from Dr. R. C. Majumdar who writes:—"We may therefore postulate a collapse of the Pāla authority in Bengal during the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D."² He has shown that the power of the Pālas went on declining till the

* Read before the History section of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum, 1937.

¹ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press, vol. I, 1931, p. 324.

² *The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahipāla II, and other revolts in Bengal*, p. 9.

middle of the eleventh century A.D. when the "Pala sovereignty was crumbling to dust."³

The recent discovery of a copper-plate grant at Irda⁴ in the district of Balasore, Orissa seemed to strengthen the above view. It records the grant of land in *Dandabhukti-maṇḍala* and *Vardhamanabhukti* by *P.-Pb.-M.-Nayapāladeva* son of the *Kamuo (mbo) javamśa-tilaka Paramasaugato-M.-Pb.-Śrī-Rājyapāladeva*. Dr. Majumdar suggested that these rulers held power "roughly speaking, in the southern part of the present Burdwan Division, with territories probably extending as far south as the Subarnarekhā river".⁵ The editor of the grant as well Dr. Majumdar were at first inclined to accept these rulers as belonging to a different branch of the Kāmbojas, a section of which is referred to as ruling in Gauḍa by a pillar inscription amongst the ruins of Bāṅgaḍ, in the district of Dinajpur in North Bengal.⁶ The latter scholar further pointed out, "the fact that the ruler of Dandabhukti, in Rajendra Cola's time, was named Dharmapāla, probably shows that the Kāmboja line of rulers, whose names end in Pāla, were still ruling there. There is a reference in a Cola record that Rājendra Cola received a stone image from a Kāmboja king, and the reference may be to the Kāmboja ruler of Dandabhukti."⁷ Thus the new facts revealed by the Irda Plate seemed to fit in with the conclusion we have already arrived at about the weakness of the later Pālas. We are familiar with the assumption of high-sounding titles by the Candras and the Varmans of East Bengal. This inscription shows that the Kāmboja princes of West Bengal also assumed imperial titles.

Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the editor of the grant, later on somewhat modified his opinion. He was inclined to identify the Kām-

3 *The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahipāla II, and other revolts in Bengal* p. 12.

4 Edited by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, *El.*, vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.

5 *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

6 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 308.

7 *Op. Cit.*, p. 9, fn. 1. I came independently to the same conclusion.

boja-varṁsatilaka Rājyapāla with the Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty, on the ground among others that both have the epithets *Parama-saugata-P. Pb. M.* and the wife of both is called Bhāgyadevī.⁸ He did not also think it improbable that the Pālas and the Kāmbojas were identical. Another scholar Dr. D. C. Sircar⁹ though accepting the identity of the two Rājyapālas, demurs to the proposal to identify the Kāmbojas with the Pālas. He identifies these two Rājyapālas with the *Kāmbojānvayaja Gaudapati* of the Bāṅgaḍ Pillar inscription and explains the epithets referring to Kāmboja origin as due to birth through a Kāmboja mother. Dr. Sircar agrees with Dr. Majumdar in accepting the epithet *Kuñjaraghatavarṣa*¹⁰ of the Bāṅgaḍ Pillar inscription as a *viruda* but the former thinks it to have been a title of the Pāla prince, Rājyapāla.

The arguments of scholars who are inclined to identify the two Rājyapālas seem to be based on the following grounds:—

- (i) Mother's tribal or dynastic name is sometimes affixed to the name of her children.
- (ii) The script of the Irda and Bāṅgaḍ pillar inscription generally agrees with that of the inscription of the Pāla Rājyapāla.
- (iii) Names of the princes are the same and so also the names of their queens.
- (iv) Religious (*Parama-saugata*) and imperial titles are same.
- (v) Discrepancies in the genealogical tables revealed by the Pāla and Irda grants are not insurmountable.

In this connection we must remember that though we have numerous Pāla inscriptions and though Pāla records frequently refer to the names of the queens and also sometimes to their lineage and

8 *Modern Review*, Calcutta, September, 1937, pp. 323-24.

9 *Ibid.*, October, 1937, pp. 440-41. Also *Kāyastha Patrikā*, Srāvan, 1344, pp. 111-13.

10 *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.; Sircar, *Modern Review*, October, 1937, pp. 440-441.

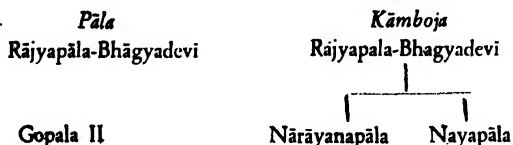
their fathers' dynastic appellations, we have nowhere any reference to any matrimonial relations with the Kāmbojas. Point two in itself proves nothing but taken with point three it shows that princes who had similar names, titles, and wives' names lived about the same period. But we have instances of princes who ruled separately in adjoining territories about the same period having same names,¹¹ and at least one instance where the name of the wife was also the same.¹² About the fourth point one can point out that not only did the princes of the Irda plate assume imperial and *saugata* titles, but the Candras just across the river Padma in East Bengal also did the same.

The discrepancies in the genealogical table,¹³ though not insurmountable to one who is inclined to accept the identity of the princes, seem real. When we add to this the differences noticed by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in the Dharmacakra seals of the Kāmbojas of the Irda grant and the Pāla plates,¹⁴ the existence of princes with Pala names in Dandabhukti at the time of Rajendra Coḷa's expedition, the lack of harmony with the known facts about

¹¹ Compare the imperial Pratihāra names—Mahipāla (c. 914-43), Devapala (948-49) and Rājyapāla (1018) with the Pāla—Mahipāla (c. 992-1040), Devapala (815-54) and Rājyapāla (c. 911-35).

¹² Compare the Gupta names—Samudragupta and Dattadevi with Samudra-varman and Dattadevi of the Assam Dynasties, See *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol., I, 238.

¹³ Compare—



¹⁴ The Irda Seal contains the beaded circle with raised rim containing in the upper half the Dharmacakra on a pedestal surmounted by an umbrella and with a couchant deer on each side, while the lower half bears the name of the donor. Unlike the Pāla seals, its lower portion does not intrude into the first few lines of the inscription, nor is it pointed at the top like those of the plates of the Palas and the Candras, See *El.*, vol. XXII, p. 150.

Pāla decadence if we assume a powerful Rājyapāla with an extensive kingdom,¹⁵ we have to be very cautious in accepting the proposed identification. I can only suggest that we must wait for more definite proof before we can say that the Pālas were Kāmbojas or that the two Rājyapālas and the *Gaṇḍapati* of the Baṅgaḍ Pillar inscription are identical, or that the Pālas were matrimonially connected with the Kāmbojas or even that the Rājyapāla of the Irda grant and that of the Bargaon Pillar inscription were one and the same. For the time being I am inclined tentatively to accept the view of Dr. Majumdar that the Irda Rājyapāla was a chief of the Kāmboja tribe and as such distinct from the Pālas.

In conclusion I want to point out that Tibetan tradition identifies the Lushai Hill tracts between Bengal and Burma with Eastern Kāmboja.¹⁶ If this identification can be maintained, then my theory expressed elsewhere¹⁷ that the Kāmbojas possibly came from the east may not sound altogether absurd. But I must admit however that they might have also come from the North-west as mercenaries and then grown into petty military barons and ultimately into independent chiefs by successful rebellions. This view might be combined with the suggestion that they might have originally come with the armies of the Pratiharas into North and West Bengal from the Punjab region. Like the Gurkha and Baluchi regiments of the British power in India they might have been transferred to the North-east for the protection of that frontier. With the decline of Pratihāra power they did not leave Bengal but on the contrary taking advantage of the prevailing confusion transformed themselves into petty chiefs. From this position to that of independent rank is an easy step.

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15 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 304 ff.

16 The Tibetan work *Pag-sam-jon-zang*. See *El.*, vol. XXII, pp. 150ff.

17 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 308-09.

Gaṅgadāsa, the author of the Chandomanjari and his Works

Aufrecht¹ makes the following entry in his Catalogue about Gaṅgādāsa and his works:—"गंगादास sometimes called Gaṅgadhara, pupil of Gaṅgādāsa and Purusottama.

—*Acyutacaritakāvya*,² quoted Oxf. 198b.

—*Chandomanjari*.³

Of the two works viz. *Acyutacarita*, of which no MSS are available, and *Chandomanjari*, the latter is a very popular work, having undergone many editions with commentaries.⁴ Mr. Krishnama-

¹ *Cat. Catalogorum*, I, 137a.

² *Ibid.*, I, 5—"अच्युतचरित" by Gaṅgādāsa. Mentioned Oxf. 198b" No MSS. of *Acyutacarita* have been recorded by Aufrecht.

³ Aufrecht records the following MSS of *Chandomanjari*:—

CC, I, 192a=IO 584, 1491, 1715; Oxf. 198b, Paris (B 84). B 3. 60. Tub. 19. Oudh IX, 8, XIV, 40. Burnell 53a, Oppert 643, 981, ii, 1065, 5498, 8212.

CC II, 39a=BL 299. Oudh XXI, 90. XXI, 72. Stein 55. Often quoted by Lakṣminātha on *Prākṛtapīṅgalā*.

Ibid, 200a= कृन्दोमञ्जरी by Gaṅgādāsa son of Gopaladāsa. Ulwar 1098.

CC III, 416=AK 714, 715, AS p. 65. IL (two MSS). Lz 816 (tr.) Peters 5, 452, 6, 383 (and C).

⁴ The work has been edited many times in India. I shall refer in this paper to the Calcutta Edition of 1915 published by Jānakinātha Kāvya-tīrtha (Text with Comm. of Gurunātha Vidyānidhi Bhattachārya and a *Vaṅgānuvāda*). The *Union List of Indic Texts in American Libraries* by M. B. Emeaneu, 1935 records only one edition of this work:—"[Text in Roman characters by] Hermann Brockhaus BSGW 6 (1854)." In this *Union List* Nos. 2220 to 2246 record the editions of works on Prosody, ancient and modern as also on Metrics of Pāli and Prākṛit. The *British Museum Cat. of Sanskrit Books* (1906-1928), 1928 p. 305 records the following editions of the work:—(1) Text with Commentaries of Dātārāma Nyāya-vāgīśa called *Bhāvārthasandīpani* and of Raghunandana called *Vyākhyānakaumudī* and a Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. Ed. by Ramadeva Mīśra, Murshidabad, 1907; (2) Ed. with Comm. by Gurunātha Vidyānidhi, Calcutta, 1909, (3) same as No. 2, Calcutta, 1915; (4) Text with Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's Comm. (8th edn.) 1915.

chariār⁵ records the following information about our author and his works:—"Gaṅgādāsa was son of Gopāladāsa of Vaidya caste. In six chapters he describes in his *Chandomañjarī* the varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote *Acyutacarita*, a poem in 16 cantos and *Dineśacarita* in praise of the Sun. His father wrote a play *Pārijātabharana*.⁶"

Gaṅgādāsa was apparently a devotee of Gopāla⁷ and perhaps this devotion to Gopāla he inherited from his father Gopāladāsa. He refers to earlier works and authors as also to his own works in the *Chandomañjarī*. These references are as follows:—

- (1) पारिजातहरण नाटक (composed by his father) p. 9.
- (2) मम अच्युतचरिते pp. 10, 41, 186.
- (3) ममैव गोपालशतके p. 43.
- (4) कुमारं p. 10.
- (5) कण्ठाभरण (= "सरस्वती कण्ठाभरण १ मप० १२० पृ०") pp. 11, 95.
- (6) छन्दोगोविन्दे (मम गुरोः) p. 14
- (7) मुरारिः p. 14.
- (8) जयदेव p. 14.
- (9) भट्टौ pp. 22, 73, 120, 178.
- (10) भागवत p. 54.
- (11) माघे pp. 61, 64, 139.
- (12) भारवौ pp. 66, 77, 163, 167.
- (13) वृत्तरत्नाकरे pp. 70, 88, 142, 150, 165.

5 *History of Classical Sans. Literature*, 1937, p. 300 Section 243.

6 *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 335b—पारिजातहरण by Gopāladāsa, Oppert 2374, 2521.

Quoted by his son (Gaṅgādāsa) Oxford 198b.

In the *Chandomañjarī* (Calcutta, 1915) p. 9 Gaṅgādāsa refers to his father's work:—"तथा मत्पितुः पारिजातहरणनाटके"

7 The *Chandomañjarī* begins with a salutation to Gopāla:—

“देवं प्रणम्य गोपालं वैद्यगोपालदासजः ।
संतोषातनयच्छन्दो गङ्गादासस्तनोयदः ॥”

- (14) रघौ pp. 75, 121.
 (15) शम्भौ pp. 76, 111.
 (16) वृत्तरत्नाकरपरिशिष्टे pp. 82, 91, 101, 109, 117, 127, 133, 137, 142, 159, 165.
 (17) वृत्तरत्नावल्याम् p. 82.
 (18) वैद्यके p. 119.
 (19) कौशिककाव्ये⁸
 (20) अपभ्रंशभाषायां प्रचारः p. 182.
 (21) कंसारेः शतके p. 186.
 (22) दिनेशशतक p. 186.⁹

According to our author's own statement in the last verse of the *Chandomañjarī* he composed (1) अच्युतचरित (2) कंसारिशतक (3) दिनेशशतक and (4) वृन्दोमञ्जरी . On folio 43 he quotes a work of his own with the remark "ममैव गोपालशतके". Are we to take गोपालशतक as a separate 5th work of our author or as identical with कंसारिशतक ? No MSS of कंसारिशतक are recorded by Aufrecht. In the MSS at Bikaner¹⁰ there is a MS of गोपालशतक which is described as "an anonymous poem containing a hundred stanzas in praise of Gopāla." Is this

8 In the edition of the *Chandomañjarī* by Rāmadhana Bhattacharya (1934) p. 152 the following note occurs:—

"अतः परं क्वचित्पुस्तके 'इति कौशिककाव्ये' इति क्वचिच्च 'अथ शालतालतमाल कन्दलपाटलादलकोमला । इति कौशिककाव्ये' इति पाठः"

9 The last verse of the *Chandomañjarī* reads as follows:

"सर्गैः षोडशभिः समुज्ज्वलपदैर्नव्यार्थमव्याशयै-
 र्येनाकारि तदच्युतस्य चरिते काव्ये कविप्रीतिदम् ।
 कंसारेः शतकं दिनेशशतकद्वन्द्वञ्च तस्यास्त्वसौ
 गङ्गादासकवेः श्रुतौ कुतुकिनां सच्छन्दसां मञ्जरी ॥"

v.l. "गदाधरस्य चरितं" in MS. No. 5 (vide p. 4 of the *Cat. of Mithila MSS*, vol. II by K. P. Jayaswal, Patna, 1933), MS. No. 5A described by Jayaswal is a modern copy dated Saka 1808=A.D. 1886. Of these MSS. of the *Chandomañjarī* No. 5A is in Maithili characters while No. 5 is in Bengali characters.

10 *Cat. of Bikaner MSS*, 1880, p. 231—This MS. is No. 486 and is described as follows:—"Substance, Country paper Folio 6, Lines on a page 9. Character Nāgara, Date?"

गोपालशतक identical with गोपालशतक mentioned by our author and from which he quotes a verse.¹¹ If this verse could be identified in the Bikaner MS the question of identity or otherwise of the two works can be finally settled. Aufrecht mentions no MSS of any work of the titles दिनेशशतक or of अच्युतचरित . It is really a matter for pity that the three poems of our author, whose छन्दोमञ्जरी is represented by numerous MSS, should be lost to us inspite of their being definitely mentioned by him at the end of his only existing work. If some scholar at Bikaner takes the trouble of identifying the verse from गोपालशतक quoted by Gaṅgādāsa in the extant MS at Bikaner Palace Library which is mentioned as गोपालशतक and if its identity is proved, at least one of Gaṅgādāsa's lost works will be restored.

In the *Chandomañjarī* our author quotes two verses from his *Acyutaśataka*¹² (on pp. 10, 41) and one verse from his father's

11 Page 43 of *Chandomañjarī*:—“तथा ममैव गोपालशतके—

वनेषु कृत्वा सुरभिप्रचारं प्रकाससुरधो मधुवासरेषु ।

गायन् कलं कीडति पद्मिनीषु मधूनि पीत्वा मधुसूदनोऽसौ ॥घ॥”

12 Calcutta Edition of *Chandomañjarī*, Pt. Jānakinātha Kāvya-tirtha—

p. 10—“तथा ममाच्युतचरितेऽपि—

रक्तेन केशिदशनक्षतसम्भवेन रेजे स मण्डिततरो हरिबाहुदण्डः ।

तदन्तसन्दलितभीमभुजप्रतापवह्नेरिव स्फुटकणप्रकरेण कीर्णः ॥१४॥

p. 41—“ममाच्युतचरिते —

काचिन्मुरारेर्वदनारविन्दं संक्रान्तमालोक्य जले नवोढा ।

व्यक्ते सलज्जा परिचुम्बितुं तत् तदर्थमेवाम्भसि निर्ममज्ज ॥क॥

p. 42—मुखारविन्दैर्ब्रजसुन्दरीणामामोदमत्युत्कटमुद्गिरिभिः ।

अहारि चित्तेन समं मुरारेर्हेमाम्बुजेभ्योऽपि मूधुव्रतौघः ॥ख॥

तोयेषु तस्याः प्रतिबिम्बितासु ब्रजाङ्गनानां नयनावलीषु ।

स्वबन्धुपङ्क्तिभ्रमतोऽतिसुगन्धा गोष्ठीं शफर्यो रचयाम्बभूवुः ॥ग॥”

*Pārijātabharanānātaka*¹³ of which Oppert records two MSS as we have noted above. These MSS, however, are not now available in any public library so far as I am aware.

Prof. M. T. Patwardhan in his *History of Prosody*¹⁴ refers to Gaṅgādāsa's *Chandomanjari* but does not record any information about Gaṅgādāsa and his other works.

We have shown above that Gaṅgādāsa quotes from a work on prosody called *Chandogovinda*¹⁵ composed by his guru. No MSS of this work are recorded by Aufrecht but the work is mentioned in a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*, composed by Dinakara in

13 *Ibid.* p. 9—“तथा मत्पितुः पारिजातहरणनाटके—

सिन्दूरपूरकृतगैरिकरागशोभे शश्वन्मदस्ववर्णनिर्भरवारिपूरे ।

संग्रामभूमिगतमत्तसुरेभकुम्भकूटे मदीयनखराशनयो विशन्तु ॥१३॥”

14 *Chandoracanā* (Karnatak Pub. House, Bombay, 1937) pp. 558-559. Prof. Patwardhan observes that Gaṅgādāsa appears to have borrowed some of his definitions of the *vṛttas*: *Udgatā*, *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*, *Maṇigūṇanikara*, *Sālini* and *Rucirā* from Utpala (=Bhaṭṭa-Utpala) who flourished in the 10th century. He has taken some definitions from Kedārabhaṭṭa and some he has composed himself. In the 7th *stabaka* Gaṅgādāsa mentions three varieties of *gadya* (prose) in the following verse:—

अकठोराक्षरं खल्पसमासं ‘चूर्णकं’ विदुः । तत्तु वैदर्भरीतिस्थं गद्यो ह्यद्यतरं भवेत् ॥

भवेदुत्कलिकाप्रायं समासाख्यं दृढाक्षरम् । इतैकदेशसंबन्धाद् ‘वृत्तगन्धि’ पुनः स्मृतम् ॥”

15 Vide Aufrecht CC I, 191— छन्दोगोविन्द metrics, by Gaṅgādāsa. Quoted Oxf. 198b, in *Vṛttaratnākara*darśa IO 1555. According to Aufrecht (CC I, 97a) *वृत्तरत्नाकरादर्श* (which mentions *Chandogovinda*) was composed by Divākara in 1684 IO 1555. The India Office MS. 1555 of *Vṛttaratnākara*darśa was copied in Śaka 1699=A.D. 1777. The description given on p. 304 of IO. Catalogue (Part II, 1889) by Eggeling that this Commentary was composed in “A.D. 1740” is wrong because the chronogram “पूर्णाब्धिसप्तैकमिते प्रवर्षे” refers to Śamvat 1740 (=A.D. 1684) and not A.D. 1740 as stated by Eggeling. Works on Prosody referred to in this Commentary in 1684 A.D. are:—(1) छन्दो-गोविन्द fol. 7a (2) छन्दोविचिति fol. 25 (3) छन्दोमञ्जरी fol. 226, 29 (4) छन्दोमातङ्ग (5) छन्दोमातङ्ग fol. 21. (6) छन्दोमाला fol. 20b (7) पिङ्गलटीका by Lakṣmīdhara (8) वृत्तकौमुदी fol. 20b.

A.D. 1684. The verse from *Chandogovinda* quoted by Gaṅgādāsa on p. 14 of the *Chandomañjarī* reads as follows:—

“अयञ्च श्लोकश्छन्दोगोविन्दे मम गुरोः ।

स्वेतमारण्डव्यमुख्यास्तु नेच्छन्ति मुनयो यतिम् ।

इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः ॥२०॥”

The popularity of *Chandomañjarī* is proved by no less than six different commentaries on it, viz., those of Kṛṣṇarāma, Govardhana-dāsa, Candrasekhara, Jagannātha Sena, Dattarāma and Vamśidhara. Aufrecht records the following MSS of these commentaries:—

CC I, 192^a — Oppert, II, 8213; Comm. by Kṛṣṇarāma (NW 616); by Govardhanadāsa (L. 2492), by Candrasekhara; *Chandomañjarījivana* IO 1289, by Jagannatha Sena IO 1491, by Dātārāma L. 2066, Oudh XVIII 30 (by Dātārāma), by Vamśidhara L. 2534.

I am not sure if the commentary by Kṛṣṇarāma referred to above (NW 616) is composed by Kṛṣṇarāma¹⁶ who was a teacher of Āyurveda in Jaipur State about 1900 A.D. and who is said to have composed a work on metrics called *Chandaschatamardana*.

The next commentator Govardhanadāsa was a Vaidya himself like Gaṅgādāsa. The only MS¹⁷ of his commentary on the *Chando-*

16 Vide p. 301 of *Classical Sans. Literature* by Krishnamachariar. Other works of this Jaipur teacher are *Kacchavarīmśa*, *Jayapuravilāsa*, *Āryālamkāraśataka*, *Palāṇḍuśataka*, *Muktaka*, *Muktāvali*, *Holamahotsava* and *Sāraśataka*.

17 R. Mitra: *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Calcutta, 1884, vol. VII, p. 246—No. 2492. The MS. begins—

गङ्गादासकवेः कवेर्मेधुलिहः संकल्पकल्पद्रुमा-

त्रिर्माता सुमनोविलासजननी या छन्दसां मञ्जरी ।

सास्माकं वरागा कथं भवति भोः शिष्यातुरोधादिति

श्रीगोवर्द्धनदासनामभिषयैः प्रारम्भितत्पञ्जिका ॥

The MS. ends—

‘इति सद्द्वैयगोवर्द्धनदासकृता छन्दोमञ्जरीटीका समाप्ता ।

mañjarī recorded by Rajendralala Mitra describes the work as consisting of 1067 ślokas.

The third commentary on the *Chandomañjarī* by Vamśidhara is also represented by a single MS described by Rajendralala Mitra.¹⁸ The fourth commentary is by Dātārāma and is represented by two MSS one of which has been described by Mitra.¹⁹

The fifth commentator is *Candraśekhara* and his commentary is called *Chandomañjarījīvana* and is represented by only one MS in the India Office Library.²⁰ The sixth commentator is Jagannātha Śena,²¹ son of Jaṭādhara with the title Kavirāja. His mother's name was Devakī. Jagannātha is also called Kavirāja in the colophon as well as in the opening verses of the commentary.

In the absence of any critical study of the foregoing commentaries on the *Chandomañjarī*, it is difficult to say anything about their

This commentator calls the author of the *Chandomañjarī* as “कविर्गङ्गादास-नामा मिषक्”. Perhaps a study of this MS. may make it clear whether Gaṅgādāsa Vaidya was an ancestor of Govardhanadāsa Vaidya or whether only the kinship of professions is alone responsible for the composition of Govardhanadāsa's commentary.

18 Mitra, *Notices*, vol. VII, p. 286, No. 2534. No information about Vamśidhara can be gathered from the description recorded in the Catalogue. The extent of the commentary is 519 ślokas.

19 Mitra: *Notices*, vol. VI (1882), p. 130—This MS. begins:—

“नत्वा वागीश्वरीपदं चतुर्वर्गफलप्रदम् ।
सच्छन्दोमञ्जरीटीकां दातारामेण तन्यते ॥
यद्यस्याः कतिधा व्याख्या व्याख्याताः पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
तथापि बालबोधाय मया व्याख्यायतेऽधुना ॥
... ..
ग्रन्थे तु मञ्जरीत्वेन परिकल्प्य महाकविः ।
गङ्गादासश्चकारेमं स्तवकैः षडभिरन्वितम् ॥”

20 *Ind. Office Cat.* Part II (1889), p. 306, No. 1102—This MS. is in Bengali characters and has the “handwriting of c. 1750 A.D.” Vide p. 313. One Candraśekhara, son of Lakṣminātha Bhatta composed a Sanskrit treatise on Prākṛta metres called the *Vṛttamāuktika* (IO MS. No. 1114).

21 *Ibid.*, p. 306, No. 1101—This is the only MS. of Jagannātha Śena's commentary.

chronology and consequently they do not furnish us with any chronological limits for the date of the *Chandomaṇjari*.

We have seen above that Divākara in his *Vṛttaratnakaradarśa* (fol. 226 of IO MS) composed in AD. 1684 mentions *Chandomaṇjari*. This reference gives us a sure terminus to the date of the work. Then again a MS of the *Chandomaṇjari* in the India Office Library is dated A.D. 1679.²²

Gaṅgādāsa quotes (p. 14) a verse of Jayadeva. If this Jayadeva is identical with his namesake, the author of the rhetorical work *Candrāloka*, who is assigned to 13th century²³ we get two limits to the date of Gaṅgādāsa say about 1300 A.D. and 1650 A.D. But these limits are too wide and we should try to narrow them down.

In the commentary of Gopālabhatta on the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta*, which quotes a work called the *Bhaktirasamṛtasindhu* composed in A.D. 1541 (= Śaka 1463) and which, therefore, must have been composed between A.D. 1541 and A.D. 1605 in which year a MS of this commentary was copied, we find that *Chandomaṇjari* has been quoted²⁴ several times. On the strength of these references to *Chandomaṇjari* in a work composed in the 2nd half of the 16th century i.e. between A.D. 1541 and 1605 I am inclined to narrow down the limits of Gaṅgādāsa's date to a period between 1300 and 1550 A.D.

The lower limit of A.D. 1550 for Gaṅgādāsa's date fixed by me is in harmony with the remark of Aufrecht²⁵ that the *Chando-*

22 *India Office Cata.* Part II (1889) p. 395—MS. No. 1099—This MS. is in Devanagari characters and bears the date “संवत् १८३५” in the Colophon. The Catalogue gives the equivalent date as “1657 A.D.” which appears to be incorrect as the Chronogram for the date of the copy is वीण, अग्नि, हय, एक” = 1735 *Samvat*.

23 S. K. De: *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 219.

24 Vide *Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta* edited by Dr. S. K. De. Dacca University Series, 1928. Vide *Introduction*, p. lxxiii.

25 C. C. II, 39a.

maṇjari is "often quoted by Lakṣminātha on *Prākṛtapīṅgala*." According to Peterson²⁶ one Lakṣminātha "composed in 1600" a commentary called *Pīṅgalārthapradīpa*.

The B.O.R. Institute, Poona possesses the following MSS of the *Chandomaṇjari*:—(1) No. 383 of 1895-98 (2) No. 714 of 1891-95, (3) No. 452 of 1892-95, (4) No. 715 of 1891-95, (5) No. 447 of 1899-1915. Of these MSS No. 715 of 1891-95 is written in Bengali characters. All the five MSS appear to contain the text only. No. 714 of 1891-95 ends as follows:—"संवत् १८०६ मितो मांगित्री वदि १ भौमवासरे महात्माउत्तिमचेद लिपीकेते सवाईजयपुरमध्ये." "This MS was, therefore copied in A.D. 1750 at Savai Jaipur by a scribe of the name Utimchand. MS No. 715 of 1891-95 contains the following chronogram on the last folio:—

बाणकालेन्दुमिते शकाब्दे सिंह गते भास्वति शुक्लपक्षे"

I am unable to interpret the chronogram or verify it at present because the words बाण (=5), काल (=3) and इन्दु (=1) give us Śaka 135 and if this is equivalent to Śaka 1350 we shall get A.D. 1428 as the value of the chronogram. This date may perhaps be the date of the copy and if it is correct the limits for Gaṅgadāsa's date will be say A.D. 1300 and 1400 but this line of argument needs more corroborative evidence before it is taken as reliable.

There is one MS of the *Chandomaṇjari* in the recently founded *Ujjain MSS Library*.²⁷ The Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat contains six MSS of the work²⁸ of which four MSS bear the dates Śaka 1767 (=A.D. 1845), Śaka 1670 (=1748), Śaka 1700 (=A.D. 1778) Śaka 1677 (=A.D. 1755) but they are not useful for the chronology of the work as we have recorded earlier chronological evidence.

26 *Cata. of Ulwar MSS.*, Bombay 1892, p. 46—Lakṣminātha, was son of Rayannabhaṭṭa (Rāyabhaṭṭa) who was son of Nārāyana who was son of Rāmacandra. In GBC, Kielhorn's *Report 1880-1*, p. 71. Peters 1, 117.

27 *Cata. of Oriental MSS*, Ujjain, 1936, p. 44—MS. No. 1148 (273).

28 *Des. Cat.* by Chintaharan Chakravarti, 1935, pp. 218-219.

According to the description recorded in the India Office Catalogue²⁹ of a MS of the *Ujjuvalanilamani*, a Vaisnava work by Rupagosvamin we find that on folio 71a of this MS (line 7) the *Chandomañjarī* is quoted. Rūpa Gosvāmi was born in 1490 A.D. and passed away in 1563 A.D. If this *Chandomañjarī* quoted in the *Ujjuvalanilamani* is identical with that of Gaṅgādāsa and if we can suppose that the *Ujjuvalanilamani* was composed say after A.D. 1515 when Rūpa Gosvāmi must have been about 25 years old and before A.D. 1563, the date of his death we may be justified in concluding that Gaṅgādāsa's date is earlier than about 1525 A.D. so that the limits for his date would be c. 1300 and c. 1500 A.D.

Mr. Panchanan Bhaṭṭācārya in his Sanskrit Introduction to the edition of the *Chandomañjarī* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* (Calcutta, 1015) p. 5, observes that no one has yet determined when Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the *Chandomañjarī* flourished and in what part of India. From a reference to the poet Murārimisra, the author of the *Anarghyarāghaviya*, made by Gaṅgādāsa in the *Chandomañjarī* we can only infer that Gaṅgādāsa is posterior to Murarimisra. No other proof can be found regarding Gaṅgādāsa's date.³⁰ We only

29 *Sanskrit MSS.*, Part III by Eggeling, 1891, p. 358b—MS. No. 1231. Dr. Eggeling observes that the authorship of the *Ujjuvalanilamani* traditionally ascribed to Rupagosvamin is not endorsed by the present MS nor expressly stated in the commentary. Mr. M. Krishnamachariar however includes the *Ujjuvalanilamani* in the list of Rūpa's work (vide p. 288 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937). Jivagosvāmi's commentary on this work was composed in A.D. 1580. The *Ujjuvalanilamani* has been edited in the *Kāvyamālā* 95. For an account of Rūpa's life see D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta) 503, (vide p. 376 of *Outline of Religious Literature of India* by J. N. Farquhar, 1920).

30 Miśra Jagannātha who composed his *Chandaḥpiyūṣa* between A.D. 1750 and 1793 (vide my article in *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 682) states that Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Vṛttaratnākara* opposes the views of *Manjari* or *Chandomañjarī* (मन्जर्यकृतदुन्दधानानां नारायणादीनां) Nārāyaṇa composed his commentary in A.D. 1545. If the statement of Miśra Jagannātha mentioned above is correct Nārāyaṇa becomes posterior to Gaṅgādāsa that is to say the

know that he was the son of an eminent *vaidya* of the name Gopāladāsa and that his mother's name was Santoṣā (संतोषात्मनः). In addition to the *Chandomañjarī* Gaṅgādāsa composed the *Acyutacarita*, *Gopālaśataka* and *Suryaśataka*.

In view of the above remarks on Gaṅgādāsa and his works made in 1915, the necessity of the present paper on Gaṅgādāsa and his works will be easily appreciated as I have here attempted to focus together some useful data which will go to clarify the issues regarding Gaṅgādāsa and his works to some extent at least.

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work *Chandomañjarī* becomes earlier than A.D. 1545, the date of Nārāyaṇa's commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*. This argument, if accepted, would also support the limit of A.D. 1500 for Gaṅgādāsa's date fixed by me on other independent evidence recorded in this paper.

Cults and Cult-Acts in Kerala

I. *Animal Cult*

In this paper we shall consider the types of animal worship current in Kerala. The animals to whom worship is offered can be divided into two classes, the minor and the major. Under the former head is included the worship of fish, lizard, crow, and centipede of which the last is regarded as more important; and under the latter, the worship of cow, ox, cobra and in a lesser measure the elephant.

(i) *Fish*:—The fish cult is generally found associated with certain temples in Cochin. An offering to fish is looked upon as an important votive offering associated with certain temples and this offering is supposed to cure diseases and beget children. This is the case both at Irinjalakuda and at Nettur. The offering consists of uncooked rice mixed with jaggery, plantains and cocoanut kernel and water and the whole is thrown into the temple tank. Such offerings are commonly found celebrated at Irinjalakuda. It may also be noted that in this temple some sort of worship is also offered to the crocodile; there are a few crocodiles in the temple tank and sometimes, once a month or so, some cooked rice is given to them. The only other temple where offering to the fish is made is at Nettur which is also a Vaisṇavite temple. In this feeding of animals may be seen a trace of the original cult of the temple which was perhaps Jaina.

(ii) *Lizard*:—It is looked upon as an interesting animal whose services are utilised in prognosticating the future. Its chirpings, when properly calculated, constitute, it is believed, an unfailing forecast of the future. This is commonly utilised in the treatment of the cobra-poison cases.

(iii) *Centipede*:—It is looked upon as the vehicle of Sarasvatī—this is no doubt very surprising—and whenever it is seen the ortho-

dox people offer it some water. A centipede, when water is poured upon it, becomes incapable of stinging.

(iv) *Crow*.—It is thought to be the carrier of food offered to the manes, and as such it is treated with respect.

(v) *Cow & Ox*.—By far the most important animal which is actually worshipped, or at least treated with great respect, is the cow. And the cult-act associated with it is the act of circumambulating it and then touching its body and raising the finger to the head. The worship of this animal must have been given importance, if not introduced, by the Aryans. Very similar is the cult act with reference to the ox. The popular conception of the worship of this animal is based on the assumption that it is the vehicle of Śiva. This conception must probably have one of the main causes of its deification. It has also a utilitarian character. To the agriculturist, no animal can serve a more useful purpose than the ox for ploughing the field, and this is the only animal that is very commonly found used for this purpose. Thus if the cow gives us sweet drink, the ox helps us to get our main staple food. In the worship of these animals we thus see at the bottom a utilitarian conception.

(vi) *Tiger & Elephant*.—Indirectly, we may also be said to be paying some respect to the wild animals, the elephant and the tiger. To carry the tiger's claws, or the tooth or the tail-hair of the elephants, is supposed to wean one from nightmares, and the uncanny influence of ghosts and goblins. When children are subject to bad dreams, one of the methods commonly adopted is to make them pass between the legs of an elephant, and the belief is that the wilder the animal, the more effective is the result.

(vii) *Cobra*.—In the foregoing examples, we have the worship of animals based upon fear and utility. As an instance of deification, based mainly upon dread, no more striking illustration can be found than that of serpents. The cobra cult is

practically the most important of the animal cults practised, and that very widely, in our parts, and a more than passing reference is justified on this occasion.

Shrines set up for *Nāgas* are an invariable feature of every Malayali home, which has any pretence to orthodoxy or antiquity. Such shrines are looked upon with awe and dread, and the older generation at least treats them with as much respect as they would a temple. The commonness of the worship, the fear and dread attached to the *Nāgas* and their shrines show that at one time at least this worship formed a prominent one in the average life of the Malayali. We have three types of *Naga* shrines: a *Citrakūṭa*, with or without *Nāga* idols, ant-hills with or without *Citrakūṭa*, and idols. The idols, when they stand alone, are sometimes set up on a platform which by itself may be taken as a proof of their modern age. The older shrines are found located in topes having a number of juicy trees such as Elanji (*Mimusops elenji*), Pāla (*Alstonia scholaris*), Veppu (*Azadirachta indica*) etc. There seems to exist no rule regarding the number, the size and shape of the idols to be set up in a shrine. These details are generally left to the village astrologer. About the site, there exists, however, one general rule, namely that the shrine must always face the house. Though tradition lays down eight different kinds of *Nāgas*, no difference, it is said, is made in the cast of the idols, in the mode of worship, in setting up a new shrine or in removing an old shrine. Besides the usual *Nāga* idol with the body curled up and hood erect and spread, there are found two more types: (1) the idol of a *Nāga*, carrying a male or female sculptured upon it and (2) the same having male and female in different panels one above the other. The one distinguishing feature of the *Nāga*-worship is that the *Nāgas* are *Sthala-devatās*, i.e., place-deities, and not *Kula-devatās*, i.e., family deities. For, in the first place, when a family migrates from one place to another they leave behind their *Nāga* gods, but not their *Kuladevatās*. Secondly,

it is found to be a common practice, especially in modern days, to get a place rid of the *Nāgas*. These two clearly show that the *Nāgas* have no title to be called *Kuladevatās*. This would, therefore, suggest that the *Nāgas* were the earliest gods of Kerala, the gods which our primitive forefathers worshipped and which in due course came to be relegated to the background. Another distinguishing feature of the *Naga* cult is that regular worship is never offered to them, except probably in the house of the great *Nāga* priests of the land—Pambummekkaṭ and Amedamangalam. As a matter of fact, not even monthly worship is offered. The worship as found in practice has always been seasonal or annual, when *Nirum-pālum*, i.e., milk and water, are offered by a brahmin with all the paraphernalia of a regular religious ceremony. The only daily cult-act associated with them is the placing of a lighted torch in the *Nāga* tope and to swing a lighted wick towards the same. Referring to the question as to what we are worshipping, whether the actual live serpent or some superior being, one *Nāga* priest is of opinion that the worship is offered to live serpents as the lineal descendants of the eight divine *Nāgas* and consequently the object of worship represent both. In proof thereof is pointed out the practice of the premier *Nāga* priest, Pambummekkaṭ Nampūtiri, of giving to a dead cobra a religious cremation and the actuality of the cobra-culture at their family headquarters. As a matter of fact, every visitor to the house could easily satisfy himself that live serpents freely wander about in this particular house and none of the members of the house seem to be afraid of them! While thus one cannot deny the view set forth, namely that in our worship actual live serpents also are included, it does not appear to be a very satisfactory explanation. The queer nature of the worship, the situation of the shrine, the absence of rules regarding the nature of the idols, their number and size, the presence of the shrines called *Citra-kūṭa*, which looks like a house in miniature, and their relation to

the place—these make one incline to think that in serpent cult we may see a primitive type of ancestor worship. In worshipping the *Nāgas*, we are unconsciously paying our homage and respect to the long long lost race of *Nāgas* who originally inhabited Kerala and who were thus called, because they were snake worshippers.

II. *Stone Cult*

One of the most important and sacred objects of worship in our land is the worship of stones which are looked upon as *Svayambhū*s, and they are now important centres of Aryan cult. They are natural growths of stone, granite or laterite substance, and originally they must have been invested with some uncommon feature before the same began to be worshipped as our folklore would have it. Thus to mention but one such instance, I may refer to the shrine at Elankunnapula. The story goes that on one occasion, a Pulaya woman sharpened her sickle on what apparently was a granite boulder with the result that she soon found blood trickling down from it.¹ This produced a great sensation, and soon the news spread and reached the ears of the king and his officers came and took possession of the site and built a temple over it. Such *Svayambhū* shrines there are some in our land and in all such cases there is some legend regarding its discovery. Here evidently is an institution looked upon as holy by the Pre-Aryan dwellers of the land and subsequently taken over by the Aryans, probably because of its importance, or because of the necessity to please the older natives. Such shrines as these are treated as orthodox centres of worship, and in these there is absolutely nothing that suggests any forms of lower *tāntric* or *mantric* rites. In these cases, it is supposed that the image is identical with the deity for which it stands; and consequently to carry something, some grains of sand etc. taken from

1 This seems to be the general method of discovering a *Svayambhū* shrine, according to our folklore.

the foot of the idol is supposed to be very beneficial. To carry some grains of sand from the foot of the idol at the sacred shrine at Cottanikkara is supposed to wean the wearer from all kinds of attacks from malignant spirits and would ensure for him success in all enterprises. Many, indeed, are the people who carry such mystic sand. Those who are prepared only to see some uncouth form of religion in such acts as these may find in this an advance type of fetishism—a type of religion in which the object itself is supposed to be identical with the deity.

We have in the foregoing sections considered at some length some of the objects of worship at the hands of the Malayalis, stones and trees and animals including man. They must be worshipped only in the locality; i.e., they are characterised by their local nature. Thus the tree or animal or stone cannot be worshipped in a place other than where they are. This is an important point of distinction which may be remembered as compared with spirit worship. Our cults and cult-acts are again connected with the objects of worship not by any supposed connection—these we don't deny—but more by ideas of utility and association. In the case of the serpent alone have we a worship based entirely on fear or dread, but even in this to please these deities is held to be a sure method of getting an issue. It will thus be seen that the objects of worship and modes of worship cannot be characterised as pure animism or pure fetishism. It appears to be a compound of both these and at the same time ennobled by some conceptions of a higher type of deity. In all these cases we do also perform the worship of a higher power from a sense of need and as such they are fit to be styled religion, as Menezes will have it.

III. *Spirit-Cult*

We shall now proceed to the consideration of the spirit-cults. This cult, as I have already mentioned, is capable of a further sub-

division: we have in the first place the cult of spirits associated with trees, animals, rivers, hills etc. which may be characterised as the cult of the sylvan spirits. A second type we have in the worship of ghosts, goblins and demons who are permanent occupants of the atmospheric regions, and this we may characterise as the demon cult. A third variety of spirit cult we have in the worship offered to the unemancipated spirits of people who have died a tragic death or to whom proper funeral obsequies have not been given, a cult which we term the manes-cult. Another most important variety of cult is the worship of ancestors or great men of ancient days or the ancestor-cult. And last but not least we have also the cult of the supreme being of the Aryan religion which we may term the Aryan cult. Though thus we can classify the cults under various heads, this cannot be adhered to always. The various deities have left their old moorings and wandered far and wide, so that their fundamental features have been irrevocably lost, while in the case of many others there has been either assimilation or conversion or supersession or superimposition. Consequently the classification is based more or less on the predominant feature, and even though a classification has been possible it may not be so easy to adhere strictly to this classification in the course of the paper.

The worship of sylvan gods and goddesses are met with in their purity—of course this statement is comparative—only among the hill tribes. The more important of the deities under this head are Malavāli, i.e., *Mallan*, *Muni*, *Parakutty*, *Tikutty* etc. The first is evidently the ruler of the Hills, while *Parakutty* is the *daughter of Hills*. *Tikutty* may be identified with the forest fires which are a common feature in our forests. *Mallan* is a vague deity and his source cannot be found out; he might possibly be the personification of strength, whereas *Muni*, equally vague, might stand for spiritual strength. These various deities as also others have some sort of symbolic representation, viz., a stone set upon a raised platform

either under a tree or in a shed. The worship offered to them are generally seasonal and consists mainly of rice and fruits with a lighted wick. Rarely animals are also sacrificed to please them, such as pigs, fowls, goats etc. Some of these gods are worshipped for specific reasons. Thus *Malavāli*, the most important of these, is worshipped for protection from wild animals. *Mallan* who is associated with wild animals as their ruler is worshipped, lest he should work mischief through the wild animals like tiger, wild elephant etc. *Muni* is a deity of cattle and harvest and he is worshipped so that their little crops might come out alright. *Parakutty* is the protector during the hunting excursions, and naturally her worship is characterised by the offerings of sacrifice of fowls, goats, etc. A detailed examination of these various gods will show that these gods are but one aspect or other of the various dangers that the hill-tribes are always exposed to in their hilly home. In the case of all these hill-gods some sort of deity representation also is found made, and the groups of stones are not merely symbolic of the aspect of nature they represent, but are supposed to be actually infused by the deity. The favour of the deities is to be gained by sacrifices and votive offerings; and the favour gained is not so much positive: it is only an absence of ills. Naturally animistic in their tendencies, they see the whole world filled with the spirits, good, bad and indifferent, who would harm them, if they were not pleased.

They also worship a few more sylvan deities and these latter they share with their neighbours in the plains. These deities are *Kālī*, *Bhadrakulī*, *Virabhadran*, *Ayyappan*, *Vettakkaran* and *Sasta*. Of these the first two have been absorbed in the *Bhagavatī* cult, i.e., the cult civilised by the Aryans. These deities, even the Aryans concede, are the terrific aspects of the benign goddess, otherwise called *Śakti*, who ought to be propitiated by the lower forms of mantric rites. It deserves to be pointed out here that these are the only two female deities worshipped by them, and in fact they are

but different aspects of the same deity, even though in origin they must have been considerably different.

The other deities are equally deities of the Aryan hierarchy. *Virabhadra* is associated with Śiva as his powerful agent; *Vettakkaran*, *Śāstā* and *Ayyappan* are really vague sylvan deities, borrowed from the hill tribes and many stories are told about their origin. The shrine of *Ayyappan* at the Saurimālā is as famous as any other shrine in the whole of Kerala, and pilgrims flock to the same in large numbers in the month of February-March. The worshippers are so careful of purity that if they think that they have lost their purity in any way, they would rather give up their visit than go there. For, it is believed that the impure worshipper would fall a prey to the wild animals. *Sasta* is another very popular deity and he is looked upon as the guardian deity of the boundaries of Malayalam, and at all strategic points of entrance into the land there is this deity enshrined. *Vettakkaran* is again another sylvan deity whose origin is very obscure. This deity is generally associated with hunting excursions, and he is described as the offspring of the God Śiva or Visnu when he was hunting in the wilderness of the forest. It is remarkable that *Vettakkaran* is the guardian angel of the famous *mantrika* family of Cennos Mana, which is looked upon as the premier *mantrika* family of Kerala. The connection with hunting on one side and his acceptance as the guardian deity of an aristocratic family devoted to the practice of *Tantras* and *Mantras* is a clear indication of Dravidian origin of this deity. The only difference in their cults, as practised by the men of the plains and of the hills, lies in the fact that while he has a daily worship offered in the plains, the worship in the hills is only seasonal. Secondly, the character of the ritual has also undergone a change: in the hills it is even now associated with the lower forms of *Tantric* rites and there are sacrifices of animals, whereas the worship in the plains is decidedly of a higher kind and has no blood offerings, except once a year, probably

as an indication of what they were originally getting. In the light of the information now available, it is difficult to trace the course of their metamorphosis from the hills to the plains. This must be interesting, inasmuch one of the premier mantric families of Kerala has *Vettakkaran* as their family deity. It must also be important in that it has given to the Aryans three distinct cults: the *Ayyappan*, the *Vettakkaran* and the *Sasta*. As they are now practised, they are completely Aryanised and they partake more or less of the nature of the cults of Śiva or Viṣṇu. These deities are propitiated with a variety of domestic rites called *Pāṭṭus*, which is more or less a queer type of music party, singing songs in praise of the deity in whose honour the function is arranged, to the accompaniment of some instrumental music, which is followed by one or other of the party becoming infused by the spirit of the deity and conveying the commands of the deity. With reference to the deity they are known as *Ayyappan Pāṭṭu*, *Vettakkaran Pāṭṭu* and *Sāstān Pāṭṭu*. These appear to be modelled upon mainly *Bhagavati Pāṭṭu*.

Another series of spirits that the hill tribes and in common with them the men of the plains try to propitiate are the lower orders of the divine spirits, a series composed of the *Gandharvas*, *Yakṣiṇis*, *Kinnaras* etc. These and other deities are of a vandalistic nature. They are present everywhere and, when it suits them, they prey upon innocent people. Of this series, the most important are the *Yakṣiṇis* and *Gandharvas*. *Yakṣiṇis* are supposed to present themselves before foolish men, when they happen to go all alone along lonely paths at unearthly hours and that in the guise of a very beautiful woman inveigle the unsuspecting passerby. Many stories of *Yakṣiṇis* are told; at the same time I have heard of only one story where a *Yakṣiṇī* actually happened to fall in love with a human being and live as his wedded wife. These *Yakṣiṇis* are really afraid of *Bhagavati*, and to resort to that deity is the only recourse when a *Yakṣiṇī* has preyed upon a particular individual.

Similarly, a belief in *Gandharvas* is common enough. They are propitiated, as also *Yaksinis* by annual offerings by certain families, and one of the most typical of rituals is to celebrate the *Gandharvan Pāttu*. He makes his presence felt by his sweet music. There are lots of legends connected with *Yaksini* and *Gandharva*.

Another very popular deity that has migrated from the hills to the plains is the dreaded deity, called *Cāttan*. Left to himself, he is supposed to be quiet and harmless. But he is a devoted servant of his master and when he is invoked to work havoc upon an enemy, he rises to his primitive nature and does immense mischief. When a devotee of his invokes him to harass a particular family, he is ready to go, but if by any chance he could not work there, then he turns upon his devotee, on whose behalf his services have been requisitioned. He adopts various methods to harass the people, some of which are: to tear off the clothing to shreds or set fire to it: to take babies and leave them on the branches of trees, or on the sides of wells or actually in the well supporting the same till a member of the family comes and takes it back into safety, to fill the dinner dishes with unsightly articles, to punish children if they do not believe properly etc. etc. One peculiar feature about him is that he never takes away life: he simply contents himself with troubling people. This is a dreaded deity even to-day, and many are the families which are constantly troubled by this superhuman agency. The only way to get over the same is by means of an elaborate ritual and by votive offerings to the Vaisnavite shrine at Tripparayar. Thus it will be seen this is the only deity whose activities could be seen even in these days and whose voice also could be heard. The hill tribes also have a deity called *Kutticāttan* or *Karmuttycattan*. The cult act associated with this deity is the offering of *Pūjās* through the instrumentality of the lower orders of caste Hindus.

Another equally important series of deities are the spirits of people who have come to an unnatural end. These spirits are sup-

posed to be wandering about the world and so long as they are not propitiated, their sole concern is to prey upon innocent people and thus get for them a proper religious ceremonial which enables them to reach the abode of the manes. The most popular way in which they affect people is by driving them mad and by bringing into the family a series of misfortunes, such as death of children, death of young women, failure of crops, etc. The only cure for their affection is to pray to the *Bhagavati*, one's own patron deity, to protect them and at the same time to perform what is called *Tilabomam* which is a very expensive purificatory ritual for the manes. People are also preyed upon by the spirits of those who have come to tragic end and who are related to the victim. Such instances are not rare and the only palliative is to offer *Bhajana* in the *Bhagavati* shrines which are famous for the controlling of spirits, such as Cottanikkara, Cape Comorin etc. The belief in the mischief making capacity of the unpurified spirits on both the relatives and the unrelated is very common amongst us and various types of votive offerings are made to wean themselves from the malignant influence of these spirits.

Corresponding to this evil aspect of the unpurified spirits, there is also the benign aspect, the spirits of eminent ancestors. A belief in these and their power to help us in times of misery and struggle is shared by almost all people in the country. It is a very common belief, and forms, as it were, an important article of faith amongst us; and I believe that not a few of the temples in our parts owe their origin to the worship of ancestors. It is not a rare feature that our temples often enough reveal at least an association with the ancestor-cult.

Worship of ancestors is a common practice with us. It takes various forms, the nature of which is determined more or less by the place the particular individual held in our religious, social or political life.

As in other parts, the simplest type consists of the *Śrāddha*, the offering of oblations by the nearest direct descendant of the deceased, on the anniversary day; failure to perform the *Śrāddha* is punished with social ostracism. A general *Śrāddha* also is commonly performed by the senior member of the family to all the manes *en masse* on every new-moon day. This is done for the satisfaction of those ancestors whose lines have become extinct. Unlike the first form, it is not obligatory. The *Śrāddha* is purely a domestic function.

Another widely prevalent type is the setting apart of a particular room as the abode of the manes, who are supposed to safeguard the interests of the family. A lighted lamp is kept in this room, and admission is restricted to members of the family; even these are allowed in only after they have purified themselves by bathing and the like. This also is of purely domestic type, chiefly current amongst the Nayars. There is no daily worship and sometimes not even annual worship. The practice is prevalent amongst the higher castes of Hindus. One of the rooms in the Palace at Cochin is thus kept in memory of a prince who died there.

The third, a still less common, but not rare, type, seems to be closely related to the preceding. It consists in preserving in a place in the house, sometimes in the main buildings, sometimes in an outhouse, symbols to keep up the memory of distinguished ancestors. The place thus assigned is looked upon as sacred; and the symbols used are sometimes a statute, or a weapon, generally a sword or a trident, if the ancestor happened to be a warrior; or beads or slippers or a *daṇḍa* (stick), if he was a spiritualist. This also is only a family shrine and one of the members of the family acts as the priest. Such shrines are not generally open to outsiders. Worship is offered to the deceased ancestor daily, weekly, monthly or annually, as the case may be; seasonal and annual festivities are always celebrated. The most noted instance of this type is the shrine kept by the

Pazhur Kaniyan, a traditional astrologer, to glorify the memory of, and get inspiration from, his distinguished ancestor.

A slightly amplified form of the same, and therefore appealing to a wider circle, constitutes another type. This may be of two kinds; sometimes the family shrine is thrown open to the public, when, for instance, an offering at a particular family shrine is supposed to be efficacious as a palliative for diseases and the like. Such, for instance, are shrines originally set up in honour of a distinguished *Mantra-vadin* (a professor of the black art). Such a shrine exists at Idapally. At other times the shrine may be set up by a particular sect of people to honour one of their distinguished predecessors. As a notable instance, may be cited the building of a temple at Kaladi in honour of Śrī Śaṅkaracarya by his disciples. It is not merely a sectarian temple, but a temple for all Hindus. In these there are daily ceremonies and annual festivals, a member of the family acting as a priest in the former case and a paid brahmin in the latter.

Such family shrines and sectarian, class, or professional shrines sometimes grow into public temples. The passage of time and the growth of legends around the shrine probably account for this development. The shrines of the Cheraman Perumal at Tiruvancikulam is an instance of this. Local patriotism sometimes hastens such a development. In such shrines, there are all the paraphernalia of an ordinary temple.

Still another type is found in the institution of social festivities, of religious festivities, of social customs, and lastly, of religious ceremonies.

Social festivities:—The most popular instance of this type is the *Onam* festival, celebrated by all people, rich and poor alike. This is in honour of Mahābali, and is accompanied not merely by feasting, but also by the setting up and worshipping in every Malayali house of a symbolic statue of the revered king.

The Paurāṇic story of Vāmana's conquest of Mahābali, when divested of its poetic embellishments, seems to resolve itself into a political incident. The story in brief is this: Mahābali was a powerful Dravidian king. In spite of all their efforts, the Aryans could not overcome him in battle, and so they resorted to strategy. They sought the help of a distinguished saint, now known as Vamana, who was probably a Dravidian, later converted to Aryan belief. He made the king promise to give him anything he asked, and then caught him in his own trap by claiming his whole kingdom. A true pattern of nobility, the king surrendered his whole kingdom. Struck probably by his generosity and sense of repentance for the deceit, the saint obtained for him a portion of his kingdom, to which he had to retire.

The story says he became the king of the land of *Nagas*. Keraḷa seems to be the land referred to as *Nāgaloka*. For (i) *Naga* is the name given to the inhabitants of this land; (ii) *Nāgaloka* is said to be bounded by the Western Ghats; (iii) the peculiarly Malayali institution of the *Onam* festival points to the intimate relation between Mahābali and the people of this land; and, (iv) the old princes of Keraḷa are said to have descended from Mahābali and his grandson Bana.

In the light of this the exceedingly strong hold that the social festival has upon us is easily explained. When it is also remembered that worship is offered not merely to Mahābali, but also to the deity enshrined at Trikkā-Kara, it may also be maintained that his capital must have been at Trikkā-Kara, now a petty village situated not far from Ernakulam.

Religious festivities:—Annual festivities are held in the temple at Trippunithura (Cochin State) in honour of a Nambudri virgin lady, and of a carpenter.

Social customs:—The custom amongst Aśāris (professional carpenters), who form a caste by themselves, of first serving their

guests, is instituted as a mark of respect for the memory of Perum-Tachan (the great architect).

Religious ceremonies:—As an instance may be mentioned the annual *Tevarasseva* (service of God), performed in the temple at Iranjalakuda, Cochin State, which indirectly keeps up the memory of some Nampūtiris murdered by a rival clan.

I shall conclude this outline sketch with a reference to the origin of the very old and sacred temple at Cranganore which is held in great awe and reverence throughout all Kerala and which forms a typical instance of ancestor deification. It is dedicated to *Bhadra Kāli*, whose wrath is supposed to be the cause of all epidemic diseases in Kerala. To gain her good will a big annual festival is held towards the close of February or the beginning of March, when thousands and thousands of people stream into that place from far and wide. The temple was founded between the years 115 and 125 A.D. by Chenguttuva Perumal, the Imperial sovereign of all Kerala who reigned from 69 to 125 A.D., to commemorate the tragic end of a faithful woman.

Kannaki was the fair and virtuous bride of Kovalan, a rich merchant, who lived in Cola during the reign of Ilanchel Chenni. He was reduced to poverty because of his loose life and migrated to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, accompanied by his devoted wife. There the unfortunate man was charged with stealing one of a pair of anklets intended for the queen and was hanged. The indignant wife proved the innocence of her husband at the court of the king and charged the king with unrighteousness. Cutting off one of her breasts, she threw it into the midst of the Council Chamber, and invoked eternal curses upon the king. She then rushed out of the Court and ran to the hills, where she died.

One of the mountain chiefs, who was on his way to the court of the Perumal to pay his annual subsidy, happened to witness her death, and reported it at the court of his overlord. To this infor-

mation Chattanar, the court poet of the Pāṇḍyan king, at that moment a distinguished guest of the Perumal, then added the preceding details. The Perumal was struck with pity on hearing the woeful story and asked his younger brother, Prince Ilankov Adigal, to commemorate it by writing a book. The queen was so overcome with sympathy for her unfortunate sister, that she requested her lord to build a temple in honour of the devout and faithful wife. Thus, thanks to the royal sorrow, an excellent work, *Cilappatikaram*, was written, and a temple was built, one of the most sacred in all Keraḷa, to preserve the memory of the tragic fate of a noble woman.

We have in the foregoing pages described a number of cults and cult-acts and one noteworthy feature is the silent, now almost complete, absorption of the old Dravidian rites and rituals into the Hindu fold, and the conversion of the Dravidian shrines into centres of Hindu worship. The fusion has been so complete that it is now more a matter of speculation to say which is which. All the female deities have been fused into one mainly with the consort of Śiva, few with the consort of Viṣṇu and still fewer with the consort of Brahmā, while the sole traces of their origin and their relation with the primitive religion survive in a particular ceremony or in a particular legend, more or less in a Hinduised form, and rarely in the observance of a particular ritual, in which the lower orders function as the Pujari. Similarly, all the male deities who once used to terrorise over the simple villagers were converted into Śaivite gods—generally as Śiva's sons, the few beneficent ones being associated with the Vaiṣṇavite creed. The hill tribes also are seen to connect their gods and goddesses with one or other of the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Thus we find the trees, animal and spirit cults becoming inextricably mixed up with the Vaiṣṇavite, the Śaivite and Bhagavati cults; and as a result of this we find the history of temple revealing an interesting process of cult stratification. Corresponding to

this cult stratification—and this is but a legitimate sequel of the other—we find a process of cult-act stratification, the so-called centres of Aryan worship revealing the Vedic, the Tantric and the Mantric cults both higher and lower, while the sacred topes and shrines of the hill tribes often enough witnessing the simple type of Vedic and Tantric rites. Again the mutual fusion of the Aryan and the Dravidian has resulted in another fundamental aspect in us; the numerous, Dravidian deities pregnant with positive power for evil and mischief and the Aryan deities with their civilising influences made the people put singular faith in votive offerings. As a people we are most inclined to make votive offerings and ours is the land of votive offerings and prayers not merely at particular seasons for a particular purpose, but the whole year round without any specific purpose in view, this being looked upon as a part of our religion. The singularly mixed religion and mixed rites have created in us a sense of toleration and accommodation, probably unrivalled anywhere else in the whole of India. Cults and cult-acts have not so far produced sects and sectarian prejudices; in other words religion has never been a cause of social and political turmoils with us. And it is a piece of striking testimony to find our kings and chiefs lavishly patronising all kinds of religions and their followers. The hill-tribes as much as the Asthaghattil Adhyans, the Sakteya as much as the pure Agnihotri, or the Advaitin or Dvaitin or Viśiṣṭhādvaitin, the Jewish and Christian priest as much as the Mohammedan Thangal, all are equally honoured and respected. It is difficult to find out whether a brahmin is a Śaivite or a Dvaitin, the aupāśaka of Śakti or Veṭṭakkaran or Ayyappan. All are equal in our eyes and the particular deity in front occupies the foremost place in our thoughts and that deity is for the time being the very highest conception of the all supreme being. Such an attitude on our part has led to the blunting away of the sharp edges of divergent cults and creeds so much so that the actual passage from

the one to the other is imperceptible and unnoticed. One moment one figures as a typical animist, the next as a fetish worshipper, while at home he might be found propitiating the spirit of his departed ancestors and the malignant deities, while in his intellectual pursuits he remains an Advaitin. Such was the life, so far as we know that the great advaitācārya himself led, I mean Śrī Śaṅkarabhagavadpādācārya. Add to these the modern conditions of life, modern currents of thought, and no wonder the world of religion is undergoing remarkable transformation, as much as the social educational, and political world. In spite however of these a careful observer can still pitch upon vestiges, certain unerring demarcating lines, by means of which he can separate the original primitive shrines from the Aryan temples. Thus all Bhagavatī shrines which still retain some sort of animal sacrifice, annual festivals including obscene songs, which continue as centres for casting off demons or which have several local stories connected with its original—all such shrines may be termed pre-Aryan in origin. Similarly, the Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite shrines may also go back to a pre-Aryan origin, provided they have associated with them some primitive cults or un-Aryan incidents. Similarly such shrines as are thought fit for Sannyasins to go and worship may generally be said to have an Aryan origin. In other words, from a comparative study of the deity, the cults and cult-acts of the temple, one may expect to trace the origin of the shrine whether it is Dravidian or Aryan. But the process is becoming day by day more and more difficult. One characteristic feature that distinguishes the Dravidian deities from the Aryan is that fact that while the Aryan deities are all connected with heaven, though sometimes living on the earth as *Avatara* and benevolent in character, the Dravidian deities are mainly of the earth hovering in the air and malevolent in character. This appears to be an important basis of differentiation and the origin of the gods may also be utilised as a clue to find out the origin

of the temple. In other words the Dravidians associated their deities locally so as to make them particularly their own. This tendency is also borrowed by the Aryans and we have consequently many Aryan local gods.

If we try to find out what exactly the type of our religion is, we find we are animists, because we worship spirits; we have fetishism because we worship certain objects which are supposed to possess uncommon properties; we have also demonolatory, because we accept a number of demons who are dreaded beings in our pantheon. In addition to all these we have also a large number of gods who are characterised by higher abstractions. These various gods, animistic, fetishistic, demonistic and abstract are all inextricably interwoven. Therefore it is hazardous to characterise our religion by any one of these terms.

K. RAMA PISHAROTTI

Sanskrit Poetesses Vijjā and Morikā

In ancient India women occupied a high position as regards education and culture. There were several female writers, of whom we intend to deal in this paper with the literary activities of two eminent poetesses called Vijjā and Morikā.

In the 10th century A.D., the poet-laureate Rājasekhara pointed out in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, that culture is an attribute of the soul; poetic genius brooks no difference of sex; women too can be gifted with poetic genius as much as men. "It is seen as well as heard," says our poet, "that princesses, daughters of ministers and others have proved themselves well versed in spiritual knowledge as also endowed with poetic genius."¹ In the same treatise Rajasekhara thrice² refers to the views of his wife Avantisundari on intricate questions of rhetoric; and we find in his drama *Karpura mañjarī* that the first performance of the said drama was undertaken at the instance of his wife.³ Towards the end of the *Pāiyyalacchinama-mālā* Dhanapāla points out that the treatise, originally intended for his sister Sundari was given final form in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era i.e. 972-73 A.D. We think this is the same Avantisundari whose verses are found extant in lexicographies and rhetorical works.

But to whom did the poet refer by the phrase: "It is heard"?

Vijja is sure to be one of them. We find a verse by Vijjā herself in the MS. of a work called *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* by Hari Kavi.⁴ In this verse⁵ she says: "My name is Vijjakā. My complexion is

1 Puruṣavad yoṣito'pi kavibhaveyuh, etc., p. 53, Baroda ed., Gackwad's Oriental series, vol. I.

2 Pp. 20, 46 and 57 of the same ed.

3 Vide Prastāvanā.

4 Verses 276-277.

5 See Bhandarkar's Report, Poona, 92 of 1883-84.

6 Fol. 35 (b) of the MS. The 4th pāda of the verse is the same as the 4th pāda of the 1st verse of Dandin's *Kāvyaadarśa*.

dark like a blue lotus. The poet Daṇḍin, not knowing about me, has said that Sarasvatī is all white.” As Vijjā refers to the poet Daṇḍin in this verse, there can be no doubt that she was either contemporary with or posterior to Daṇḍin. One of Vijjā’s verses, viz., *Dhanyāsi yā kathayasi*, etc;⁷ is found quoted in Mukula Bhaṭṭa’s work *Abhidhāvṛttimātrkā*. Mukula Bhaṭṭa was the son of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, a contemporary⁸ of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir. Avantivarman reigned from 855 to 883 A.D. Hence there is no doubt that Vijjā must have flourished prior to this date. Most probably, she flourished during the middle of the 8th century A.D. Whether she is identical with Vijayamahadevi, wife of Candraditya still remains to be proved. We find the poetess also designated as Vijjakā,⁹ Vijjākā,¹⁰ Vijjikā,¹¹ Vidyā¹² and Vijā.¹³

No complete work of Vijjā is as yet known to us, but we know of a good many verses composed by her, some of them being preserved only in MSS.

She dwells mainly on three themes : viz., Human beings, Love and Nature.

Human beings in general, believes our poetess, are absolutely helpless to check the inexorable course of destiny. The pride of the mightiest may, one day or other, crumble to the ground,—the king of to-day may become a beggar in the streets to-morrow. The rule of destiny is supreme, the ravages of time are unimpeded. In yonder tank, once lusty elephants in rut used to bathe, and the

7 P. 12 of the Nirṇaya-sāgara ed., 1916, Bombay.

8 Vide *Rājatarāṅgi*, v. 66.

9 *Sārngadhara-paddhati*, 451, 582, 1131, 3746, 3769.

10 E.g. *Subhāsitāvalī* by Vallabhadeva, 158, 3137, 1141. The India Office MS. of the *Subhāsitāvalī*, Aufrecht collection 59, General No. 7245, gives the name once as Bhijjakā.

11 E.g. *Subhāsitāvalī* of Vallabha, 1175.

12 E.g. *Sadukhikarnāmrta* by Śrīdharadāsa, MS. India Office Library, Aufrecht collection 57, ii, 61.

13 *Op. cit.*, ii, 270.

waves raised by their huge temples reached as high as the sky. But alas! in course of time, to-day the tank has not water enough even for a heron to dive in.¹⁴

In another verse,¹⁵ she points out that all our thoughts are lumped together like clay on the wheel of destiny, and the rod of misfortune churns them into an indistinguishable mass,—destiny goes on and on inexorably—what can men possibly do or think? But at the same time our poetess points out encouragingly that although we cannot impede the inevitable course of destiny and are bound to suffer its consequence, there is no reason for giving ourselves up to absolute despair, for real greatness cannot be hampered by destiny. Oceans, mountains and the like, though chained to the fetters of fate, are yet not small or lowly.¹⁶

Since human beings cannot escape their fates, they try, she points out, to accommodate themselves, as best as they can, to their circumstances. E.g. yonder campaka tree in the garden of an evil person living in unfavourable surroundings, has still to live. All its leaves have fallen off, all branches broken; the poor tree is bereft of its twigs and leaves¹⁷ for the grasses underneath to grow luxuriantly.

Our poetess gives a very fine portrait of an unchaste woman. Such a woman resorts to all sorts of devices for fulfilling her vicious purpose. She¹⁸ calls her neighbour and tells her innocently: Dear,

14 Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali-saṅgraha*, Bhandarkar's *Third Report of Sans. MSS.*, Ms. No. 370, (Poona, 1884-85), fol. 47 (b).

15 *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* by Hari Kavi, fol. 54 (b); Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvali.*, 3137. *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati*, 451.

16 *Subhāṣitāvali* by Vallabhadeva, verse No. 3138.

17 Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 51 (a), *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati*, verse 1003.

18 *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati* by Vallabhadeva, verse no. 3769, Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, Bombay, 1922, p. 215, l. 6, *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Durgā-prasāda's ed., p. 72; Hemacandra's *Kāvya-niśāna*, *Kāvya-mālā* ed. of 1901, p. 35; Kṛṣṇa Mīśra's *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, Kāśī Sanskrit series, 1927, p. 23 (Cited as an example of the figure Bhāvika). Rājacūdāmaṇi Dikṣita's *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, ed. by Subrahmanya Sastrin, p. 124.

I could not find time during the day to fetch water from the river. But my husband does not like to drink water from our well. So I must now go and fetch water from the river, though it is now quite dark, though I may be scratched by the hard reeds on the river bank. The husband on his return is sure to appreciate his wife's devotion and thought for his comfort. Poor innocent fellow!

A woman herself, Vijjā weeps for love-lorn women who are in real distress. She feels most deeply the inconsolable sorrow, the irreparable loss of a woman who once reigned like a queen in the heart of her lover, but is now thrown off by him like a dried flower. Once a single drop of tear from her eyes was enough to cause him the greatest distress and heart-ache but now even the constant flow of tears, enough to fill up a pond, cannot soften his iron heart; once he tried to be at her side on every pretext, but now even the most earnest prayers on her part cannot bring him before her, but she herself is not to be blamed for this, a woman's heart knows no change—she is true to her lover, she bewails to her last breath the loss of love, yet without any response. What can be more pathetic than this?¹⁹ The rainy season, the deep rumbling of the clouds, the sudden flash of lightning, the air fragrant with the Kadamba blossoms—all conspire to enhance her heart-burn.²⁰ The god of love, the love-lorn lady thinks, has been twice defeated before by Śiva and by the Buddha, and now alas, for the third time he is defeated by her merciless lover who has forsaken her.²¹

Our poetess, though so very sympathetic to faithful women unjustly deserted by their lovers, is aware at the same time that all women are not constant, but points out that the hearts of young ladies may, like a rainbow, be fickle (*cañcala*) inclined towards many

19 Cp. Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, verse no. 1141.

20 MS. of Jalhana's *Sūkṣi-muktāvali* (Poona, 1884-85), fol. 124 (b).

21 *Sadukti-karnāmṛta* by Śrīdharadāsa, India Office Library, Aufrecht MS.

(*aneka-rāga-rāñjita*) devoid of any good qualities (*nirguṇa*), crooked (*vakra*) and difficult to be wooed (*duṣprāpya*).²²

Vijjā's description of Nature is very charming, at the same time simple and sweet,—resorting to no far-fetched thoughts. She gives a very simple and natural picture of the morning: The bees, dressed in the pollens of lotuses, are humming all the more sweetly, the golden glory of the sun-rays, kissing the lofty Udaya mountain, has spread over the heaven and the earth.²³ In another place she portrays the beauty of the spring. During the spring, she points out, the lovely red pollen of the palāśa flower looks just like Cupid's bow, red with the heart-blood of lovers, and just like it is out for the capture of the hearts of the meek maidens.²⁴ In this verse the beauty of thoughts surpasses by far the beauty of rhetoric,—and lovers of poetry are at once reminded of Harṣadeva²⁵ and Viśvanātha²⁶ for poetic and rhetorical perfections.²⁷

The second poetess about whom we intend to speak here is Morikā, equal in rank to Vijjā, both of them being honoured by Dhanadadeva, in the same verse, as possessed of great knowledge and incomparable in the art of subtle argumentation.²⁸

The messenger, sent by our poetess on behalf of her heroine, is a straight maiden, not a believer in honeyed or flowery words. So she without mincing words remonstrates with the hero to accom-

22 MS. of Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, fol. 96 (b). Note the punning: the adjectives fit in both with the rainbow and the heart.

23 *Sadukti-karnāmṛta* by Śrīdharaḍāsa, Aufrecht MS. 57 preserved in the India Office Library, iii. 41; Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Banhatti's ed, p. 192; Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita's *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, ed. by Subrahmanya Śāstrin, p. 290; Kuntala's own commentary on his *Vakrokti-jīvita*, ed. by S. K. De, p. 61.

24 *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa, fol. 111 (b).

25 Vide *Ratnāvalī*, *Vasanta-varṇanā*.

26 Vide *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, chap. 10, section on upamā, p. 501, 1. 1 of the *Nirnaya-sāgara* ed.

27 MS. of *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, fol. 111 (b)

28 *Śārngadhara-paddhati*, verse no. 163.

pany her at once, without ado, to the bower of his lady-love. She and he cannot live apart, just as the moon and the night cannot shine without the other. So what is the use of futile delay,—false show of anger?²⁹ With these words the messenger-maiden drags on the lover, without ceremony, to her mistress, and to happiness.

The heart of the awaiting heroine, as painted by our poetess with keen psychological insight and womanly sympathy, overflows with deep and spontaneous love for her lover, unimpeded like a dancing brook. When her lover comes, she offers herself to him heart and soul, with the simple and touching faith of a child, and entreats him not to leave her and thereby send her to eternal death. She is humble, she is poor,—even her body is on the wane, yet her heart, unimpaired and fresh as ever, is his, wholly his. So let him stay and reign on her heart for ever.³⁰ Very sweet indeed is this simple impression of a woman's innermost soul.

When the lover is away, the heroine is in a very sad plight. Her lover is gone—so Spring is over for her now. Now to her it is the rainy season,—with its frowning masses of dark clouds, with its cruel flashes of lightning, with its torrential rains and storms. She loses all interest in life,—everything is the same to her, nothing matters, nothing enlivens or encourages her. So, with her heart heavy with grief, her eyes blinded by the ceaseless flow of tears, she dares not even count the lines on earth, representing the number of days before her lover could return to her, lest the counting should falsify her own estimate.³¹

The character of the hero too is portrayed very finely by our poetess. He is not callous to the tender advances of his lady-love. When she lovingly lifts up her rosy lips to his, when she gently closes her lovely eyes in an ecstasy of bliss, the very thought of

29 Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, verse no. 1396.

30 *Op. cit.*, verse no. 1053.

31 Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, verse no. 1072.

leaving her, unresponsively seems the height of cruelty to him. The merest suspicion of tears in her dark entreating eyes is enough to cause him the greatest distress, so when he sees her tear-bathed cheeks, can he possibly think of anything else, any other gain or prize, other than his love?³²

All the verses of Morikā that we have found—comparatively, a small number—deal with one topic, viz., love; and not with a variety of topics as found in Vijjā's verses.

If we compare Vijjā and Morikā, we find that while Vijjā has a likeness, in some places, for complex words and long compounds,³³ Morikā is in complete favour of simplicity and clearness of word and meaning. While the current of thought of the former sometimes gets hindered on the rocky bed of rhetorical and other technical conventions,³⁴ that of the latter flows on uninterruptedly. Both, however, are equal in point of sweetness of thought. Vijjā is fairly good in clever punning³⁵ and similes³⁶ but Morikā does not attempt at all to show her skill in these points.

Vijjā as well as Morikā have written in the Jāti and Vṛtta metres, of which Āryā³⁷ of the first variety and Śārdūla-vikṛīḍita³⁸ of the second are common to them. Morikā employs the Druta-

32 Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvali*, verse no. 1050.

33 E.g. *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*, verses 582 and 1131; Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 47 (a).

34 Vijjā has frequently been quoted by the rhetoricians; e.g. *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Bombay, ed., pp. 74 & 517; Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mimāṃsā*, Baroda ed., 1916, p. 67. Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, ed. by D. Dviveda, 1922, p. 111. Viśveśvara Paṇḍita's *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*, ed. by Śivadatta, 1898, p. 166; Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Banhatti's ed., p. 136; Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita's *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, ed. by Subrahmanya Śāstrin, p. 228.

35 E.g. Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 96 (a). 36 Op. cit., fol. 90 (b).

37 Vijjā. MS. of Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 96 (b); op. cit., fol. 111 (b). Morikā: Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1072.

38 Vijjā. Op. cit., fol. 47 (b); Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1523; op. cit., 1175; Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 124 (b). Morikā: Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1053. op. cit., 1050.

vilambita metre in a stanza³⁹ where it is most appropriate. In her verses Vijjā employs various metres, viz., Pṛthvī⁴⁰ Hariṇī⁴¹ Vasanta-tilaka,⁴² Sikhariṇī,⁴³ Vaṁśasthā,⁴⁴ Svāgatā,⁴⁵ etc.

In Vijjā and Morikā, we do not find any attempt at discussing or solving philosophical and religious problems. They do not think it necessary to enquire into a supermundane Lord over and above the Lord of a woman's heart—her lover, or into any other religious or sacred duties over and above the duties of human love, affection and kindness. Their verses deal with most common-place objects, most ordinary relations between men and women, but never attempt to soar up beyond our everyday world of love and separation, joy and tear, beauty and misery. Thus womanlike, both our poetesses aim at the welfare of this mundane world only, by giving its true but decent picture and never venture beyond it with regard to the great Unknown whom sages and mystics are for ever trying in vain to know.

J. B. CHAUDHURI

39 Vallabha's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1396.

40 *Sārṅgadhara-paddhoti*, 582.

41 *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* by Hari Kavi, fol. 64 (b); *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*, 451; Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 3138.

42 *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati*, 3746.

43 Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali*, fol. 51 (a); Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1141.

44 Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, 158.

45 *Op. cit.* 2090.

Murari Rao Ghorepade

(A Maratha Adventurer in the Carnatic).

Introduction

In the middle of the 18th century the prevailing political and social unrest enabled a number of men of genius to come to the fore-front and carve out prominent positions for themselves. To this category of personages belong Haidar Ali of Mysore, Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant,* and Murari Rao Ghorepade. The last named kept himself up as a factor of political and military importance for nearly forty years and was the ancestor of the present ruling family of Sandur. Murari Rao is one of those half-forgotten worthies of the 18th century who, despite his ultimate failure to render permanent his rich achievements, had left a reputation for remarkable fighting abilities, firmness of political organisation and gallantry and was most useful to the struggling English power at a period of critical turn in their fortunes. The present paper does not aim at giving a complete and detailed picture of his life, but tries to trace, in some detail, on the basis of reliable and authentic material available, Murari Rao's activity in the Carnatic in the two fateful decades that ended with the final triumph of the English over the French in South India and with the fall of Pondicherry before Sir Eyre Coote in 1761.

1 Maratha aggressions in the Carnatic

The Marathas made their first great irruption in the Carnatic, in the spring of 1740. A body of cavalry under Raghuji Bhonsle, numbering 40 to 50 thousands marched against Cuddapah and worsted the troops of its Nawab Abdu'n Nabi Khan. At the

* The subject of a biography of value by S. C. Hill.

Damalcheruvu Pass, Nawab Dost Ali Khan was slain in battle with them; and his wife and daughters and the wife and son of Safdar Ali, his son and successor, were sent over to the protection of the French at Pondicherry. Safdar Ali's letter to Pondicherry as summarised by the Pondicherry Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, in his entry for July 7, 1740,¹ gives the details of the battle between Dost Ali and the Marathas and the death of the former. Safdar Ali was recognised as the new Nawab by the Marathas in August; and the latter concluded a secret treaty with him by which they consented to evacuate the province on the secret understanding that they should receive a large portion of the districts in possession of Chanda Sahib, a son-in-law of the late Nawab and the ruler of Trichinopoly, as the prize of his effectual removal from the Carnatic. Chanda Sahib was deceived into a sense of security by the seeming quiet of the Marathas and sold off the provisions which he had accumulated in Trichinopoly. He had also sent his wife for safety to Pondicherry and even accompanied Safdar Ali on a state visit to the French Governor in September. It was only in November that the Marathas again became active. They first swooped down on Tiruvannamalai and raided the surrounding country. Then they captured Porto Novo and raided the Dutch factory at that place. They marched into the Cuddalore territory, pillaged the town of Tiruppapuliyur and advanced up the coast to Madras where they were repulsed. A news-letter dated 8-3-1739, from Daulat Rao Murar to Chimnaji Appa² tells us how skilfully the Peshwa Baji Rao, his brother and his son were developing the subject of pushing on Maratha conquests in the Carnatic. We also,

¹ *Diary*: vol. I, tr. by J. F. Price and K. Rangachari (1904) pp. 124-6. See also *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* of Burhan-ibn-Hasan, vol. I, tr. by S. M. H. Nainar, (1934) pp. 723.

² No. 1, 'Selections from the Peshwa Daftar—Peshwa Balajirao's Karnataka Affairs 1740-1761.'

read, later, how Maharaja Shahu tried to satisfy Babuji Naik in the matter of the settlement of the debts, due to him, by granting him a *mamla* in the Carnatic. Raghuji Bhonsle who was in charge of the Carnatic expedition was strongly suspected of being defiant towards the Peshwa and towards his co-adjutor, Fateh Singh Bhonsle. In the midst of his Carnatic campaign, news reached Raghuji of the death of Baji Rao and of Chimnaji Appa, who were the only persons who could keep him under control. He now felt himself complete master of the situation and wrung a large amount of money from Nawab Safdar Ali by promising him help in his difficulties and also advised him not to recognise the Peshwa's claim of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over his subah.

The next achievement of the Marathas was the conquest of Trichinopoly from Chanda Sahib. The English (Madras) Council's despatch to the Directors from Fort St. George, of September 26, 1741, contains the circumstances leading to the Maratha capture of Trichinopoly and the sequel of events that followed. The summary of circumstances is given below.³

3 The Marathas took Trichinopoly in the middle of March 1741 and withdrew in May. In the previous year, while Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib were at Arcot in apparent friendliness, Mir Asad, the Nawab's Diwan, who was with the Marathas in the Western Carnatic, concluded a treaty with them by which Chanda Sahib was to pay 7 lakhs of rupees as 'composition' for Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib resented this arrangement, left Arcot, hastened to Trichinopoly and provisioned it for a siege. It was believed that this was done only to destroy Chanda Sahib, that the Marathas had been promised a monthly sum till Trichinopoly should be taken, and that they were furnished with provisions by the Moors (the Nawab Safdar Ali's men). The Raja of Tanjore and the Hindu princes tributary to Trichinopoly, assisted the Marathas, on condition that Trichinopoly should not be left in Muhammadan hands. When his provisions ran short, Chanda Sahib offered the Marathas 12 lakhs. It was thought that this offer would be accepted, especially as Fateh Singh was believed to favour Chanda; and it was said that the Marathas would support Khan Bahadur (Chanda's son-in-law) in his pretensions to the subah of Arcot. Safdar Ali shut himself up at Gingee and reproached the Marathas for their breach of faith. The Tanjoreans and their other Hindu allies adjured the Marathas not to expose them to Chanda's revenge. Negotiations broke off; and

Chanda Sahib had agreed to pay a ransom of 8 lakhs of rupees, but as his wife at Pondicherry insisted on his being released before any money was paid, he and his son were carried off to Satara. His partisans now gave out that he would be made Nawab by Nizamu'l-Mulk and be assisted by the Marathas against Safdar Ali. Trichinopoly was not plundered as the Marathas knew that everything of value therein had been removed. They at first wanted to give it to the late Hindu queen's heir; but as he was unable to furnish the desired security, Murari Rao was left in charge, with orders to pay the usual tribute to Arcot.

Thus Murari Rao came on the scene of Carnatic politics. Even by now he had gained a considerable reputation as a raider and a fighter. When Raghuji marched into the Carnatic, we are told that Murari Rao Ghorepade had plundered many villages near Raichur. Some time later we hear from a letter from Ravinitula Adiappa, the English spy at Gingee, that Murari Rao had joined the main body of the Maratha army with 10,000 horse and was urging Raghuji to go against and attack Seringapatam. In the close of November 1740, we again have information from Oraganta Rama, the English spy at Tiruvannamalai, that Murari Rao had plundered Ambur and Vaniyambadi and later Conjeevaram, against which he proceeded with 1,000 horse and even took away the cloths of gold in its temples and then advanced against (Cheyyar) Tiruvattur. Mir Ghulam Husain, an officer of the Nawab, was sent in pursuit of Murari Rao; but he only plundered the villages that had escaped the Marathas and represented that he had taken the booty back

after Bade Sahib, his brother who advanced from Madura, with 5,000 horse and 8,000 foot, had been defeated and killed in his attempt to relieve the place, Chanda Sahib surrendered the fort on March 13. Meanwhile great uncertainty prevailed as to what the Marathas would do next. Nawab Safdar Ali himself distrusted them and advised the English continuously of their movements, though the Maratha plans of 1740-1 were believed to have been concerted in consultation with the Muhammadans.

from them. The spy above mentioned gives a list of twenty villages plundered by Murari Rao in the neighbourhood of Tiruvannāmalai.

2. *Murari Rao, governor of Trichinopoly, 1741-43*

The Marathas left the Carnatic in a state of complete disorganisation. Both English and French letters note the prevailing disobedience to and defiance of Safdar Ali's orders, since he had "neither money, nor troops, nor authority to make himself respected and obeyed; each Muhammadan noble acts as his own master and assumes sovereign powers in his forts and territories; we foresee no end to these disorders."⁴ The most persistent of the foes of Safdar Ali was his cousin, Murtazā Ali of Vellore who, in the words of Orme, "born cruel and treacherous, had no restraints in his composition to stop his hand from the perpetration of any crime, by which his avarice, ambition or revenge could be gratified." Safdar Ali was murdered in bed on the 13th of October 1742 when he was a guest of his cousin in the Vellore Fort and his Diwan, Mir Asad, was heavily chained and imprisoned. Murtaza Ali had himself proclaimed as Nawab; but this *coupe de état* did not give the reward he coveted. His troops broke into open mutiny and Murari Rao of Trichinopoly declared war against him. Terrified at the demands of his soldiers, Murtaza Ali escaped from Arcot to Vellore in women's cloths; and the boy-son of Safdar Ali was duly proclaimed Nawab by Mir Asad. The Pondicherry Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, thus comments on the misdoings of the troops of the Nawab who were encamped near Pondicherry at that time. "The havoc previously committed by the Marathas was nothing compared with this. It is true they plundered and pillaged, but the people managed to

⁴ Despatch of the Pondicherry Council to the French Company, dated 1st October, 1741. [p. 8 Introduction. *Calendar of Madras Records 1740-44.*]

save at least something from their hands, and so continued to eke out a living. But now the country has been utterly laid waste.’⁵

Murari Rao continued to be in occupation of Trichinopoly till August 1743, when he had to evacuate the fort in favour of Nizamu’l-Mulk and quitted the Carnatic. Nizamu’l-Mulk arrived at Arcot with a large army in March, 1743. All the chiefs of the country promptly submitted to him, and he appointed Khwājah Abdullah Khan, one of his officers, to the charge of the minor Nawab and of the government of the Carnatic. He then ordered Murari Rao to evacuate Trichinopoly, but finding that the Marathas persisted in refusing to obey his orders, marched with his whole army to Trichinopoly and sat down before it. “Presents and promises supplied the place of hostility in reducing it.” Murari Rao evacuated Trichinopoly on the 29th August 1743 according to the Pondicherry Diarist. He was tempted with the grant of the hill-fort of Penukonda; and the Nizam contrived to carry on the siege operations against Trichinopoly with only a semblance of reality, but without ever offering actual battle. Thus the Diarist says: ‘By these means, Asaf Jah who is an astute man, gained his object, but at the same time Murari Rao gathered renown.’ This piece of news was later confirmed by a letter addressed to Dupleix by Imam Sahib, an officer of the Carnatic subah since the time of Dost Ali, who had extensive money dealings with Pondicherry.

During the period of his governorship at Trichinopoly, as ever afterwards, Murari Rao continued to indulge in his raids on the Nawab’s territories. Murari Rao seems to have been given only the temporary charge of Trichinopoly after it was captured from Chanda Sahib, because, according to the news that reached the Governor of Madras in April 1741, Raghuji Rao Bhonsle was negotiating with Ramanayya and Govindayya with a view to restore the old Hindu

family—the only other alternative being its coming under the rule of a great Maratha leader. The letter from Kuppayya, the English vakil at Uttatur, to the Governor of Madras, April 16, 1741, says:—"Murari Ghorpade commands Trichinopoly. It will either be restored to the old Rajah's family or be placed under the Maratha." When Murari Rao applied later to the English for some ammunition, the Madras Council resolved neither absolutely to refuse his request, nor to enter into any engagements with him. The reason that was alleged by the English for refusing the request for the supply of ammunition made by Murari Rao was that the country languages were so little known to them and the interpreters were so bad that they could not understand country politics and therefore refused the request. But nevertheless, the English sent a vakil on a conciliatory mission to Trichinopoly with presents to him. As we saw above, he was openly against Murtaza Ali and refused all support to him in his pretensions to the Arcot subah; on the other hand, he declared himself openly against the pretender.

3. *Murari Rao reappears on the Carnatic.*

Later, after his withdrawal from Trichinopoly, Murari Rao retired into the southern fringes of the Deccan. He had always an eye on the Carnatic and discussed, in a letter dated September 1747, the possibilities arising from its disturbed condition.⁶ He was dissatisfied with the activities of Babuji Naik who intrigued with Fateh Singh Bhonsle and concerted measures to secure the rights of *chauth* etc., over the Carnatic for themselves from the Peshwa.

It was Chanda Sahib's descent into the Carnatic and the revolution that was effected by his victory at Ambur (1749) that changed the whole situation and brought Murari Rao once again into promi-

6 No. 57 of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, (28) Peshwa Balaji Rao: *Karnatak Affairs, 1740-1761*.

nence as an adventurer in the subah of Arcot. In 1745 Murari Rao seemed to have again invaded the Carnatic, but was driven away by the Muhammadan garrison of Trichinopoly after some time spent in the plunder of the country round the fort. On this occasion the Kallars of the Tanjore kingdom who had made nightly irruptions even into the camp of Nazir Jang, gave the Marathas considerable trouble and cut off large numbers of their cavalry men, who strayed into the limits of Tanjore and Madura. After the defeat and death of Nawab Anwaru'd-din at the hands of Chanda Sahib and his ally Muzaffar Jang (at Ambur, 1749) Nazir Jang applied to Raghuji Bhonsle for a body of Maratha troops, promising some cession of territory as a reward for their service. Nazir Jang also summoned all the Mughal dependants and tributaries in the Carnatic to be prepared to join his army as he advanced southward. Murari Rao, who was then the *jagirdar* of Gooty, the possession of which was granted to him in 1746 by the Nizam, the Rajah of Mysore and the Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur and Muhammad Ali, the second son of Anwaru'd-din, with his supporters and the Governor and Council of the English Presidency then located at Fort St. David, were the principal authorities who joined or sent their troops to accompany Nazir Jang. Raghuji also sent his son Janoji with 10,000 horse to join Nazir Jang in the Carnatic.

After the battle of Ambur and when Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang drew up their plan of operations, Dupleix arranged that letters should be written to Raghuji Bhonsle, Fateh Singh and other Maratha chiefs, requesting them to maintain Chanda Sahib in his position and hinder his enemies from attacking him.⁷

⁷ The Diarist Ranga Pillai's entry of a conversation he had with Jayaram Pandit, the Maratha *Vakil* at Pondicherry, November 5, 1749—*Diary*; vol. VI, p. 236.

During the operations of Chanda Sahib in the kingdom of Tanjore between December 1749 and March 1750, there were more of negotiations about the actual sums to be paid as blackmail by the Rajah of Tanjore than active fighting on either side. The Rajah was a past master in the art of procrastination and Chanda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices and, knowing them to be common practices, consented to wait rather than forego the money of which they were in want.

The death of Maharajah Shahu at Satara in December 1749 had its remote repercussions even in Tanjore. Chanda Sahib seriously thought, as soon as he heard the news, of renewing active operations against the Tanjore Rajah and capturing his fort. He even planned to put his own son on the throne of Tanjore. Duplex, who had a wider perspective of the political situation, was apprehensive that such an action on the part of Chanda Sahib might provoke the great Maratha chiefs, like the Peshwa Balaji Rao, Fateh Singh, Raghuji Bhonsle, Sripat Rao and others and incline them to definitely go over to the side of Nazir Jang; and so he advised that Chanda Sahib should avoid that course of action and gave orders to the French captain and jamadar of sepoy with him not to plunder Tanjore. So, far from the Maratha leaders taking any offence at the actions of Chanda Sahib, they were very busy at home in the domestic revolution that followed the death of Shahu. Balaji Rao Peshwa himself was then engrossed completely in consolidating his own position of supremacy which became stable only in the late monsoon of 1750. He mollified Raghuji Bhonsle by confirming him in all his eastern possessions and giving him full powers over Bengal, Berar and Gondwana. He quieted the opposition of the other ministers like the Pant Sachiv, degraded the new Pratinidhi, Jagiivan, who was his hereditary foe and rival, and conciliated Fateh Singh by confirming him in the possession of his jaghirs and in the title of the Rajah of Akalkot.

4. *Murari Rao participates in the wars of the Carnatic.*

After Chanda Sahib resolved to retire from Tanjore (1750) since hearing that Nazir Jang had arrived near the Cheungam Pass, Murari Rao appeared on the northern frontier of the Tanjore country with a large body of Maratha horse, surrounded and plundered the neighbourhood of Chidambaram on the northern side of the Coleroon and only retreated on the near approach of Chanda Sahib. Murari Rao was now joined by Moropant and fought a small action with the enemy near the old Coleroon, a little to the south of Chidambaram. Being continuously harrassed by the Marathas and often repulsing them with the fire of the French cannon, Chanda Sahib, Muzaffar and the French troops with them reached Tiruviti, a temple fort on the Gadilam, near Pauruti (R.S.) The Marathas had come up to the place even before the French could reach it. When the allies retreated to Pondicherry, Dupleix had to order a body of French troops to encamp at Villianallur and to see that the Maratha horsemen who were hovering on the outskirts of the camp of the allies did not actually effect any injury. Meanwhile Nazir Jang had occupied Gingee and shortly afterwards pitched his camp between Villupuram and Kolianallur;⁸ he was reinforced by a body of English soldiers and sepoys from Fort St. David, while the Marathas and the Kallars on his side gave plenty of trouble to the enemy. Murari Rao was, all the while, in the Nizam's camp along with other Maratha captains like Sanoji Nimbalakar and Chandra Sen. Murari Rao continued to negotiate on his own account with Dupleix and even informed him that Nazir Jang had a wholesome fear of the French. This offer of negotiation from Murari Rao quieted the apprehensions entertained at Pondicherry that Murari Rao would be given by Nazir Jang the right of collecting *chauth* in the Arcot subah on condition of his staying on in the country, as

8 These places are all in the present South Arcot District.

was reported. During all the weary months of the summer and autumn of 1750, Murari Rao continued on, pursuing his own designs, participating in all the movements of Nazir Jang's main army, also privately carrying on a correspondence with Dupleix and at the same time showing an apprehensive anxiety to prevent his fellow Maratha sardars from getting more influence than he himself had acquired in the Nizam's darbar.

After the death of Nazir Jang (end of 1750) and in the operations of the year 1751, the prominence of Murari Rao became more apparent. In the course of the well-known operations of Clive round Arcot, Murari Rao's attitude received very warm commendation from that commander. Murari Rao now commanded 6,000 Marathas, and enjoyed a sort of commission from the ruler of Mysore to assist Muhammad Ali. He lay encamped for some time at the foot of the hills, about 30 miles west of Arcot. He was himself at first of the opinion that Muhammad Ali's retreat to Trichinopoly made his situation desperate and that his English allies were suspected of having little intention to support him. But now, Clive, after his brave defence of Arcot against Reza Sahib, sent a messenger to inform Murari Rao of his critical situation and to request his approach for his release. Murari Rao replied with a message that he would not delay even a moment to send a detachment of his troops to the assistance 'of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot whose behaviour had now first convinced him that the English could fight.'" He sent his nephew Basin (Bhujanga) Rao with 1,000 sepoys to assist Clive and himself proceeded at the head of the rest of his troops towards the south. He was taken definitely on the side of the Mysorean army encamped near Trichinopoly about the end of 1751. The Maratha troops under him were very efficient at reconnoitring. He himself ably and strongly seconded the Mysorean

demand for an immediate assault on the fort of Trichinopoly. But as was their habit, the Marathas quickly changed their mind and became suddenly and inexplicably lukewarm on the side of the English and their allies. Orme complains that the action with the French and Chanda Sahib on March 29, 1752 was lost owing to the treachery of Murari Rao 'who being at this time in treaty with Chunda-saheb, was unwilling to bring his Morattoes to action; and such was the opinion entertained of their courage, that none of the rest of the allies would venture to fight without them.' Shortly afterwards, Murari Rao broke off his secret negotiations with Chanda Sahib and showed renewed and commendable activity on the side of the English in such a manner that they were afraid of fighting with him. Orme says that he now impressed Chanda Sahib and the French "with terrors equal to those which he had formerly raised both in the English and the Nawab's army."

5. *Murari Rao changes sides frequently*

A captain of sepoy's under Murari Rao, by name innis Khan, accompanied Clive on his march to Samayavaram and secured a victory over a French party. Another party of the Marathas crossed with Dalton to Uttatur where they showed great gallantry in the fight against D'Auteuil whom they harrassed during his retreat to Valikandapuram and attacked him in the flank. But in spite of all their gallantry and bravery, the Marathas were not continuously and steadfastly faithful to their allies; and when finally Chanda Sahib and the French were caught up in the island of Srirangam, they showed themselves prepared to sell him to whoever of the allies might give them the largest return.

After the fate of Chanda Sahib was sealed, the Marathas still continued to stay on in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. Murari now definitely went over to the side of Mysore and took great pains to bring about an understanding between Muhammad Ali and the

Mysore commander. Orme says that in the course of these negotiations Murari Rao conducted himself with so much seeming impartiality that he was chosen with equal confidence by both sides to be the mediator between them; though in reality he was 'the most improper person that could have been chosen to adjust the difference.' "His views were, first, by ingratiating himself with the Nabob, to persuade him to admit a large body of Morattoes into the city as the best means of deceiving the regent into a belief that he really intended to give it up according to his promise; and these military umpires would have been instructed to seize on any opportunity that might offer of seducing or overpowering the rest of the garrison; and if this iniquitous scheme succeeded, he intended to keep possession of the city, which he had formerly governed, for himself. If there should be no opening for this plan, he determined to protract the dispute as long as possible by negotiations, during which he was sure of being kept in pay by the Mysorean, and did not doubt of having the address to get considerable presents from the Nabob. When this double dealing should be exhausted, he purposed to make the Mysorean declare war, knowing that he had too great an opinion of the Morattoes to carry it on without continuing them in his service."¹⁰

During all this time Murari Rao pretended to be very loyal to the Peshwa and assured the latter's cousin, Sadasiva Rao Bhao, of his loyalty.¹¹ It was ostensibly with the consent of Sadasiva Rao that Murari Rao set out on his Carnatic campaign in 1751. Vishnu Naik, the Sardešai of Phonda, wrote to Sadasiva Rao that he was accompanying Murari Rao in his campaign. Murari Rao kept himself also on good terms with Rani Tara Bai, the bitter opponent

¹⁰ *A History of Indostan*, (4th ed.), vol. I, p. 246.

¹¹ *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 28, pp. 3870-71. This letter commends the Peshwa's cleverness in transferring the charge of the Karnatak from Babu Naik to the Bhao and assures him of his own support.

of the Peshwa's supremacy, assured her of his attachment and wrote to her a letter of devotion about the middle of 1752, announcing his victory over Chanda Sahib. A very long letter of the same year gives us news of the events of the Carnatic as they affected Maratha interests. The following is its summary as given by the editor, Mr. G. S. Sardesai:—

'Shamrao Yadav to the Peshwa giving news from Karnatak: the arrival of a fresh contingent of French soldiers, the constant correspondence which the French carried on with Salabat Jang, the difference that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and Murarirao over the payment of tribute and the possession of the fort of Trichinopoly, Muhammad Ali proposing to the English to lead an attack on Pondicherry and the English refusing help, a skirmish between Muhammad Ali and the French at Gingee, the successes attained by Clive over the French and his subsequent elevation in the service, the French Governor finding fault with Ramdas pant for creating ill-will towards the Peshwa and the standing discord between the several petty states in the Karnatak are the main items mentioned in this letter.'¹²

6. *Events after the death of Chanda Sahib (1752-53).*

In the course of the events following the death of Chanda Sahib, Murari Rao found it to his interest to protract the operations round Trichinopoly. He received frequent presents and letters from Dupleix and his wife, who greatly praised the valour and activity of the Maratha cavalry. He also sent envoys to Pondicherry where an understanding was negotiated by which Dupleix promised to take Trichinopoly and give it to the Mysoreans and, in return, the latter were to pay 13 lakhs of rupees. Murari Rao himself was to receive 2 lakhs and a similar sum when Muhammad Ali should have been finally disposed off. Murari Rao pretended to the English in the camp at Trichinopoly that he had given orders to the commander of the Maratha troops that had accompanied the Nawab into the Carnatic not to allow his horsemen to plunder the villages of Pondicherry, but to help the French people. A definite settle-

ment was soon arrived at by Dupleix with Murari Rao. The details of it are as follows:—

"Dupleix agreed to them all, except that he insisted on Yadiki and Tadpatri being given only on lease and Sirpi not being given at all. Dupleix would also give Murari Rao the right of the Carnatic *chauth*, in spite of his understanding with the Peishwa to whom Salabat Jang had agreed to pay Murari Rao $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs every month, besides the present of 2 lakhs agreed upon. We are told that, in the course of the negotiations with the vakils of Murari Rao (December 1752) the governor and Madame Dupleix privately called three out of the four vakils and told them that, if they could by any means secure Murari Rao's assistance, they would be gratified."¹³ Martineau tells us in his book on Dupleix that it was probably understood between the two parties that the enemy should be harassed and attacked as much on the side of Tiruviti and Cuddalore as on that of Bhuvanagiri, Porto Novo and Chidambaram and the control of this region should precede their march on Trichinopoly.

7. Effect of his alliance with the French

Thus by the middle of January 1753, Murari Rao reached Pondicherry¹⁴ with a body of 4,000 men and he marched along with a body of French troops and sepoys to Tiruviti and fell upon the Nawab's army with great fury. Orme details the attack on Tiruviti, which took place on January 20. There were also several other skirmishes later on. In the first attack, the Maratha horse surrounded Major Lawrence, the English commander, and slew 100 of his party. Murari Rao then reproached the French of their

13 Vide Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, vol. III, pp. 302-9; *Accords avec Morarao*. Murari Rao arrived at Valudavur, where after four days, the final terms of the agreement were arrived at. They were:—

(1) Papayya Pillai, receiver-general of the finances of the Carnatic, would pay him monthly $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs. (2) Dupleix should obtain for him the districts of Ascott: (Hoskote), Kolar, Gooty, Penukonda and the ordinary *jaghirs* of these four fortresses. (3) Both were to share equally in the booty whether got in the field or in fortresses. (4) Murari Rao should remain at the French side with his army, till the affairs of the country should be fully settled and till Dupleix should give him permission. (5) The payment of Murari Rao's army was to commence from the 20th December (4000 cavaliers and 2,000 *fantassins*).

14 Ananda Ranga Pillai tells us that he was received at Pondicherry with the same honours as were paid to Muzaffar Jang.

cowardice in not having supported him in the manner that had been concerted between them. He continued to distress the enemy and prevented supplies reaching them. "Had the French behaved with the same activity and spirit as the Marathas who alone were active in this skirmishing operations, the situation of the English and their ally might have become precarious." Throughout the first quarter of 1753, Murari Rao was very active in the neighbourhood of Tiruviti. On the 1st April there was a furious engagement. "Murari Rao and his brother Bhujanga Rao, advanced against Muhammad Ali and the English, who were marching from Fort St. David, near Tiruviti taking provisions. Muhammad Ali and his *bakshi* Muhammad Abrar were wounded, but Bhujanga Rao was killed; while Murari Rao had his horse shot under him. The Diarist remarks:—"Others of Murari Rao's people were killed; but the enemy lost more. Although our army retreated the Marathas fought gloriously. They showed two or three times as much courage as they usually do, and our people disappointed them." This was the opinion of Dupleix who ordered a dress of honour and presents to be sent to Murari Rao.¹⁵ It was hoped that the Marathas would cut off completely all communications with Fort St. David. Murari Rao complained of the repeated failure of the French soldiers in camp to assist him and of their refusal to fight the enemy. He required guns, shot and powder of which only a small quantity was sent.

Murari Rao did not however get the promised subsidies from Dupleix. He harrassed every convoy that brought money to the enemy. At last Murari Rao captured the fort of Tiruviti in the

¹⁵ Orme testifies to the vigour of the charge of the Maratha cavalry on the English convoy which they followed from the vicinity of Fort St. David. He says that Bazin Row (Bhujanga Rao) was Murari Rao's nephew, the same who came to Clive's assistance after the siege of Arcot. The day ended with Lawrence assaulting the French near Tiruviti, but giving up the attempt owing to the strength of the French works.

beginning of May but not before the English had sent off all their property on the previous day. Orme says that the Marathas cut down every man of the party who sallied from the fort. The ravages of Maratha horsemen rendered cultivation impossible in the neighbouring districts, though the French occupations of the Gingee country became stronger. Murari Rao maintained that it was not his followers that harrassed the country and the cultivators, but that a number of soldiers of fortune pretending to be authorised by Dupleix and himself, levied contributions and committed acts of violence on the common people. He assisted in the attack of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai which was made by Murtaza Ali and he was finally prevailed upon to move the bulk of his troops to Trichinopoly which was seriously in danger from the Mysoreans. His horsemen delayed the return of Nawab Muhammad Ali to Trichinopoly and pursued him into the Tanjore country. Both Dupleix and Nanja Raja, the Mysore commander, intrigued with Pratap Singh of Tanjore and made him vacillate in his alliance with the English. They threatened that his country would be laid waste by Murari Rao's horse and bribed his chief minister, Sakkoji, who had contrived to get rid of Mankoji, a firm friend and champion of the Nawab and the English.

8. *Murari Rao submits to the Peshwa (1756-8)*

After some time the alliance between the Mysore Dalavay and Murari Rao began to weaken naturally. The former intended to return to Mysore when he heard of the Peshwa's advance into it from the Deccan and desired that the French and Murari Rao should combine and attempt to prevent the latter's further advance. An example of the military valour displayed by Murari Rao's troopers is worth quoting. When the French were attacked by Lawrence and the Nawab in the end of June near Trichinopoly, they abandoned their cannon and fled to the Mysore camp. "All the infantry ex-

cept the slain, flung away their arms and fled. Balaji Ghorpade, a sardar of Murari Rao's army, 5 or 6 jemadars and 20 or 30 troopers were killed. If the Marathas had not fought bravely, our whole army would have been destroyed. One of Nanja Raja's principal officers was also killed.¹⁶

Lawrence's despatch to Madras, dated June 27, 1753, says that the previous day, 'the enemy attacked one of our advanced posts, which being defended only by sepoy, they carried before we could get up to their assistance. Upon my marching out on the plain their whole army did the same; and a general action ensued in which the Nabob's troops were lucky enough to retake the post and repulsed the enemy which went off in such confusion that they left 2 pieces of cannon and a Haubitz behind them, likewise, their killed and wounded, among whom we found Ballapah, Moraree's nephew who commanded all the Morattoes now with the Daloway..... Their loss was considerable both in men and horses; it must certainly give the Daloway strange idea of his European ally, for though backed by so numerous an army, they behaved in a most dastardly manner.'¹⁷

Towards the end of the year Murari Rao still continued in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, when the deepest gloom prevailed among the French on account of the successive failures of all their attempts to take Trichinopoly. Dupleix had naturally to keep Murari Rao in full possession of the subsidies of money that he had been promised; and we find Ranga Pillai noticing that Pappiah Pillai, one of the renters at Pondicherry, was guilty of torturing merchants and others into giving forced loans in order to raise money for Murari Rao, while the latter complained that the French were

¹⁶ Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Diarist's entry for July 2, 1753; *Diary*, vol. VIII, p. 368.

¹⁷ *Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753: Records of Fort St. George*, p. 121.

always arrears to him, that he had not received the promised contribution from them for several months and that Dupleix had made false charges against him. Godeheu, the successor of Dupleix in the French Governorship, cleverly wrote to Murari Rao that he should have settled with the old Governor for the sums of money owing to him or that he might set off his claims against the sum that Nanja Raja, the Mysore Dalaway, owed to the French paying the latter whatever might remain after the adjustment.

Nanja Raja returned to Mysore in the early part of 1755, at the urgent summons of his brother, after having exhausted all his treasure and the amounts of the subsidy paid during most of the time that he was in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, to his ally Murari Rao. Murari Rao had likewise to return to his governorship of Gooty, but contrived to plunder the land round Vellore, Arni and other forts all along his march. His wakil at Pondichery was dismissed curtly, Godeheu refusing to pay the balance due to him under the agreement of 1753, on the ground that as Dupleix had retired from India, his business was closed and the matter could not be reopened. Balaji Rao now demanded from the French the payment of *chauth* for the last two years through his own agent Narasinga Rao. Murari Rao had sent an envoy to the Peshwa in 1754 to strengthen his own agency rights. After the usual negotiations which obviously had no effect, Murari Rao now definitely allied himself with the Nawab of Savanur against the Peshwa (1756). In the next year, we find, from a news-letter written by Visaji Babu Rao to the Peshwa, that an envoy was specially deputed by the Nana to Gooty to conciliate Murari Rao and attach him to his cause, and that he had succeeded in his mission. But, in the meanwhile, there had been fought the Peshwa's campaign against Savanur whose Nawab had sheltered Murari Rao and was also allied with Muza'far Khan, the sepoy commandant. Murari Rao's loyalty to the Peshwa had always been suspected; and it was only with considerable difficulty

he was persuaded to submit to the Peshwa and promise co-operation in the latter's schemes regarding the Carnatic. Muzaffar Khan was at the same time persuaded to enter the Peshwa's service. This was a very critical time for all the parties concerned and was marked by the Peshwa's capture of Savanur, his alliance with Salabat Jang, the dismissal of Bussy from the Nizam's court and the promise on the part of the Peshwa to re-employ him on his return. Murari Rao now resolved to go to Poona and proceeded to Raichur hearing that he could await the arrival of the Peshwa there (1757). A paper dated May 1756, letter No 182, wholly in the hand-writing of the Peshwa, sets down the terms of an agreement effected with Murari Rao when he promised to serve the Peshwa and helped him to carry out the plans proposed by him in the region of the Carnatic. Another supplementary letter embodies the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance formed by the Peshwa with Murari Rao at Sira after having won him over. This is dated 11-5-1757.¹⁸ Thus in 1757 Murari Rao had become a definite servant of the Peshwa receiving money from Balwant Rao Mahendale, the Peshwa's agent in the south, for expenditure on his troops and he requested Mahendale to settle the matter with Sadasiva Rao Bhao regarding the grant of a *saranjam* for the maintenance of his troops. After the defeat and death of the Nawab of Cuddapah at the hands of the Marathas, their chief, Mahendale was further reinforced by Gopal Rao Patwardhan and by Malharji Raste, while Murari Rao consented to despatch his troops under Shivram Bawa Ghorpade to support the coming reinforcements. Murari Rao also received the 'tilgul' sent as the season's greetings by the Peshwa on the *Makara Saṅkrānti* day in January 1758, probably as a mark of congratulation on his participation in the splendid achievement of the Peshwa's army in the Carnatic. Maratha operations continued in the course of 1758

against Mysore as they doubted the sincerity of the professions of attachment of the Rajah and of Haidar who had now become the most dominant personality in the state. They resolved on one occasion even to let Haidar enter Bangalore and then raise their batteries and see how he could face them.

Murari Rao has been deemed by Malleison and other historians to have showed, during this crisis, that "he united to the capacity of a warrior the spirit of a statesman." He knew that the Peshwa would attack Gooty after reducing Savanur and resolved therefore to make common cause with its Nawab and "defend his own possessions behind the walls of the chief city of his Muhammadan ally." But when he saw the combination of forces allied against Savanur he perceived the futility of resistance, made his own terms with the Nawab, and opened secret negotiations with Bussy on the condition that he would give up his bond on the French (which Godeheu would not redeem, as we saw above) if Bussy would use his good offices to obtain for him from the Peshwa, a perpetual cession of the district of Gooty to be held in vassalage to the latter, while the Nawab of Savanur was to be let off on acknowledging the supremacy of the Nizam. Bussy did indeed accept these conditions; but they were revealed to Shah Nawaz Khan, his mortal enemy at the Nizam's durbar, who effectively worked upon the feeble mind of his master and persuaded him to dismiss Bussy and his French corps from his service and to order them to quit his territories without delay.¹⁹

The other side of Murari Rao's diplomatic activity during this critical period is seen from the Madras Despatches where we read that the Peshwa applied to the English in March 1756 for gunners

19 See for a fuller narrative of this episode *the Journal of Indian History*, vol. XVI, part 2 (August 1937); *Historical Material in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Part XV, *Dismissal of Bussy by Salabat Jang*, (pp. 177-181) by C. S. Srinivasachari.

and the English welcomed this opportunity to establish an alliance with the head of the Maratha state. Salabat Jang had meanwhile joined with his whole army and with his French troops under Bussy, the besieging army at Savanur and the result was that Murari Rao quietly submitted to the Peshwa, but the Savanur Nawab had to pay dearly for the protection he gave him. Murari Rao was not depressed even after this humiliation and now proposed an alliance between himself and the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool to drive Balaji Rao's people from Sira. The Select Committee at Madras neither discouraged nor supported this plan of his. The continued stay of the Maratha army in Mysore even during the years 1758-59 led the English at Madras, at the time of the siege of the city by Count de Lally, into frequently requesting their alliance and even offering them money, if they should come to their help; but it was only after the siege of Madras had been raised that both the Maratha commander and Murari Rao would profess themselves to be ready to join them. But the English then held that "we were then as resolved not to part with your money as they were before to keep out of danger". During the final operations that led to the English capture of Pondicherry, we learn that Chanda Sahib's son and others were sent out by the French to secure assistance from Murari Rao. Murari Rao made, according to Colonel Maileson, a definite understanding with Count de Lally. Lally retained some hopes of recovering strength even after his failure before Madras and, just previous to the fateful battle of Wandiwash, resolved to send a portion of his forces to alarm the English for Trichinopoly. In order to provide himself with Indian cavalry troops indispensable to this projected campaign, Lally succeeded, after some negotiation, in persuading Murari Rao to lend him 2,000 horsemen who were engaged at the rate of Rs. 25 per month. The project however came to nothing owing to the collapse at Wandiwash of the French army.

9 *Murari Rao's achievement*

The later fortunes of this bold adventurer are not so very striking. He had attacked Anantapur in 1757 wrung a large sum of money from its poligar, Bassappa. In 1746, he had to come into possession of Gutti (Gooty) with the permission of Nizam-ul-mulk as we saw above; but according to some accounts, the place was already in the possession of his family, having been previously taken by stratagem by his uncle, also named Murari Rao. In 1754, Murari Rao made Gutti, his permanent residence and repaired its fortifications. On the top of the hill fort of the place, there is a small pavillion of polished chunam, which is called 'Murari Rao's seat' and commands an excellent view of the town below. Here tradition says that Murari Rao used to sit and play chess or swing himself with an occasional diversion in the shape of watching a prisoner or two hurled from the top of the neighbouring rock. After the close of the Anglo-French wars in 1761, Murari Rao's great enemy was Haidar Ali, the usurper of Mysore. In 1768, Haidar approached Gutti; but feeling that he was not then strong enough to take the place, he contended himself with receiving the amicable submission of that chief. Later Haidar again approached the place when, in return for his demand of a lakh of rupees, Murari Rao sent word that he was in the habit of levying, not paying, contributions. Then began Haidar's siege of Gutti which is well described by Col. Mark Wilks. For more than three months, the siege continued. After about 5 weeks, the town and lower forts were carried by assault. The upper fort resisted for two months longer. Murari Rao and his son were sent on submission to Seringapatam and later confined at Kabbaldrug where Murari Rao soon afterwards died. We cannot end this short account of this brave adventurer, without a quotation from Orme who was an accurate and contemporary historian, of the qualities that Murari Rao pos-

sessed as a soldier and an organiser and that made him such an important factor in politics of these troubled decades.

"He soon made himself admired and respected by his neighbours, enlisting none of his countrymen but such as were of approved valour, and treating them so well, that they never entertained any thoughts of quitting him: on the contrary, the whole army seemed as one family; the spirit of exploit which he contrived to keep up amongst them by equitable partitions of plunder, rendered them fond of their fatigues, and they never complained but when they had nothing to do. The choice he made of his officers still more discovered his capacity; for there was not a commander of 100 horse who was not fit to command the whole; notwithstanding which every one was contented in his particular station, and they all lived in perfect harmony with each other, and in perfect obedience to their general, so that this body of troops were, without exception, the best soldiers of native Indians at this time in Indostan. Besides the qualities common to the rest of the Maratha nation, such as activity, stratagem, great dexterity in the management of their horses and sabres, they had by their conflicts against Europeans surmounted in a great degree the terror of fire-arms, although opposed to them with the steadiest discipline; and what is more extraordinary, were even capable of standing against the vivacity of a cannonade from field pieces; although this terrible annoyance, never made use of in India before the war we are commemorating, continued to strike all other Indian troops with as much terror as their ancestors felt when musketry was first employed against them."²⁰

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The Jaina Rāmāyaṇas

It is a well-known fact in the history of Indian literature that the *Rāmāyaṇa* owes its origin to a single poet while the *Mahābhārata* is a compendium prepared by several writers. The first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are not considered to be genuine in their entirety. They contain stories and legends which have little to do with the main story of Rāma. Fresh stories and legends have flowed freely into them. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has thus grown in bulk though not to the same extent as the *Mahābhārata*. Several scholars have made attempts in separating or at least, in distinguishing the genuine from the spurious. Dealing with this problem a considerable amount of literature has accumulated within the last half a century. A study of the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇas* is interesting regarding the origin and development of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The epic is the natural outcome of the ballad poetry of a nation. It has the stamp of a single genius who takes care to bring unity into his work. Ballads singing the story of Rāma must have been current before Vālmiki. He must have found it possible to arrange the ballads around a central action and a central hero. The result of this attempt was the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vālmiki narrated the story in his own way after dressing up the raw material of ballad poetry prior to him. After Vālmiki the *Rāmāyaṇa* has had some more development. Normally this is the way in which any story develops to unwieldly proportions. But there are other ways also. Owing to several religious and social influences a story current at a time may radiate in several directions and every offshoot or set of offshoots may assume independence in course of time. This seems to be the process by which the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇas* as well as the several other versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* like the *Adbhuta*-, the

Vāsiṣṭha- and the *Adhyātma*- have come into being. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the origin and growth of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* starting from the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* which was already an accomplished fact about the first century before Christ. This is a new chapter in the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which as far as I know, has not been fully set forth hitherto anywhere.* Though Dr. Winternitz has noticed a few of these *Rāmāyaṇas*, his treatment is not as adequate as the subject demands. The learned Doctor himself is aware¹ of this deficiency, for he states "It is very desirable however that a careful comparison of all the Jinistic adaptations of the Rāma legend be made."² Not only are the Jaina versions of this epic both in Sanskrit and Prakrit considered in this essay but also adaptations of the same by Jaina writers in Kaṇṇada literature which is particularly rich in *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas*. I am not aware of the existence of any *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* in any other modern Indian language either Dravidian or Indo-Aryan.

It is well to start with a tradition concerning the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas*. It was current even as late as the eighteenth century. Devacandra,³ the author of the *Rāmakathāvatāra*,⁴ the last but one of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* in Kaṇṇada, traces back the origin of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* to the times of Ādideva, the first of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, who narrated the story to his son, Bharata. This was handed down from generation to generation till at last Mahāvīra, the last of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, came to be its possessor. He, in his turn, told the story to king Śreṇika of Magadha, his devout disciple.

* I am indebted to Prof. A. N. Upadhye of Kolhapur for bringing to my notice an article on the subject by Prof. Chakravarti in the 20th volume of the *Jaina Gazette*.

1 *HIL.*, vol. II, pp. 489-494.

2 *Ibid.*, 494, note 3.

3 *Lives of Kaṇṇada Poets*, vol. III, 150. It is interesting to note that it was this writer who helped Col. Mackenzie in his tour through Mysore in search of antiquities.

4 This was written in 1797 A.D. (*Ibid.*, 147).

In course of time several writers like Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi Muṇi, Kavi Parameṣṭhi, Raviṣena, Virāṣena, Siddhaṣena, Padmanandi, Guṇabhadra, and Sakalakīrti wrote the same story. Kaṇṇaḍa writers like Cāmuṇḍarāya, Nāgacandra, Māghanandi Siddhānti, Kumudendu, Nayasena and others continued the same tradition. Devacandra, at the close of his work, adds that he is rectifying a few doubtful points in the story as given by Nāgacandra on the basis of the Rāmāyaṇa story occurring in Guṇabhadra's *Trisastibhikṣaṇa-mahāpuruṣa-purāṇa* and other similar stories in the legendary lore of the Jainas.⁵

The early part of this tradition that the first *Tirthaṅkara* was the originator of the story may be dismissed as unhistorical, because the story of Rāma is said to have come into existence, according to Jaina mythology, during the time of Muṇi Suvrata, the twentieth Tirthaṅkara. In the latter part of the tradition, from Mahāvira onwards Devacandra is probably travestying historical ground, for the works of some of the writers he mentions are even now available. Though very little is known about Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Nandi-muṇi, Cāmuṇḍarāya (978 A.D.) tells us that each of them wrote a *Mahāpurāṇa*.⁶ Kavi Parameṣṭhi may be a writer of the same name who has been praised by Pampa (941 A.D.). He is said to have written a *purāṇa* on the lives of sixty-three Jaina saints.⁷ Cāmuṇḍarāya who mentions this fact also adds that Jinaṣena, for whom we have a date in 783 A.D., wrote his *Ādipurāṇa* on the basis of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Kavi Parameṣṭhi, from which it is clear that the date of Parameṣṭhi must be somewhere before 783 A.D. His work must necessarily contain the Rāmāyaṇa story because, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are included in the sixty-three saints, Raviṣena is the celebrated author of the *Padmapurāṇa*, alias the *Mahārāmāyaṇa* which was composed in 678 A.D.⁸ Virasena and Siddhasena have come

5 For the original of this passage see *Ibid.*, 150.

6 *Cb. Pu*, 24 (verse).

7 *Ibid.*, verse 5.

8 Hiralal's *Catalogue*, XXI.

down to us as mere names. The first might be the same individual who was the preceptor of Jinasena. The second has been praised very highly by Cāmuṇḍarāya as a poet whose extraordinary imagination steeped in wonder a throng of poets.⁹ Siddhasena of the above tradition, may perhaps be identical with this poet. Padmanandi, if he is not Kuṇḍa-Kuṇḍācārya of the first century A.D. who had the same surname, has the honour of remaining entirely obscure. Guṇabhadra is a familiar name in Jaina literature. An author by name Sakalakīrti is known to have lived in the 15th century¹⁰ A.D., but he is not known to be a writer of any *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*. So it is not possible to say who this traditional Sakalakīrti was. The Kāṇṇada writers mentioned by Devacandra are very well-known and it is needless to dwell on them. One thing, namely that the *Rāmāyaṇas* said to have been written by Māghanandi and Nayasena are not now extant, may however, be noted.

From the above examination, it is clear that a fairly considerable part of this tradition is supported by Jaina literary history. Though many of the works have not survived, those of Raviṣena and Guṇabhadra are still existing. It is indeed quite strange why Vimalasūri, the earliest writer so far known of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*, and a host of other names such as those of the encyclopædic Hemacandra and Caumuha, author of *Paumacaria* in Prakrit, are missing in the above list. Probably Devacandra was not aware of them. Be this as it may, the heritage of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* that we have is "truly plenteous."

The attitude of some of these Jaina writers towards the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* is plainly set forth by Vimalasūri and his close follower Raviṣena. Though it is mainly religious, it is also full of artistic possibilities. Vimalasūri wrote his *Paumacaria*, according to his own statement, five hundred and thirty years after the death of

Mahāvira,¹⁰ i.e., about the 3rd or 4th year of the Christian era, since the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira is generally accepted to have taken place in 527 B.C.¹¹ As far as our present knowledge of Jaina literature goes, it may be said that he was the first great Jaina poet to view *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* from the standpoint of Jaina religion and ethics. This view is put into the mouth of king Śreṇika, whose mind was troubled about the many inconsistencies in the earlier Rāmāyaṇa versions and who sought instruction and enlightenment at the hands of Gautama, the chief of the disciples of Mahāvira. Thus thinks Śreṇika: "How could the most powerful of the Rākṣasas be defeated by monkeys? Is it not unbelievable that Kumbhakarna slept soundly for the first six months of a year without any fear or hunger or distraction even when he was being crushed by sledge hammers, and multitudinous claps of the thundering drums resounded in his ears? Is it not still more ridiculous that as soon as he got up from his death-like stupor, he swallowed elephants and buffaloes? How could Rāvaṇa and other Rākṣasas who were good Jainas, eat and drink human flesh and blood without any disgust and compunction? Oh! the *Rāmāyaṇa* that has been written is false and foul and distorted. There are many learned men in this world to whom I can go and clear these, my doubts."¹² Therefore, Śreṇika approaches Gautama and requests him to clear his doubts. Gautama being very obligingly sensitive to such requests,¹³ begins the narration of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with

10 पञ्चेव वाससया दुसमाये तीसवरिससंजुते
वीरे सिद्धिमुवगये तन्नोनिबद्धमिमं चरिअ' ॥

But this date is questioned by some scholars like Jacobi (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, 467) and others (*ABORI.*, vol. XV, Parts I & II; *POC.*, VII, 109).

11 *Hart of Jainism*, 43.

12 *PC.*, II, 104-118. The same is repeated by Raviṣena in Sanskrit more elaborately.

13 Gautama is the traditional narrator in Jaina mythology and king Śreṇika is always his devout and willing subject. They occupy the same position as Vaiṣampāyana and Janamejaya have in Brahmanic mythology.

these words: "King Śreṇika, be attentive and listen. I will tell what the *Kevalis* have said before. Rāvaṇa is not a demon eating human flesh. All the things said by bad and foolish poets are entirely false."¹⁴

This view may belong to the region of mythological polemics but it is not without its importance. We must get a glimpse of the mind behind it. To Vimalasūri, a pious Jaina that he was, all the hideous, nasty and terrible customs of the Rākṣasas, as described by Vālmiki, must have seemed thoroughly inhuman and outrageous. His sensibility must have been severely shocked. Even so, he could not refrain from the task he had set for himself of giving to his co-religionists a substitute for the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. For, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was as popular in his days as it is to-day. It had become the very life-blood of the people for whom it was composed. Its influence in moulding the mind of the nation along the path of duty and righteousness was so universal and compelling that almost every religion wished to include the *Rāmāyaṇa* among its sacred texts, and so earn, if possible, some additional following and popularity for itself. Buddhism seems to have done so. In the *Daśaratha Jātaka*¹⁵ only a part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is depicted. Even the name of Rāvaṇa does not occur in that story. In the eyes of the Buddhists the importance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was mainly due to the character of Rāma—the gentle, pious, austere and dutiful Rāma. They cared more for that character which was in some essential aspects the prototype of Buddha. They went so far even as to believe that one of the previous births of the Buddha was that of Rāma. They must have found it rather difficult to reconcile the character of Rāvaṇa with their religious doctrines and beliefs and so

¹⁴ PC., 3-14, 15.; R. 3-27-28.

¹⁵ There is much controversy regarding the relative priority of this Jātaka and the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. The question cannot be decided with any approach to finality as the evidence on both sides are scanty and indefinite.

it may be, Rāvaṇa could not find a place in the story. But a few centuries later, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (compiled before 443 A.D.)¹⁶ seems to have looked at Rāvaṇa with a benevolent eye. Here, Rāvaṇa is represented as a great sage who holds philosophical discourses with the Buddha, whose disciple he was. He wore the garb of Mahāyāna Buddhism. But no mention is made of his tragic passion for Sītā, and her abduction and the consequences that followed in their train. As stories, these Buddhist representations are insipid and devoid of human interest.

The Jaina view is more interesting. Though it is true that "The sacred books of the Jainas are written in a dry as dust, matter of fact didactic tone, and as far as we know them are seldom instinct with that general human interest which so many Buddhist texts possess,"¹⁷ the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* is a notable exception to this dictum and in the main manifests the large-heartedness of the Jaina religion and its adherents. The Jainas achieved what the Buddhists did not, in humanising the character of Rāvaṇa and lifting him to the heights of tragic sublimity. It is worthwhile to know how this transformation came about.

The Jaina religion claims to be a universal religion. Even animals and the denizens of hell are endowed with the possibility of becoming perfect if they believe in, and act according to, the dictates of the Jaina religion. However bad and degraded a soul may be under the fetters of *Karma*, it can realise its own true self when it seizes hold of a proper and auspicious occasion. The doctrine of *Karma* plays a very prominent part in the journey of the soul through various cycles of births and deaths. Looked at from this point of view the character of Rāvaṇa does not evoke any feeling of hatred or disgust. Instead, it draws out our sympathy. Vimala-sūri took this sympathetic attitude. In the opening section of his

16 The *LS.*, trs., Suzuki, p. 7.

17 *HIL.*, 11-476.

book, he has already told us that Rāvaṇa was not a Rākṣasa addicted to savage habits. To Vālmiki, Rāvaṇa was a monster, a non-Aryan, a terrible and hideous Rākṣasa, who was the 'scourge of the world' of gods and men. There is no bright spot in that dark picture. It appears as though Rāvaṇa is the sum-total of all the evil in the world, as though he is evil incarnate. Vimalasūri took a different attitude—a thoroughly human one. Human nature cannot be perfectly good or perfectly bad. It is a mixture of both good and evil. It is the predominance of the one over the other that makes man good or bad. So the picture of Rāvaṇa as given by Vālmiki suffers from a gross exaggeration. It smacks of the racial prejudice of an Aryan towards a non-Aryan. Vimalasūri realised this injustice done to Rāvaṇa and at one stroke—not of pen only but of imagination also—humanised him. At once the demon's ungainly outward shape disappeared like a dark cloud. It became beautiful. Rāvaṇa now shines in all the glory of outward form that is the gift for man. He becomes almost a Cupid as far as his bodily perfection is concerned. Vimalasūri thus describes him: "Body, dark brown like a shining emerald, face beautiful like a full-blown lotus, large and expansive chest, powerful and long arms, waist so slender as to be taken in a grip, hips like those of a lion, thighs like the trunk of an elephant, feet elegant like those of a tortoise, possessing the thirty-two auspicious marks, adorned by the *Śrīvatsa* jewel and dress of a nice finish—this Rāvaṇa appeared to the men of the world like the great god Indra."¹⁸ Surely this transformation is rather enviable. All his superfluous heads and arms vanish with their weirdness leaving behind the human form.

18 PC., XI, 105-108. It is true that the Jains call Rāvaṇa by the name of Daśamukha also. But this does not indicate that he had actually ten heads. When he was born his face was reflected in a decagonal ruby and the child Rāvaṇa appeared as if he had ten heads. The ruby was a heir-loom in his family.

Not only did Rāvaṇa come to possess human form but a large share of the human heart also under the magic touch of Vimalasūri. His heart becomes the seat of tender and noble emotions. There are numerous incidents scattered through the *Paumacaria* wherein the heart of Rāvaṇa is revealed. One or two of such incidents can be noticed here. Once, in his campaign for conquering the three worlds, he defeated Varuṇa and took him prisoner. The subjects of Varuṇa, overcome by grief, were crying sorely. Rāvaṇa heard their lament and pacified them by kindly restoring to Varuṇa his liberty and kingdom.¹⁹ On the last day of his life, when death and disgrace were hanging heavily upon his aggrieved soul, he repents as nobody has repented since then, either in poetry or in actual life, for the wrong that he did to Sītā in separating her by stealth from her beloved husband and the misery he inflicted upon her. He hates himself; he cries, out of pity for poor Sītā, like a lonely child bereaved of its mother.²⁰ Vimalasūri succeeds in convincing us, poetically, that Rāvaṇa's nature was more human than that of the noblest of men.

The poet takes a step further and converts Rāvaṇa to the Jaina religion. This means, among other things, that Rāvaṇa must necessarily abstain from *himsā* or injury to any living being. This attitude is consistently kept up by the poet in the description of the campaigns of Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa becomes an invincible emperor of the three worlds not by killing all the kings that opposed him but by defeating them and making them his vassals. Kings seldom die at the hands of Rāvaṇa. He cared much for the doctrine of *ahimsā*—non-injury. Once king Marut of Rājapura was performing a sacrifice. Rāvaṇa coming to know of this affair rushed to the spot, not with any idea of killing the participants in it but only with the idea of preventing it. It was an act of righteousness on

his part to do so, because sacrifice is associated with *bhimsā*. Unlike the Rāvaṇa of Vālmiki, who was a tormentor of sages, this Rāvaṇa has great reverence towards Jaina ascetics. He bows before them and listens to their preaching of *Dharma*. Once he approached a sage named Anantavīrya Kevali and with interest, heard his discourse on religion. He was fascinated by the pious story of Hariṣeṇa. After his conquest of the three worlds Rāvaṇa protected and helped in the propagation of Jaina religion by constructing several temples to the *Tīrthaṅkaras*. So Vimalasūri by making Rāvaṇa a Jain, has further ennobled him.

When these facts are borne in mind, it does not seem to be a matter of surprise, if Vimalasūri maintains that Rāvaṇa was an ideal king. As a king, he is powerful, great, and matchless. Vālmiki concedes to Rāvaṇa this kingly stateliness and pomp. Vimalasūri retains the same and enhances their value. At the end of his conquest Rāvaṇa is the abode of fame and wealth; several *Vidyādharas* kings bow before him; he has no enemy in all the three *khaṇḍas* (continents); all the citizens of his city praise him. Any country that he visits becomes a veritable heaven full of wealth, corn, and rubies and free from the fear of famines; it also becomes the abode of *punya*. The green earth, decorated by mountain streams and *kuṭaja* flowers, like a maiden, smiles at the approach of Daśānana and welcomes him.²¹ On account of the meritorious deeds of Rāvaṇa in his previous births, he is now enjoying great fame and riches. Vimalasūri sums up the greatness of Rāvaṇa in one word viz., *Pravarapurusa* or best of men. We need not grudge him the epithet and all its implications.

I have briefly indicated the attitude of Vimalasūri in conceiving the character of Rāvaṇa. He has made him the noblest of men, a Jaina, and an ideal king. But even such a mighty man must die.

Here it is that Destiny comes into play. Vimalasūri makes Rāvaṇa a *prativāsudeva*, one of the 63 *Śalāka-puruṣas*. He is doomed to die at the hands of the *Vāsudeva*, his contemporary. In this case Lakṣmaṇa is the *Vāsudeva*. There must be some cause of embitterment between them. Rāvaṇa's abducting Sītā is the incident that brings about his downfall. This was a fact that Rāvaṇa knew full well through the sage Nārada. There was a prophecy, which Vimalasūri has deftly indicated just after describing the greatness of Rāvaṇa and his prowess, that Rāvaṇa was fated to die at the hands of Dāśarathī on account of the daughter of Janaka. Rāvaṇa tried to avoid such a death by killing Janaka and Daśaratha before the birth of the persons concerned. But, as his ill-luck would have it, both of them escaped from the hands of Vibhiṣaṇa who had gone to kill them, out of anxiety for his brother's safety. Vibhiṣaṇa, cutting the heads of their waxen images, thought he had actually killed them. Here Destiny deceived Rāvaṇa and was for some time working secretly but surely.

There is another point to be noted in this connection. Rāvaṇa died on account of his passion for Sītā. Vimalasūri wanted to illustrate, by means of his characterisation of Rāvaṇa, the disastrous consequences of an unchaste life. One of the five vows of Jainism is *Brahmacarya*—i.e. chastity. However good and great a man may be, his life is sure to end in disgrace and misery, if he becomes unchaste at any time. There is no cause for pity in the death of a man habitually unchaste. So Vimalasūri takes care to instil the idea of Rāvaṇa's chastity before he met Sītā. In addition to Mandodari, Rāvaṇa has numerous wives, all legally married. Once, he happened to come in his march over the world as a warrior, to the city of Nalakūbara. Nalakūbara's wife Uparambhā, who was dissatisfied with her husband and who liked Rāvaṇa from her girl-hood, knowing that her dear Rāvaṇa was so near on that occasion, intrigued to enslave him by her beauty. But he did not yield to her

ravishing words. Instead he counselled her to behave properly towards her husband as befitted her noble lineage and carefully to guard her priceless jewel of chastity.²² Rāvaṇa passed unsullied this severe test. Still there was in him a hidden fear of his weakness for woman and so he went to the sage Anantavīrya and took upon himself the vow of chastity—the *parāṅganā virati vrata*. He fortified himself with this restraint against temptation for a woman. So his abduction of Sītā is a lapse from his normal behaviour and he paid dearly for it. This constitutes the tragic weakness of Rāvaṇa. He is not perfectly virtuous.

From the above, it is clear that this conception of Vimalasūri, born out of the application of Jaina ideals of life and conduct to the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, is peculiarly tragic in spirit. Aristotle's dictum that a tragic hero must be a "man, not pre-eminently virtuous, and just, whose misfortune, however is brought upon him not by vice and depravity but by some error of judgment" holds good literally for Vimalasūri's Rāvaṇa. The subsequent development of the story as Vimalasūri narrates it, is in keeping with the spirit of tragedy rousing abundant pity for the fate of Rāvaṇa. Vimalasūri's genius as a poet and artist is fully manifested in his conception of the character of Rāvaṇa, whom he takes to be the real hero of his work, though he calls it the "*Cariam of Pauma*" alias Rāma. More than Rāma, Rāvaṇa catches our imagination and dwells there permanently. His character is full of human interest.^{22a}

22 PC., XII, 52-73.

22a This tragic aspect was first discerned by Prof. B. M. Śrīkanti in his essay called '*Tragic Rāvaṇa*' (*Mysore University Magazine*, vol. VII). He has based his interpretation on the well known Kaṇṇada work called '*Rāmcandra carita purāṇa* or *Pampā Rāmāyaṇa*' by Nāgacandra, a poet of the 11th century A.D. The work belongs to the school of Vimalasūri and closely follows it with some slight changes of incident here and there. On the whole it can be said that its characterisation of Rāvaṇa resembles that of *Paumacaria*.

Vimalasūri has a charming and flowing style well-suited for the movement of narrative poetry. It has grace, dignity, and polish. It rises to heroic grandeur or

I have given an idea of the attitude of Vimalasūri in adapting the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* and the beauty of that adaptation. He has given us a new Rāvaṇa with whom we can sympathise. His bold venture resulted in a new creation. His work stands as a monument of his creative imagination. He set the model for all the later poets to imitate. Thus he formed a school of his own. Of writers in Prakrit i.e., Jaina Apabhraṃsa, on the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* imitating Vimalasūri may be mentioned the poet Caumuha, author of *Paumacaria*. He is mentioned by Dhavala, author of the *Harivaṃsa-purāṇa*, which was composed in the tenth century.²³ Another work of the same name containing 12,000 ślokaś composed, in part, by Svayambhudeva is known to exist. He could not finish his work. Tribhuvana Svayambhu, another writer, completed it. But in course of time the portion of the work so completed by him was lost and Jaśakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of Gwalior restored it by composing it anew. The date of Svayambhudeva falls between the 7th and the 10th centuries.²⁴ I have not been able to get at these two works and my inclusion of them under the school of Vimalasūri, though tentative, is based upon the similarity of the titles of the works and the known voluminous nature of one of them.

The earliest Sanskrit writer following Vimalasūri is Ravisena, author of the *Padma Purāṇa* or *Mahā Rāmāyaṇa*. His is an enlarged edition of Vimalasūri. Descriptive passages abound in great numbers swelling the size of the work. His diction is easy and direct. Sometimes his stanzas appear to be translations of the corresponding ones of Vimalasūri. His closeness to the original is quite patent. Next in importance, is Hemacandra's *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*,

moving pathos as the incidents and situations demand. His work, as it is, is very voluminous on account of the many dreary tales connected with the several personages of the story and the main story is surrounded by a lot of extraneous matter. Realising the tragic conception of the character of Rāvaṇa, if one takes upon himself the task of giving an unified and abridged version of *Paumacaria*, he will be rendering valuable service to Prakrit literature.

23 Allahabad University Series, vol. I, pp. 157-185.

24 *Ibid.*

which is familiar to scholars. Devavijaya Gaṇin wrote a *Rāmācarita* in Sanskrit prose in 1576 A.D.²⁵ He follows Hemacandra.

The outstanding figure in Kaṇṇada literature among the authors on the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* of the school of Vimalasūri, is Nāgacandra, called also Abhinava Pampa. He has skilfully abridged the story cutting off most of the superfluous and cumbrous episodes and achieving greater unity than that of the original. His style is sweet and simple. He has become a model in Kaṇṇada for all later writers of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*. Chief of them is Kumudendu whose work is called after his name as *Kumudendu Rāmāyaṇa*, composed in the 13th century. It is written in the popular six-footed metre (Ṣaṭpadi), all the six varieties of which are said to be fully represented in the work, in addition to stanzas in the *Ragale* metre interspersed here and there. He is very fond of repeating the similes and metaphors of Nāgacandra almost *verbatim*, which proves his indebtedness to the earlier poet. Devappa wrote his *Rāmavijaya Carita* in the *sangatyā* metre in about 1525 A.D. Devacandra, who has been mentioned already, takes up many passages bodily from the work of Nāgacandra in his *Rāmakathāvatāra*. Next comes Candrasāgara Varṇin who wrote his *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Bhāminī-ṣaṭpadi* metre, in the beginning of the 19th century.

The school of Vimalasūri can be represented thus :

Paumacaria (Vimalasūri)		
Prakrit	Sanskrit	Kaṇṇada
(1) <i>Paumacaria</i> (Caumuha)	(1) <i>Padmapurāṇa</i> (Ravisena)	(1) <i>Pampa Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Nāgacandra)
(2) <i>Paumacaria</i> Svayambhudeva Tribhuvana Svayambhu Jasakirti Bhaṭṭāraka	(2) <i>Jaina Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Hemacandra) (3) <i>Rāmācarita</i> (Devavijaya Gaṇin)	(2) <i>Kumudendu Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Kumudendu) (3) <i>Rāmavijaya carita</i> (Devappa) (4) <i>Rāmakathāvatāra</i> (Devacandra) (5) <i>Jina Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Candrasāgara Varṇin)

A few points of divergence between Vālmiki and Vimalasūri in their respective stories may be noted here. The main story in the *Paumacaria* is substantially the same as that of Vālmiki's poem. The death of Sambuka, a low caste man, who was doing penance like an ascetic, at the hands of Rāma is narrated in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vimalasūri takes up this incident and cleverly manages to achieve his own ends. Sambuka is represented here as the son of Candranakhā, wife of Khara and sister of Rāvaṇa. Lakṣmaṇa, in his wanderings through the forest, sees a grove of bamboos and a sword worshipped with flowers near by. To test its sharpness he grips the sword and cuts down the grove at one stroke. In the midst of the falling bamboos, Lakṣmaṇa, to his surprise, beholds the severed head of a lad. This lad is Sambuka. Lakṣmaṇa is full of remorse for his act, committed though unknowingly. But its consequences will be disastrous ending in the kidnapping of Sitā by Rāvaṇa. Vimalasūri has made this incident the central pivot in the plot of his story and from an artistic point of view this change is creditable. In the *Paumacaria*, Sugriva and Hanumān who were lords over people with monkey-banners, are all vassals of Rāvaṇa. Hanumān helps Rāvaṇa in his battle against Varuṇa. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān are married here to many women. This change appears to mar the intensity of love between Rāma and Sitā, and so is not praiseworthy. It is Lakṣmaṇa, the *Vāsudeva*, that kills Rāvaṇa. Rāma must not kill him, because he was a last-bodied-man (*carama-debadhārin*) and was destined to become a *Siddha* and so committing an act of *himsā* by killing Rāvaṇa would cast him into hell. Lakṣmaṇa goes to hell for killing Rāvaṇa. Sitā has been endowed with a brother named Prabhāmaṇḍala whose adventures are narrated at great length. Changes like these appear off and on but mainly the story follows that of Vālmiki. Hence it may be said that the school of Vimalasūri follows the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. This school is more popular on account of the intense human

interest with which the characterisation of Rāvaṇa has been suffused.

I may now pass on to the consideration of another school of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇa*. Since I am not aware of any work of this class, earlier than that of Guṇabhadra, I may call this school by his name. Guṇabhadra gives his version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story as a supplement to the life of Muṇi Suvrata Jina in chapter 68 of his *Uttarapurāṇa*. An outline of the story is as follows :

To king Prajāpati of Ratnapura and his queen Guṇakānta is born a son named Candracūḍa whose companion was Vijaya, son of the minister of the king. Both are banished by the king on account of an outrage which they attempted to commit, on the daughter of Kuvera. They are left on a hill where an ascetic named Mahābala was living. They go to the sage with reverence and become monks. He predicts that they are destined to become the eighth *Baladeva* and *Vasudeva* after three successive births. In course of time they die and are born in the heaven of Sanatkumāra, as Kaṇakacūla and Maṇicūla. After this birth they are born as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to king Daśaratha whose capital was Vārāṇasī-pura in the territory of Kāśī. After their birth Daśaratha changes his capital to Sāketa-pura, where Bharata and Śatrughna are born. King Janaka of Mithilā and his wife Vasudhā get a child whom they name Sītā. She was a foundling. Once Janaka wanted to perform a sacrifice, but on account of the fear of Rāvaṇa, he could not do it. So he decided that any man who could help him against Rāvaṇa would be worthy to become the husband of Sītā. Herein follows a lengthy pretest against the sinful nature of all sacrificial acts.

The birth of Rāvaṇa is then narrated. In the third of his former births, he was born as Naradeva in the *Sārasamuccaya* country. After this birth he was again born in *Saudharma-kalpa* as a god. This god was born as Rāvaṇa to Pulastya and his wife Meghaśrī, who was the king of Laṅkā. Once Rāvaṇa met a woman named

Maṇimati who was engaged in penance and attempted to win her. Enraged at this, Maṇimati, having decided to kill Rāvaṇa in the capacity of his daughter, died and entered the womb of Māndodari, who in course of time gave birth to a girl-child. There were many inauspicious omens when it was born. She was advised to abandon the child. She did so after having it packed in a box. Mārica took away the box and buried it in the cemetery near the garden of Mithilā. Janaka who was testing the soil for his intended sacrifice found this box and the child still alive in it. He gave the child the name of Sītā whom he entrusted to the care of Vasudhādevī.

Rāma went to Mithilā at the request of Janaka, who at the end of the sacrifice was very much pleased with the beauty and goodness of Rāma. He gave his daughter to him in marriage. Rāma returned to Sāketa and after sometime went with his brother Lakṣmaṇa and wife Sītā to live in Vārāṇasī. Daśaratha could not bear the separation but consented with difficulty after a discourse by Rāma on the duties of kingship. Nārada comes to Rāvaṇa and describing to him the beauty of Sītā in glowing terms, infatuates his mind. Rāvaṇa sent Sūrpaṇakhī, his sister, to test the constancy of Sītā. She could not succeed in tempting her. She returned and sent her brother. Rāvaṇa came to the garden Citrakuṭa near Vārāṇasī and beheld Sītā disporting herself with Rāma. By his magical power he transformed Mārica into a golden deer (*Maṇi-hariṇa-potaka*) and asked him to go and move about before Sītā. Sītā wished to have the deer and so Rāma pursued it. It took him a long way off. By this time Rāvaṇa in the guise of Rāma came to Sītā and told her that the deer was secured and that they must go into the city as it was already evening. He converted his aerial car, *Puṣpaka*, into a palanquin and himself having mounted a horse, asked Jānaki to sit in it. By this trick, Rāvaṇa was able to steal Sītā. He went with her to Laṅkā and told her everything. He tempted her very much but she took a vow of fasting unto death till she could hear of the welfare of Rāma.

In vain Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa searched for Sitā. They are informed of a bad dream by Daśaratha indicating danger to Sitā from Rāvaṇa. They meet Vālī, Sugriva and Añjaneya in their wanderings. Vālī dies at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. Añjaneya brings news about Sitā. Mandodari, by some unknown feeling raging in her, recognises Sitā to be her abandoned daughter and advises Rāvaṇa to give her back. War becomes inevitable. Añjaneya again goes to Laṅkā with a message from Rāma to Rāvaṇa and with the idea of winning over Vibhiṣaṇa to his side. He succeeds in his errand. To draw out Rāvaṇa into the battle-field Añjaneya burns Laṅkā and destroys all the gardens. But Rāvaṇa sits on the hill Ādityagiri to achieve some mighty powers. In the war that ensued Rāvaṇa cuts off the head of an artificial Sitā. Rāma is struck with grief. Vibhiṣaṇa consoles him. Rāvaṇa dies by the discus of Lakṣmaṇa. Returning to Vārāṇasī, Rāma becomes a Kevalin. Lakṣmaṇa enters a hell called Paṅkaprabhā.²⁶

Such in brief is the story as narrated by Guṇabhadra. I do not know of any work in the Prakrit language dealing with this story. The *Tisatṭhi-mahāpurīṣa-guṇālaṅkāra* of Puṣpadanta, which is based on the *Uttarapurāṇa*, may give this version of the Rāmāyaṇa story. In Sanskrit there is a work called *Puṇya-candrodaya Purāṇa* by Kṛṣṇa, written in 1528 A.D. Judged from the contents of the work as given by Rajendralala Mitra,²⁷ it appears to belong to the tradition of Guṇabhadra. Another work called *Puṇyasrava* by Rāmacandra Mumukṣu, written some time before 1331 A.D., contains a Rāmāyaṇa story which in part seems to be similar to Guṇabhadra's narrative. Coming to Kaṇṇada writers of this school, the earliest representative is Cāmuṇḍarāya, who wrote his *Triṣaṣṭi-salākā-puruṣa Purāṇa* or as it is popularly called

26 The summary is based upon the already summarised story in the *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, a Kaṇṇada work, which is based upon Guṇabhadra's *purāṇa*.

27 *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, vol. VI, 70-74.

Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa composed in 978 A.D. on the basis of Guṇabhadra's work. Next in importance is Nāgarāja, author of *Puṇyasrava Kathāsāra*, written in 1331 A.D. following the work of Rāmacandra Mumukṣu. The story occurring in this work reminds one of the Guṇabhadra school. Another story of a miscellaneous character occurs in the *Jīva Sambodhane* of Bandhuvarmā written in 1200 A.D.

The school may be represented in tabular form :

Guṇabhadra		
Prakrit.	Sanskrit.	Kaṇṇāda
(1) Story in Puṣpadanta's <i>Tisatt̥hi-mahāpurīṣa- guṇālankāra</i> (?)	(1) <i>Puṇyasrava</i> (?) (Rāmacandra Mumukṣu) (2) <i>Puṇyacandrodaya Purāṇa</i> (Kṛṣṇa)	(1) Story in (<i>Cāmuṇḍa- rāya Purāṇa</i>) (2) Story in <i>Puṇyasrava</i> (Nāgarāja) (3) Miscellaneous (Bandhuvarmā)

It will be seen from the summary given above that this version of the story is entirely different from that of Vimalasūri. It takes Sītā to be the daughter of Rāvaṇa. There are several stories in which Sītā is to be seen as Rāvaṇa's daughter.²⁸ It is difficult to say wherefrom Guṇabhadra derived this idea. Is there any influence of the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* story? Sītā's abduction occurs in the precincts of Benares. Does this indicate the influence of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* wherein Daśaratha is stated to have been ruling in Benares. This is further strengthened by the intensely ascetic nature ascribed to the character of Rāma, just as in the Buddhist story. Mārīca assuming the form of a golden deer to separate Rāma from Sītā points to the direct influence of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. These facts make it difficult to trace back this Rāma story to any single source. It seems to be a conglomeration of various legends pertaining to Rāma. The only point of similarity between this and Vimalasūri's school is

the common protest against sacrifices found in both, though not in the same language, and the story of Harisena. It does not seem to be imbued with any human interest and is insipid as a work of art. Hence its lesser popularity.

A few words may be said on the influence of these *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* on some other versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indian literature. Mr. D. C. Sen in his work entitled *The Bengali Rāmāyaṇas* claims to have found some such influence in some of the *Bengali Rāmāyaṇas*. Dr. F. W. Thomas has written at length on some Tibetan versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story.²⁹ Three manuscripts of this story were discovered in Chinese Turkestan. They have been assigned to the period between 700 and 900 A.D. As the Doctor states "they are mutually independent." There are some variations of names and incidents in all the three documents. Jaina influence is clearly to be seen in these stories. According to Vimalasūri the name of Rāvaṇa's father was Rayanāsava (Ratnasrava) and the same occurs in these documents. Sītā is the daughter of Rāvaṇa as in the story of Guṇabhadra. These points indicate some Jaina influence in the story of the Tibetan versions. Other *Rāmāyaṇa* versions in Kaṇṇada show no Jaina touch. I do not know what it is in the remaining Indian languages.

To sum up: it is clear that there are two schools of the *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* which differ greatly from each other; that of Vimalasūri is an adaptation of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*; that of the Guṇabhadra school has no unitary source for it; that while one is artistic, the other is a drab story. The *Jaina Rāmāyaṇas* form an important branch of study in the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

D. L. NARASIMHACHAR

Identification of Bhaṭṭi and Devarāja of the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka.

The Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, V.S. 894 (837 A.D.) contains the following verses:—

यतः श्री शिलुको जातः पुत्रो दुर्वारविक्रमः ।
येन सीमा कृता नित्या खवणी-वल्ग-देशयोः ।
भट्टिकं देवराजं यो वल्ग-मण्डल-पालकः ।
नि(पा)त्य त(त्त)यां भूमां प्राप्तवान् छल-चिह्नकम्¹ ।

“From him was born the son, the illustrious Siluka of irrepressible prowess, who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravaṇi and Valla, who the protector of Vallamaṇḍala, having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.”²

Siluka is the eighth king in the Jodhpur inscription. The inscription is dated in the 12th generation of the Jodhpur Pratihāra-line, the year 894 (V.S.).³ According to the time allotted to each king by the indologists, Siluka seems to have flourished about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era. He was ruling at Medāntakampuram, probably modern Merta.⁴ His chief exploit was the defeat of Bhaṭṭika-Devarāja because he by “having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.”⁵ Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, who has edited the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, describing Bhaṭṭika Devarāja, says “it (the Gwalior inscription of Pratihāra Bhoja) records that Nāgabhaṭṭa, the first king, defeated the Mlecchas, and after him ruled his two nephews Kakkuka and Devarāja. Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi

1 *El.*, vol XVIII, p. 96 (V. 18, 19).

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 98.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

clan. Now, our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Valla-maṇḍala (a circle of kingdoms) defeated Bhaṭṭika Devarāja (v. 19). A Devarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is 783-4 A.D., he probably flourished about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Śiluka according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Devarāja may be at once presumed. A careful study of the two inscriptions seems to show that Nāgabhaṭṭa, the founder of the Imperial Pratihāras, successfully resisted the Arab invasions which proved so disastrous to the other Pratihāra line. His successors were not slow to take advantage of this favourable situation, and Devarāja entered into a contest for supremacy with Śiluka. He was defeated by the latter but his son Vatsarāja pursued his policy with signal success and wrested the empire from the family of Haricandra.⁶

Thus the learned professor has based his assumption upon the following grounds:—

“(1) The contemporaneity of Śiluka and Devarāja, both having lived about 750 A.D.

(2) This Devarāja is described in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja as having laid the foundation of the future greatness of his family by defeating other kings.

(3) Vatsarāja, the successor of Devarāja, is said in the same inscription to have wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. It seems to me very likely that this famous Bhaṇḍi clan is no other than the Bhaṭṭi clan to which the Jodhpur Pratihāras belonged.”⁷

But a critical study of the two inscriptions reveals a few flaws in the above argument. The Gwalior inscription reports that

Vatsarāja, son of Devarāja “wrested the empire” in battle “from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan” (*ख्याताङ्गणिकुलात्...साम्राज्यम्...हठादप्रहीत्* ।)⁸. Śiluka of the Jodhpur inscription claims to have defeated Devarāja of the Bhaṭṭi clan (Bhaṭṭikam Devarājam)⁹. As Bhaṭṭi and Bhaṇḍi have been identified,¹⁰ Vatsarāja, son of Devarāja of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, is not expected to wrest the empire from his own family. No other son of Devarāja is mentioned in any of the Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions, earlier or later, and hence any surmise about a civil war may easily be ruled out. Moreover, the Pratihāras did not belong to the Bhaṭṭi clan. The Jodhpur inscription says that Kakka married “the pure illustrious great queen Padmini, of the Bhaṭṭi clan.” No marriage within the same clan have been recorded in Indian inscriptions. Nāgabhaṭṭa II married Kalāvati, sister of his feudatory Gūvāka who was a Cāhamāna prince.¹¹ “The Candella prince Harṣa also married the Cāhamāna princess Kañcukā.”¹² The Paramāras, the Kalacuris and the Caulukyās etc. never married in their own *Kula* (clan or family). The Kalacuris had matrimonial relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed as well as with the Cālukyās of Kalyāṇi but no matrimonial relationship is found within the Kalacuris themselves even though more than one Kalacuri family flourished at the same time in different parts of the country.¹³ Similar is the case with the other *Kulas* in India. Such marriages are not allowed in Hindu society. It is therefore, natural to conclude that Padmini of the Bhaṭṭi clan did not belong to the Pratihāra family of Avanti, because as has been truly remarked by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar “it is

8 *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 108.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 98.

10 *JL.*, vol. X, p. 29; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 228-29.

11 *Prithvirājaviṣṭaya*, V, vv. 30-31, p. 137 (Belvalkar).

12 *El.*, vol. I, p. 126, vv. 20-21.

13 Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. II, pp. 738-820.

not impossible that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj branched off from this family (Jodhpur family),"¹⁴ and if both the Pratihāra families originally emerged out of one, it was not possible to have matrimonial relations between the two. Thus there are obvious difficulties in identifying Devarāja of the Jodhpur inscription who had been defeated by Śiluka with Devarāja of the Gwalior inscription, firstly, because Vatsarāja is not known to have engaged himself in a civil war, and secondly, and this is a much more weighty reason, the Pratihāras could not belong to the Bhaṭṭi *Kula* or clan.

The question, who was Devarāja who had been defeated by Śiluka, still therefore remains unsolved. But tradition as well as inscriptions offer us a way out of the difficulty.

Long before the rise of Islam a tribe known as Jadons (Yadus) migrated from Zabulistan, the country between Seistan and Quandhar to the Punjab. One of its branches known as Bhaṭṭi retired into western Rajputana. It gave name to the town of Bhatner, now known as Hanumangarh, in the Bikaner state.¹⁵ One of the most respected names in the annals of this tribe is that of Kehur. His son Tunno, who succeeded him, is reported to have flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century and to have come in conflict with the Moslems.¹⁶ His reign period of eighty years can be dismissed as the product of the poet's imagination. His grandson Deorāja (Devarāja) is depicted as a great warrior who made incursions in the interior of India even as far as Dhārā. About his raid on Dhārā a story is related. A merchant of Deorawal, Jiskurn by name, subject of Deorāja, had been imprisoned by the prince of Dhārā whose name is given as Brij Bhan. After his release the merchant reported the matter to Deorāja who vowed not to take water until he had avenged the insult. But as he had not calcu-

¹⁴ *El.*, vol. XVIII., p. 90.

¹⁵ *CHI.*, vol. III. pp. 520-23.

¹⁶ Tod: *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 256-257.

lated the distance between the two territories, a mock Dhārā of clay was built which was defended by the Puars in Deorāja's army. Deorāja had vainly calculated on the loyalty and allegiance of the Puars in his army because as the prince advanced to storm the mock Dhārā, he was greeted with the shouts, "wherever there is a Puar, there is Dhar; and where there is a Dhar, there is a Puar." The clay Dhārā was bravely defended and Deorāja could enter it only in pools of blood. Thus he made a token payment towards the fulfilment of his vow. Sometime after, he attacked the real Dhārā which he took from Brij Bhan.¹⁷

No identification for any Brij Bhan, either Pratihāra or Paramāra, can be offered. The only historical information which can be gleaned from these annals is that the Bhaṭṭis at this time began to take interest in the affairs of their eastern neighbours.

This Bhaṭṭi-Pratihāra conflict, the memories of which are so eloquently and yet so vaguely preserved by the Jaisalmer annalists, is well related in the Pratihāra inscriptions. The Bhaṭṭis occupied the land, now covered by the Jaisalmer state and were therefore, close neighbours of the Pratihāras of Jodhpur. The Bhaṭṭis were slowly but surely making their headway in an easterly direction and in the days of Devarāja, they came in conflict with Śiluka of the Pratihāra Dynasty of Jodhpur. There cannot be much doubt about the contemporaneity of the two, nor are the causes for Bhaṭṭis taking the easterly direction far to seek.

In the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century Arabs renewed their invasion on India under the able guidance and leadership of Junaid whose maxim was "better to die with bravado than with resignation." "He sent his officers to Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaj and Barus (Broach)." He sent a force against Uzain and he also sent Habib, son of Marra, with an army against the country

of Maliba.¹⁸ Thus the Arabs made their way into the interior of India through Marmad which was no doubt Māru-Māda referred to in the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka.¹⁹ Māru-Māda "includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur state."²⁰ Thus the Bhaṭṭis were the first to receive the brunt of Arab blow, because they resided in Jaisalmer state. The Arab advance could not be checked unless Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśirāja defeated the Tājikas.²¹ Nāgabhaṭṭa I of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is also credited with having defeated the Mlecchas.²² Thus the Arabs shattered the power of many a chief in India to pieces, but the most hard pressed and the earliest to be so in the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century, were the Bhaṭṭis who were very close neighbours of the Arabs. The annals of the Bhaṭṭis, as has been seen above, have preserved the memories of their conflict with the Moslems in the second quarter of the eighth century.

Thus why the Bhaṭṭis began, henceforth, to look to the east becomes easy to explain. Hard pressed by the Arabs, they had no option left to them but to aggrandise and expand at the expense of the Pratihāras. The predecessors of Śiluka of the Jodhpur inscription had been of charitable disposition and religious temperament.²³ The invasion of the Arabs had weakened the position of the Pratihāra chiefs, and religion had afforded to Śiluka's immediate predecessor the much needed consolation and solace. But it did not serve him in checking the growth and advance of the Bhaṭṭis. Hence the natural reaction against the policy of passivity, and then rose a man like Śiluka "of irrepresible power", who "having

18 Elliot: *History of India*, vol. I., p. 126.

19 *El.*, vol. IX., p. 278.

20 *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 93.

21 Navasari Plates, *BG.*, vol. I, pt. II, pp. 375-376.

22 Gwalior Inscription, *El.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 107, 110.

23 Jodhpur inscription, *El.*, vol. XVIII, p. 98, vv. 14-17.

knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.”²⁴

According to our scheme of chronology the Arab invasion took place when either Yaśovardhana or his son Caṇḍuka was ruling on the throne at Jodhpur. The Bhaṭṭi annals have recorded the conflict between Tunno and the Moslems.²⁵ Śiluka was the grandson of Yaśovardhana while Deorāja (Devarāja) was similarly related to Tunno. There cannot be, therefore, any doubt about the contemporaneity of Śiluka of the Jodhpur inscription and that of Devarāja (Deorāja) mentioned by the Bhaṭṭi chroniclers. Thus the Devarāja defeated by Śiluka seems more probably to be the Bhaṭṭi Devarāja, his western neighbour rather than the Devarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra line. If this identification is accepted, it will clear away many other difficulties also.

As has been shown above it was not possible for Kakka to marry Padminī of the family of the Bhaṭṭi (Bhaṭṭi-vaṃśa), if Bhaṭṭika Devarāja is identified with the Devarāja of the Gwalior inscription, father of Vatsarāja. But if Devarāja is identified with the Deorāja of the Jaisalmer annalists, no such difficulty can arise.

In view of what has been said above about the progress of the Bhaṭṭis and the condition of the Jodhpur Pratihāras, the conquest of the Bhaṇḍi clan (identified with the Bhaṭṭi clan) by Vatsarāja also becomes easy to explain. The Bhaṭṭis lived in the present State of Jaisalmer, then called Māru-Māda. It covers a good portion of the Indian desert. That Māru was under Vatsarāja is revealed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records from Wani²⁶ and Radhanpur.²⁷ After his defeat at the hands of Dhruva, Vatsarāja entered upon the path of misfortune in the centre (of the deserts of) Māru.” The seizure of the sovereignty by Vatsarāja from the Jodhpur family of Haricandra

²⁴ *El.*, vol. XVIII., p. 98.

²⁵ Tod: *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. II., p. 258.

²⁶ *Id.*, vol. XI., p. 161.

²⁷ *El.*, vol. VI., pp. 243-248.

cannot be explained. Nāgabhaṭṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, was evidently helped by Kakka, the great-grandson of Śiluka.²⁸ If Vatsarāja had snatched power from the Jodhpur family to which he was related by blood, the Jodhpur princes could not have yielded willing obedience to the Pratihāras of Avanti. No defeated enemy would let an opportunity of avenging himself pass unnoticed. On the other hand, we find the lords of Avanti being helped by their kinsmen at Jodhpur in times of stress and storm. It seems more probable that to check the growth of Bhaṭṭis, the successors of Śiluka, who were of a religious disposition, asked their relations in Avanti to help them to face and check the Bhaṭṭis. Thus can be explained the loyalty and devotion of the Jodhpur family to their kinsmen in Mālava and Kanauj, as well as Vatsarāja's victory over the Bhaṇḍi clan from whom he snatched the empire.

Thus the identification of Bhaṭṭi and Bhaṇḍi with the Bhaṭṭis of Jaisalmer and of Devarāja of the Jodhpur inscription with Deorāja of Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* would meet the objections raised. It will further explain why a Jodhpur prince did not marry Padminī of his own family as well as why Vatsarāja was not compelled to wage an internecine war.

KRISHNA KUMAR

Khasarpaṇa

Khasarpaṇa is the name of a particular form of Avalokiteśvara, a Vajrayānic god. He is also called Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara or —Avalokiteśvara. Khasarpaṇa also occurs as a place-name in the Vajrayānic literature. This has not yet been satisfactorily identified. We shall, in this paper, try to throw some new light on its location.

Prof. G. Tucci has written an interesting article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vol. VII, pp. 683 ff.), based on a book on the itinerary of Buddhagupta, *guru* of Tāranātha, written by Tāranātha himself. It appears that Buddhagupta, on his way from South India to the small islands of the east, visited Khasarpaṇa *via* Jhārikhaṇḍa and Jagannātha in Orissa. We give below for ready reference the relevant passage from the Tibetan text as quoted by Tucci with his translation (p. 698 fn. 1):—

དེ་ན་ སར་ རྩོལ་ས་ ཀྱི་ རྒྱིང་ སྤན་ རྣམས་ གཞིགས་ བར་ བཞེང
ནས་ ཇེ་རི་ཁ་ན་ ངང་ ཇེ་གང་ན་ཐ་གྱུད་ རྣམ་ ལྷང་ག་ལར་ སེབས་ ཡུལ་བྱ་
ཅུ་བྱུང་ད་ཅུ་ཀ་སའི་ན་མཇལ་ཞག་ནི་ ཤུ་ ཚམ་ སྒོལ་ ལ་ འདེབས་ ཀྱིན་
ཞུགས་....དེ་ རྣམ་ ཉི་ཤུར་ སེབས།

“Then he started again for the purpose of visiting the small islands of the east; so through Jārikhaṇḍa and Jagannātha he went to Khasarpaṇa in Buntavarta (*sic*) where he spent in prayer about twenty days.....Then he went to Tipura.” (p. 697)

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned, Tucci has made the following remarks:—

“We can quite easily follow the itinerary of the Indian *sadhu* from South India to Orissa where Jārikhaṇḍa or Jarākhaṇḍa and

Jagannātha are located. Buntavarta is evidently a corruption for Puṇḍravardhana corresponding to the districts of Bogra and Rajshahi. Khasarpaṇa cannot be exactly located, but its name seems to suggest that it is a high mountain. In fact Khasarpaṇa is known also to Tāranātha who takes it to be the seat of Avalokiteśvara but locates it in South India perhaps wrongly identifying it with Potalaka. The fact that Puṇḍravardhana indicates the country bordering on the sub-Himalayan range seems to point out that Khasarpaṇa was a general designation for the mountains bordering on the north of Bengal. The identification of Tipura with Tippera is self-evident." (p. 699).

Avalokiteśvara has been described by Padmākaramati as *Potalakācalodaranivāsin*, i.e. 'residing in a cave of the hill of Potalaka' (*Sādhana-mālā*, vol. I, p. 40), and by Carpati, in his *stotra* of Avalokiteśvara, as *Potalakavāsa*, i.e. 'living on the Potalaka-hill.' (*JASB.*, N.S. XXVI., p. 137). So there can be no doubt that Avalokiteśvara was a resident of Potalaka. But Tāranātha had no reason to identify Khasarpaṇa with Potalaka, nor placing it in South India. He should have noted that Buddhagupta visited not only Khasarpaṇa but also Potala, and that to reach the latter, his *guru* had to undertake a sea-voyage. We shall be presently giving further evidence to show that Potalaka was a different place from Khasarpaṇa. Tucci is inclined to locate Potala in some hill in the Madagascar island.

Tucci is probably right in taking 'Buntavarta' to be a corruption of Puṇḍravardhana. But it would not be correct to say that it corresponds to the districts of Bogra and Rajshahi only. Puṇḍravardhana may mean the city of Puṇḍravardhana, the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, or the country of which Puṇḍravardhana was the capital. It is not again right to say that the name 'Khasarpaṇa' suggests 'a high mountain.' The word literally means 'sky-gliding.' In hyperbolic language a mountain is said to 'reach the heaven,' but never as 'gliding in the sky.' The meaning of a place-name is not always a safe guide for identifying it, particularly when an obscure

or meaningless place-name is Sanskritised to yield a meaning. How very misleading it is will be apparent from the following extract giving the tradition of the first introduction of the worship of Avalokiteśvara, in the village of Khasarpaṇa:—

“इह शुभङ्करनामा उपासकः शुभकर्मकारी करुणायमानः स किल पोटलकगमनोद्यतः गच्छन् खाड़ीमण्डले खसर्पणनामा ग्रामोऽस्ति ततोषितः । तस्य तु भगवतार्यावलोकितेश्वरेण प्रत्यादेशो दत्तः । मा गच्छ त्वमिहास्मान् वैरोचनाभिसम्बोधितन्त्रराजकमेण स्थापय तेन महान् सत्त्वार्थो भविष्यति । तत्रासौ भगवन्तं शीघ्रमेव कारितवान् इत्येषा श्रुतिः” ।

(*Sādhnamālā*, vol. I, pp. 42-43)

“A votary named Śubhaṅkara by name, given to doing auspicious works being possessed of compassion, intended to go to Potalaka. On his way he stayed at a village named Khasarpaṇa, in *Khāḍi-maṇḍala*. There he received divine orders from Āryāvalokiteśvara. ‘Do not go, you do establish us here according to the ritual of the *Vairocanaśbhisambodhitāntrarāja*, which will be a great act of enlightenment.’ He too had it done soon. So it is heard.”

The above passage clearly demonstrates that Khasarpaṇa was different from Potalaka, and was neither in South India, nor on the sub-Himalayan range bordering North Bengal, but in *Khāḍi-maṇḍala*. The word *Khāḍi* means ‘a bay,’ and ‘*maṇḍala*’ ‘a circle.’ In Hindu India, a kingdom was divided into several *bhuktis* or provinces, a *bhukti* into several *maṇḍalas* or divisions, and a *maṇḍala* again into a number of *viṣayas* or districts. So *Khāḍi-maṇḍala* means some Hindu administrative division lying about a bay. But where was it?

The Sundarban grant of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal records the gift of a plot of land in *Khāḍi-maṇḍala* under the Puṇḍravaradhana-*bhukti* (*Bengal Inscriptions*, vol. III, pp. 169 ff.). The find-place and the localities mentioned in the plate have been traced in the Diamond-Harbour sub-division of the District of 24-Parganas, on the Bay of Bengal. Again *Khāḍi-viṣaya* in the same *bhukti*

occurs in the Barrackpur charter of king Vijayasena, grand-father of king Lakṣmaṇasena (*ibid.*, p. 58). There still exists a *pargana* bearing the name of Khāḍī, to bear witness to the ancient Khāḍī-*maṇḍala* and Khāḍī-*viṣaya*. In the *Dākṛṇava*, Khāḍī is mentioned as one of the 64 *Piṭhas*, along with Rādha, Dhikkara, Vaṅgāla and Harikela (*ibid.*, pp. 60-61). This goes to show that Khāḍī was a stronghold of the Vajrayānists. Mr. Kalidas Dutt, a Zamindar of Jayanagar-Majilpur, in the Sadar sub-division, 24-Parganas, has collected images of many Jaina, Bauddha and Hindu gods, bricks and potteries from the Sunderbans and other places of that locality (*Appendices to the Annual Report* for 1928-29 of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), which prove the antiquity of the place.

Khasarpaṇa was in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in the Sena period. Tāranātha has also placed it there. But this was not surely the case in his time, in the last part of the sixteenth century, when Bengal was under the Moghuls. He had no personal knowledge of the places is apparent from the fact that he placed them in South India. He could not have possibly received this information from his *guru*, who actually visited the place and had correct knowledge of the location of Khasarpaṇa. He must have copied it from some earlier records of the Pāla or Sena period. Evidence is not wanting to show that Khasarpaṇa obtained considerable celebrity in the tenth century, during the Pāla-period. It appears that Mātrī-gupta (Advayavajra) while staying at Vikramapura was directed in a dream to go to Khasarpaṇa, where he lived for a year (*JASB.*, XXVI, 152-3). According to Tāranātha, Advayavajra lived in the time of king Mahīpāla I (*Sādhanamālā*, II, p. 91), whose reign-period was 981-1041 A.D. So Khasarpaṇa was known not later than the tenth century. But it is very doubtful if it became a centre of Buddhism in the seventh century. If so, it would have received at least a passing notice from Yuan Chwang, when he was going by it, in his journey from Samatāṭa to Tāmralipta.

We will now try to see how Avalokiteśvara came to be known by the name of Khasarpaṇa. His *dhyāna* is described thus:—

“शरत्काण्डगौरः जटामुकुटी शिरसि अमिताभधारी सर्वालङ्कारभूषितः रत्नसिंहासनोपरि सहस्रदलपद्मस्थः ललिताक्षेपः द्विभुजैकमुखः वामेन पद्मधारी दक्षिणेनामृतधारास्रवद्वरदः सत्त्वपर्यङ्कासीनः । अग्रस्तारा कनकश्यामवर्णा उन्नतपीनपयोधरा सर्वालङ्कारभूषिता उत्पल-कलिकासन्नकरद्वयापितनेवा । तदनु सुधनकुमारः कनकोज्ज्वलः रत्नाभरणो रत्नमुकुटी वामकक्षाव-मङ्गकमलिकः कृताञ्जलिपुटः । तदनु भृकुटीजटामुकुटिनी मुर्द्धनि चैत्यालङ्कृता कनकोज्ज्वला रक्तवस्त्रपरिधाना दक्षिणहस्तेन नमस्कारं कुर्वन्ना अपरेणाक्षमालाधरा वामकराभ्यां त्रिदशदी-कमण्डलुव्यव्रा । तदनु हयग्रीवोज्ज्वलद्भासुरः पिङ्गलोर्ध्वकेशः नागाभरणो रक्तवर्णः लम्बोदरो व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरः दण्डहस्तः” ।¹

There is nothing in the above description to justify the name of Khasarpaṇa, i.e., ‘sky-gliding.’ It is true that in the *sādhana*, the votary has been directed to meditate *guru-Buddha-Bodhisattvān gaganatale purovarttinah kṛtvā*, i.e. ‘by making *guru*, Buddha and the Bodhisattvas before him in the sky’ (*ibid.*). But this is not peculiar to the Khasarpaṇa variety only. It is found also in the case of *Simhanāda-sādhana* (*ibid.*, p. 47). A deity worshipped at a certain place when gets celebrity often goes by the name of the place, as *Uddiyāna-Māricī*, *Khadiravani-Tārā*, *Mahācina-Tārā* and so on. In the present case also similar things might have happened. In fact we find that the village was known as Khasarpaṇa even before Śubhāṅkara went there and introduced the worship of Avalokiteśvara there. So it would not be unreasonable to think that the village of Khasarpaṇa has given name to the particular form of Avalokiteśvara worshipped there. Further it is not unlikely that this Khasarpaṇa obtained for Khāḍi the sanctity of a *Pīṭha*.

1 (*Sāghanamālā*, I, pp. 43-44. For illustration, see plate IV, facing p. cli of the Intro. vol. II.) Images have been found in Vikramapura, Dacca, Tippera districts (Bhattachali—*Collection of the Dacca Museum*) and in Ranibandh in Mayurbhanj (*Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. lxxxii). Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya says that many images of this variety of Lokēśvara have been discovered and many Museums possess one (*Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 36-7), but he has not named them.

The *Sādhnamālā* (vol. I, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 24 and 26) contains five *sādhanās* of Khasarpaṇa. Of these, No. 14 belongs to Padmākaramati and No. 24 to Schavira Anupamarakṣita. Besides these the *Catalogue* by Cordier (p. 321) shows that one Śrīsāntikara also composed a *sādhanā*. We suspect that in the course of translation and retranslation this Subhāṅkara might have changed to Sāntikara. Paṇḍita Abhayakara (*ibid.*, p. 373) and Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna (c. 1040 A.D.) translated the Khasarpaṇa-Sādhanā into Tibetan language (*ibid.*, p. 320). This shows the popularity of the Khasarpaṇa-worship.

Subhāṅkara was directed to worship Avalokiteśvara according to the *krama* or ritual of *Vairocanābhisambodhitantrarāja*. We do not know who the author was or when it was composed. It appears from Cordier's *Catalogue* (pp. 290-291) that Ācārya Buddhaguhya wrote *vr̥tti* and *pindārtha* of it and Śrīkūṭa or *Śrīkūṭarakṣita* translated them into the Tibetan.

We find that Buddhagupta, on his way from South India to Khasarpaṇa, passed through 'dsā ri k'anta' (Jārikhaṇḍa) and 'dsa gañ nā tha' (Jagannātha). After these two places, the Tibetan text has 'Bhaṅga lar', which no doubt, refers to Bengal. But it does not appear in Tucci's translation. Tucci has placed both Jārikhaṇḍa or Jhārikhaṇḍa (modern Santhal-Pargana) and Jagannātha in Orissa. The former was a part of Birbhum (Bengal), in the time of Buddhagupta, in the sixteenth century. Pandit Jaganmohana, who wrote his *Deśavaliviṇṇa* about two hundred years ago, says that Puṇḍra-deśa (Bengal) consists of seven provinces, viz., Gauḍa, Varendra, Nivṛti, Suhma-deśa (Rāḍha), Jāṅgala, Jhārikhaṇḍa and Varāha-bhūmi (H. P. Sastri's *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, vol. IV, p. 60). Jagannātha, though geographically belongs to Orissa, was politically under Bengal till recently (1912 A.D.), from the sixteenth century. It is not clear why Jārikhaṇḍa has been mentioned at all. It does not lie in the route from South India to Jagannātha, nor

from Jagannātha to Khasarpaṇa. Tucci is not sure of the reading. He gives the variant, 'Jarākhanda,' which may mean Jhārgām of Midnapur, but even in that case it should come after Jagannātha.

It appears that Advayavajra also followed this route from Khasarpaṇa in South Vaṅga to Dākṣiṇātya, in quest of his future *guru* Savareśvara. He first went to Oḍra-deśa or Orissa. In this journey he must have passed through Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, where he met Sāgara, a *Rāḍha-deśavāsi-rājaputra*, or 'a prince, residing in Rāḍha country' (*JASB.*, N.S. vol. XXVI, p. 153). This Sāgara² may be the same as Sāgaradatta, mentioned immediately after his *guru* Savaranātha, as one of the *gurus* of the Vajrayoginī cult (*Ibid.*, pp. 151-4). Caitanyadeva, in the sixteenth century, also followed this route, in his journey to Jagannātha, *via* Chatrabhoga, in the Diamond-Harbour sub-division (*Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, Madhyalilā, ch. III.). Kālidāsa made Raghu, in his *digvijaya*, proceed by this route from Bengal to Orissa. So this route from Vaṅga to Oḍra *via* Dakṣiṇa Vaṅga and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha was an ancient one.

N. G. Majumdar thinks that this locality of Khāḍi-maṇḍala formed a part of Samatāṭa because the land granted in the Barrackpur charter of Vijayasena, which lay in Khāḍi-*viśaya*, was measured according to the *Samatāṭiya-nala*, i.e. 'the standard measuring rod of Samatāṭa' (*Beng. Inscr.*, vol. III, pp. 60-61). For the very same reason we think that it was not in Samatāṭa. If that was so, the mention of *Samatāṭiya-nala*, in Samatāṭa itself, was quite redundant. Probably in this locality different standards were in use for land measurement. For we find that Lakṣmaṇasena, in his Sundarban plate, introduced a fixed standard and had it engraved on the pillar dedicated to *Ugramādhavadeva* (Harihara?) (*Ibid.*, p. 170). This

² This Sāgara may also be the same as Ācārya Sāgara, the author of *Samvaracakreśvarālikālimahāyogabhavanānāma* (Codier's Catalogue, p. 243). It appears that Sāgara's *guru* Savaripā is one of those who handed down *Cakraśaṃvara-Tantra* (*Sādhnamālā*, vol. II, Intro. p. xli).

custom was very common in South India, and goes to support the South Indian origin of the Senas.

Tāranātha says that when Mahīpāla I was minor, his maternal uncle Chāṇaka ruled for him. After a while when Mahīpāla himself took up the reigns of government, Chāṇaka retired to the kingdom of Bati, an island near the mouth of the Ganges (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p. 367). This Bati is probably the same as Bhaṭi of the Moghul historians, which means lower Bengal (*JASB.*, 1873, p. 231). We find one Saṅgu (Chāṅgu) accompanied Mahīpāla in his battle with the forces of Rājendra Coḷa (*JOR.*, Madras, vol. VII, 207). This Chāṅgu may be his maternal uncle Chāṇaka. Again we find that a poet named Umāpatidhara wrote his *Candracūḍacarita* at the request of a king named Cāṇakyacandra (*Catalogus Catalogorum*). Chāṅgu and Chāṇaka seem to be the shortened form of this Cāṇakyacandra, who probably was a scion of the Candra dynasty of Vaṅga and ruled in south Vaṅga, of which Khāḍi-maṇḍala formed a part.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH*

* It is with deep regret that we have to record that the writer of this paper passed away from this world after sending his ms. to us and did not live to see the proofs. By his demise we have lost a valuable contributor not only to our *Quarterly* but to the antiquarian studies of Bengal.—Editor.

Karkarāja of Acalapura

Two rulers of Acalapura figure in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa history. Of these, one was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa II, but his name can not be ascertained. The second ruler named Karkarāja is mentioned in the records of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ. It will be shown in this paper that he is referred to as Karkara, a feudatory of Govinda IV, in an unpublished Śilāhāra grant, and that he is most probably identical with Kakkala, mentioned by Pampa in the *Vikramārjunaviṇaya*.

Acalapura (mod. Ellichpur) was the name of a city and a *viṣaya* situated on the northern frontiers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa II its ruler is said to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Paṇḍaranga, a renowned general of Vijayāditya III. Several records of the Eastern Cālukyas testify to this fact. The Masulipatām plates of Vijayāditya III record a gift to Vinayāḍīśarmā for suggesting the way to kill Maṅgi.¹ The Eḍṛu grant of Amma I states that Vijayāditya III "having been challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas, conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas, cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle, frightened Saṅkila and Kṛṣṇa and burnt their capital (unnamed)".² The Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Amma II says that Maṅgi was a Nolamba chief and Saṅkila, the ally of Kṛṣṇa, was a ruler of the Ḍahāḷa country. It further informs us that when Paṇḍaranga burnt Kiraṇapura, Kṛṣṇarāja (i.e. Kṛṣṇa II) was residing at that place (*Kiraṇapuram adbhākṣit Kṛṣṇarājasthitam yastrīpuramiva mahēśa Pāṇḍuraṅgapratāpi*).³ The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadeva states that Vijayāditya burnt Cakrakūṭa, terrified Saṅkila residing at Kiraṇapura with Kṛṣṇa,

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, V, p. 125.

2 *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 38-39.

3 *E.I.*, IX, pp. 53-55.

(*Kiraṇapuragataṃ Saṅkilam Kṛṣṇayuktam*) and acquainted (lit. united) Vallabhendra (i.e., Kṛṣṇa II) with his own prowess etc.⁴ From the Dharmavaram Telugu stone inscription of Vijayāditya III we learn that Bejayarāja *Guṇakenalla*, the younger brother of Ayyapa-rāja, sent Paṇḍaranga on an expedition in which that indomitable general stormed Acalapura, opposed the Vallabha and Coḷa kings, burnt Kiraṇapura and conquered Saṅkila.⁵ The Bejayarāja of this record has been rightly identified with Vijayāditya III.⁶ The title *Guṇakenallan* is given to Vijayāditya III in his Sātālūru Copper-plates (*Guṇakenallan iti jayagiyaṃāna kirttiḥ*).⁷ It is not known who was the ruler of Acalapura who was defeated by Paṇḍaranga. It is probable that as a partisan of Kṛṣṇa II he was conquered by Paṇḍaranga in his raid on Cedi.

The identity of Karkarāja may now be discussed. While delineating the events that led to the deposition of Govinda IV, Pṛabhū-tavarsa Suvarṇavarṣa, as Dr. Altekar points out, a verse in an unpublished Śilāhāra Copper-plate mentions a ruler named Karkara as fighting against Baddega, Amoghavarṣa III, on behalf of Govinda IV, until he was overwhelmed by the former.

The unpublished Śilāhāra grant, once in the possession of Professor H. D. Velankar of Bombay, but now untraceable, refers to the accession of Amoghavarṣa III and then directly mentions the vigorous opposition led by Karkara as follows:—

4 *El.*, IV, pp. 233, 239-240; Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 92-93, 96. (Poona, 1934).

5 Butterworth and Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, Pt. II. Og. 39, pp. 966-7; *Annual Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1923*, 839 of 1922, pp. 61, 98.

6 Butterworth and Chetty, *Ibid.*, p. 966.

7 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, V, pt. 2, pp. 105, 113. The view that Saṅkila was the same as the Vaiḍumba Saṅkali is untenable. (*S. Ep. Op. Cit.*, p. 98). He has been correctly identified with Saṅkula, the son of Kokkala and brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II. (Altekar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 94-95). Kiraṇapura is represented by the modern village of Kiranpur, a town in the Baleghat district of C. P. (Altekar, *Ibid.*, p. 95.) On Paṇḍaranga, read *El.*, XIX, pp. 271-5.

श्रीमत्कर्नराष्ट्रकूटके सद्वंशसंहर्षतो
 रौद्रद्रोहद्वप्रतापशमनं निखिशधाराजलैः ॥
 येनाकारि समुद्रूतेन्द्रधनुषा भूषारमभिर्विद्युता ।
 भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसुघनोऽसद्रूतिविश्वसनात् ॥

Commenting on the above verse Dr. Altekar rightly observes the following:—"This verse would suggest that Karkara, a relative of feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief, fought on the side of Govinda, but was overthrown by Amoghavarṣa and his allies."⁸

To understand this situation it is necessary to review the events connected with this civil war. Govinda IV proved to be a failure both in his domestic and foreign affairs. His feudatories openly rebelled against him and appealed to Amoghavarṣa III to assume the reins of government in order to preserve the stability of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire (*Sāmantairatha Rattarāja mahimālabhārthamabhyarthito*).⁹ Amoghavarṣa was at this time living at Tripuri, at the court of his father-in-law the Cedi Yuvarāja I.¹⁰ Now in Gaṅgavāḍi, Būtuga II was superseded by Rācamalla III.¹¹ Hence we find Būtuga II in the Ḍahāḷa country where at Tripuri, he married the daughter of Amoghavarṣa III named Revakanimmaḍi or Cagavedeṅgi.¹² Encouraged by this dual support and by the presence of his son Kṛṣṇa, Amoghavarṣa III acceded to the requests of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories to invade his hereditary dominion. Notable among those who gave him unflinching support were the Cālukya rulers Vijayāditya and Arikesari II.¹³ In the civil war that

8 Altekar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

9 *El.*, IV, *The Karbād plates*, pp. 284, 288; *Ibid.*, V, *The Deoli plates*, p. 194; Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 418; Altekar, *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

10 *El.*, III, p. 166; *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1921*, p. 22. Dr. Altekar finds an echo of this confederacy in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Altekar, *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110.

11 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV. Hg. 116; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 45. This event may be placed in c. A.D. 920.

12 *El.*, IV. pp. 351-2; *Ibid.*, p. v; *M.A.R.*, for 1921, p. 22.

13 That Govinda IV waged a war against a Cālukya Vijayāditya is proved by the following passages in Pampa's *Vikramārjunaviṣaya*:—*Cālukyakulatilakanappa*

ensued between Amoghavarṣa III and Govinda IV, Būtuga II killed Karkarāja the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Acalapura.

These suppositions may now be substantiated in detail. The Sūdi plates of Būtuga II mention that he slew a ruler called Karkarāja of Acalapura.¹⁴ This fact is repeated and confirmed by the Kūḍlūr plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha II dated A.D. 963.¹⁵ The Kūḍlūr plates after giving the usual Gaṅga pedigree up to Rācamalla III enumerate several incidents pertaining to his younger brother Būtuga II:—"His younger brother, Būtuga, possessed of

Vijayādityaṅge Gōvindarājam Muḷiye talarade jālanidhi peragikki kāda Śaraṇāgata jāla nidhiya prmpum." Pampa, *Vikramārjunavijaya*, IX. p. 234 (Bangalore, 1931). The same fact is again repeated in a different context:—"Goṇiganēmba sakaḷa cakravartī (male) muḷiye tanage Śaraṇāgatanāda Vijayādityaṇam kāda ballāṭtana doḷ Śaraṇāgatajālanidhiyam." *Ibid.* XIV. p. 412. This fact is graphically described in the undated Vemulavāda stone inscription of Arike arin II:—"Sāmantān-daṇḍa-mukhyān—nijabhuja-pariḡhāḥ prasphuraḍ-khaḍga-dhāraḥ nirāmbhorāśimagnāṃ stu (tu) raga-kari-ghaṭāpatti sampatti yuktān kṛtthāpaddhūryamāryaḥ svaṇanaparijanai(h) sannibhantyaṭjiraṅge kṛuddhe Govindarājyabaraṇamupagato rakṣito yēna-Bijjaḥ" *IAHRS.*, VI, pts. 3 & 4, pp. 186-7, verse 13. Dr. Fleet identifies him with Vijayāditya IV. (*Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 381). Dr. Ganguly prefers to identify him with Vijayāditya V. (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, p. 31). Vijayāditya IV (A.D. 921) and Vijayāditya V (A.D. 927), both of the E. Cālukya dynasty, were contemporaries of Govinda IV. See also *IHQ.*, X, p. 99; *Ibid.*, XI, p. 31. *IAHRS.*, V, p. 30. This Bijja is to be identified with the *Mahāsāmanta* Cālukya Bijja, the ruler of Kōgaḷ and Māsiyavāṇi districts, under Indra III. 271-272 of 1918; *SIL.*, IX, pt. I, nos. 57-58.

14 *E.I.*, III p. 158 seq., *Spurious Sūd Copper-plate grant purporting to have been issued by Būtuga in Śaka-sam.* 860. The date given is *Śaka-varīṣeṣu-ṣaṣṭy-uttaraṣṭa (śa) teṣu atikrānteṣu Vikārī samvatsara Kārttika Nandīśvara śukla-pakṣa aṣṭamyaṃ Ādivāre.* *Ibid.*, 180. This corresponds to A.D. 939 (Śaka 860 expired) October 23rd. Wednesday, the week-day not corresponding. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, II, p. 281. On Nandīśvara see *EC.*, I, (Rev. Ed.) p. 10. A.D. 939 is the earliest date referring to Karkarāja. But since the reading given by Fleet is in many places faulty and since he pronounced the grant to be spurious the reading of the Kūḍlūr plates has been followed.

15 *MAR.*, for 1921, pp. 21-22, *The Kūḍlūr plates of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha II, dated A.D. 963.* The Karnāṭaka Historical Society Copper-plate grant of Mārasimha II dated Śaka 884 (A.D. 962, Dec. 23) gives the same details as the Kūḍlūr grant but it is a few months earlier than the latter. (*An. Rep. S. I. Ep.* for 1935, pp. 57-8). But these plates have not been published as yet.

wealth acquired by his own arm, went to king Baddega in the Dahāla country, and then married his daughter along with the Maiden 'Speech' according to the prescribed rites at Tripuri (*tasyānujō-nijabbujārjita-sampad-artthi-bhūvallabbhaṃ samupagamya Dahāla-deśe Śrī-Baddegamaṃ tadānu tasya sūtāṃ sabaiva Vāk-kanyayā vyavahad ukta-vidhis-Tripuryām*). The fierce Būtuga, conqueror of the host of his enemies, who through his valour ranked first in the enumeration of kings,—on Baddega going to heaven to seize the sovereignty of Indra (i.e., on the death of Baddega)—took elephants, horses, white parasols and the throne from the possession of Lalleya and gave them to king Kṛṣṇa (*Lakṣmīm Indrasya haritum gataṃ divi yad-Baddegāṅke mahiṣe hr̥tvā Lalleya-bastāt kari-turaga-sitacchatra-simbāsanāni prādāt Kṛṣṇāya rājñē*).¹⁶ Further, from this king Gaṅga-Gāṅgēya, did not Kakkarāja, lord of Acalapura, enter the mouth of Yama? (*Kimcātaḥ kinnu nāgād Acalapurapatih Kakkarājō 'ntakāsyam Gaṅgagāṅgēyabbhūpāt*). Did not Dantivarmā named Bijja obtain in war the state of living in the forest (otherwise, had he not to flee back to Vanavāsi)? (*Bijjākhyo Dantivarmā yudhi niḥa-vana-vāsivam eva*). Did not Ajavarmā, lord of Śāntala (i.e., Śāntara) become quieted? (*Ajavarmā śāntatvam śāntalēśō*). Did not Dāmari, lord of Nuḷugugiri obtain the breaking of his pride? And did not Nāgavarmā tremble with fear?¹⁷ His achievements in the Coḷa country are then given.

16 Altekar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 115 here discredits this fact, and is of the opinion that there was no usurper named Lalleya. The boast in the copper-plate grants that Būtuga defeated the usurper and established Kṛṣṇa III on throne may be compared to that of Arikesarin II who claims to have installed Amoghavarṣa III "firmly" on his ancestral throne. See *Infra*. It is not clear why the Lalleya episode is given earlier, whereas from Rāṣṭrakūṭa history it is known that the crowning of Kṛṣṇa III came much later in c. A.D. (Dec.) 939.

17 It cannot be determined, for want of sufficient data, whether Dantivarmā, Ajavarmā, Dāmari and Nāgavarmā were the confederates of Govinda IV and participated in the civil war. But the Śāntaras were under Govinda IV (*E.C.*, VII, HI. 21-23). A stone inscription found at the temple of Chaudī, Sahur, Shikarpur taluka,

From the foregoing account it is clear that Būtuga II killed Karkarāja, the ruler of Acalapura. Here it must be pointed out that in the unpublished Śilāhāra grant Karkara is said to have fought against Amoghavarṣa III. According to the Sūḍi and Kūḍlūr copper-plates, Būtuga II was a partisan of Amoghavarṣa III. Hence his victory over Karkarāja is easily understood.

This Karkarāja was no doubt the same as the Karkara who espoused the cause of Govinda IV. Two considerations may be adduced in support of this view. In the first place we are told that Būtuga went to the Ḍahāḷa country and by a dynastic alliance became a supporter of Amoghavarṣa III. From the unpublished Śilāhāra grant we know that Karkara was a follower of Govinda IV; and the Gaṅga records give the additional information that Karkarāja was a ruler of Acalapura and that he was killed by Būtuga II. Unless these facts are taken for granted the presence of Būtuga II in Acalapura or its neighbourhood cannot be accounted for. Secondly, Karkara was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal name, its variants being Kakkala, Kakka and Kakkara.¹⁸ Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who bore this name, Karka I was the son of Govinda I.¹⁹ Then in the Gujārāt branch we have Karka I²⁰ and Karka II.²¹ But they were the contemporaries of Dantidurga and Kṛṣṇa I. Karka Suvarṇavarṣa was the brother of Govinda III²² and the regent of his son Amoghavarṣa I.²³ A Karkarāja (c. A.D. 800-815), the father of Parabala, is mentioned in the Pathari pillar inscription but he cannot be placed later than the *first half* of the 9th century.²⁴ Karka II of the Imperial

Shimoga district, mentions a Śāntara Ajavarmarasa. (MAR., for 1927, p. 131, No. 149). The identity of the rest cannot be solved.

18 Fleet, *Dyn. of the Kan. Dts.*, p. 423.

19 Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 388; Altekar, *Op cit.*, p. 28.

20 Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 392; Altekar, *Ibid.*

21 Fleet, *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 382, 392, 402 and 409; Altekar, *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 40, 43.

22 Altekar, *Ibid.*, p. 59.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

24 *El.*, IX, p. 248; Altekar, *Ibid.*, p. 82. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, (Calcutta, 1931) pp. 558, 557-9.

dynasty, the son of Nirupama, was defeated by Tailapa II in c. A.D. 973-974.²⁵ None of the rulers mentioned above can be identified with the Karkara of the unpublished Silāhāra grant and of the Gaṅga records because their dates do not agree with those that can be assigned to him, viz. c. A.D. 889-939.

We may now turn to the great Kannada poet Pampa in order to verify our statements. Pampa who was a protégé of the Cālukya Arikesarin II states in his *Vikramārjunaviṣaya* that Arikesarin II helped Amoghavarṣa III in regaining the Rāṣtrakūṭa throne; Arikesarin II routed the great hosts of *Sāmantas* despatched against him by the emperor Gojjiga (Govinda IV) (*Gojjiganemba sakala Cakravarti besa [si] se daṇḍuvandu mahāsāmantaram maraḷi [lali] riḍu gelda sāmanta cūḍāmaṇiya biramumam*).²⁶ Having cast off (the allegiance of) the emperor who was guilty of pardonable irregularity, did he not firmly establish king Baddega, who came trusting him, in his empire? (*ativartyāgi mārmaleva cakravartiyam kiḍisi tannam nambi baṇḍa Baddegadevaṅge sakalasāmraṇyamanōrantu māḍi nirisi darikēsariya toḷvalamumam*). When Bappuva, the heroic younger brother of Kakkala, pompously marched against him with his army composed of four units, did he not display his valour mounted on a single rutting elephant by driving away Bappuva before him? (*samada gaja ghaṭātōpam berasu nelanadirevandu tāgida Kakkalanatammanappa Bappuvan aṅkakāranan onde madāndha gandha sindhuradoḷ ōḍisi vairigajahātāvighaṭanan adatumam paracakraṅgalan aṇjisida parasainya Bhairavana mēgillada bal-āḷtanamumam kaṇḍum kēḷdum ninage seṇasalentu bage bandapudu*).²⁷ The following conclusions can be deduced from this

25 Fleet, *Op. cit.*, pp. 306-7, 385-387, 423, 425 (n), 426, 430 and 542; Altekar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-7, 130-1.

26 Cf. *The Vemulavāda inscription of Arikesarin II*, *Op. cit.*, where it is clearly stated that Arikesarin II fought against a force of *Sāmantas* who came at the command of Govinda IV.

27 Pampa, *Op. cit.*, IX, p. 234. For another translation see *El.*, XIII, pp. 328-9.

description. Arikesarin II threw off the allegiance of Govinda IV and opposed him on behalf of Amoghavarṣa III. He also defeated a feudatory named Bappuva, the younger brother of Kakkala.

It has already been shown that Būtuga II slew Karkarāja, the ruler of Acalapura. This Karkarāja is evidently the same as the Kakkala mentioned by Pampa.²⁸ If this is accepted, then his presence can be explained in the following manner. When Karkarāja fell in battle his younger brother probably now assumed his rôle, and entered the field against Amoghavarṣa III. His attempt was short-lived for Arikesarin II put him to flight and reduced him to submission. "This Kakkala," says Dr. Barnett, "perhaps was the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Mālkhed otherwise known as Kakka II (who was of the next generation after Govinda IV), or perhaps was some slightly earlier scion of the same line of whom, along with his brother Bappuva no other mention has yet been found."²⁹ But Kakkala (or Kakka II) survived so late as A.D. 991 and the difference of nearly sixty years between him and Amoghavarṣa III cannot be satisfactorily explained. Moreover there is no evidence to prove that Kakka II and Amoghavarṣa III were embroiled in a civil war during the years c. A.D. 934-939. Hence the second part of Dr. Barnett's suggestion is more acceptable. The Kakkala referred to by Pampa, the Karkara of the unpublished Śilāhāra grant and Karkarāja of Acalapura were names of one and the same person; and he was a scion of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. He was, in all likelihood, a relative placed over the Acalapuraviṣaya. The exact relationship between his dynasty and the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa house cannot be determined.

Acalapura was the city from which the Tivarkhed plates of Nannarāja, dated Śaka 553 were issued. (*Om! Svasti = Acala-*

28 Cf. Altekar, *Op. cit.*, p. 130. The view that Bappuva was defeated by Vāgarāja, the son of Arikesarin II, is not convincing.

29 *El.*, XIII, p. 329, *The Kalas Inscription of Govinda IV.*

purād).³⁰ The Añjanāvati plates of Govinda III dated Śaka 722 record a gift in the Acalapuraviśaya (Śrīmadacalapuraviśa[yān]-targgata).³¹ It is thus not unlikely that there was a district called Acalapuraviśaya of which Karkarāja was the *Viśayapati*.³²

The above discussion raises some important issues, especially in regard to the origin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Dr. Altekar is inclined to state that the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the direct descendants of Nannarāja of the Tivarkheḍ and Multai plates. That is to say, he makes Dantivarman (of the Imperial dynasty) a son of Nannarāja *Yuddhāsura*.³³ This is a surmise which cannot be substantiated. The Tivarkheḍ and Multai plates begin thus: "Om! Hail! In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability was born a king the illustrious Durgarāja (Om! Svasti! *vistirṇṇe sthitipālan-āpta yāsasi śrī Rāṣṭrakūṭānvaye rammye kṣīranidhāv = iv = endur-abhavat śrī-Durgarājanṛpaḥ*)."³⁴ This statement shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

30 *El.*, XI, p. 279.

31 *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 16.

32 According to the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* Bāṇa's family is said to have migrated from Ānandapura to Acalapura near Nāsik (*Nāsikya bhūmāv = autsukyān-mūladeva nīveṣitaṃ prapyācalapuram nāmapurim adbhivasat-asau*). *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, v. 21, *Tr. Cat. of MSS* for 1916-17 to 1918-19, p. 39 seq. Acalapura is also associated with the Jains having been mentioned in the *Nirvāṇa kāṇḍa* of a Prākṛita work. (Cited) R. B. Hiralal in *El.*, XI, p. 278, where it also suggested that the transposition of the letters *ca* and *la* in *Acalapura* is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from Vāṇārasi to Vārāṇasi. But it must be noted that the forms Acalapura and Aḷacapura were used without much distinction. In the Sūḍi plates of Būtuga II the name Aḷacapura appears, while the same is mentioned as Acalapura in the Kūḍlūr grant. In an old Marāṭhi work of the 13th century, named *Lilācaritra* it is called Aḷajapur (*Aḷajapura nīkeṇ nagara ase: jī jī: tetḥa bijeṇ karāveṇ*). *Lilācarita*, p. 38 (Ed. H. N. Nene, Nagpur, 1936). Hemacandra gives the following *Sūtra* regarding the transposition of *ca* and *la*: "*Acalapure calōḥ*." *Acalapuresābde cakāra-lakārayōrvyatyayo bhavati Acalapuram*. *Kumārāpālacarita (Dvāśrayakāvya)*, Ch. VIII entitled *Siddha Hemacandra*, II, 118. p. 63. (Bombay, 1900).

33 Altekar, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

34 *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 334-5; *El.*, XI, pp. 279-280. The Tivarkheḍ grant adds Acalapurād after Om! Svasti!

had already established themselves as an influential line of rulers even *prior* to the times of Durgarāja, the ancestor of Nannarāja *Yuddhāsura*. Consequently it is not possible to say if Dantivarman was a son or a close relative of Nannarāja. This becomes apparent when we realize that among the contemporaries of Nannarāja were other equally important Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Mānapura, Śarabhapura and Paṇḍarapura.³⁵ To which branch Dantivarman belonged and how he became powerful are questions that can be answered only by future research.

A number of steps in the genealogy of the rulers of Acalapura are irretrievably lost and may, perhaps, be found as stray references in the contemporary records. But if these rulers had succeeded in assuming independence in the times of Nannarāja it was short-lived; for the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Dantivarman henceforth definitely began to assert themselves.

There is another detail which requires an explanation.³⁶ A Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler named Jhañjha appears in the eleventh century. His daughter Lasthiyavvā was married to the Seuṇa ruler Bhillama II.³⁷ But nothing is known about him. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that he is identical with the Śilāhāra Jhañjha³⁸ is wholly untenable because Bhillama II ruled almost sixty years later than the Śilāhāra ruler.³⁹ On the other hand Dr. Fleet's suggestion that Jhañjha "probably belonged to some northern offshoot of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa stock, perhaps in Central India," is more probable.⁴⁰

35 *MAR.*, for 1929 pp. 201-205.

36 According to the Baroda grant of Dhruva I dated A.D. 835, Karka (A.D. 811-12), the son of Indra of the Gujarāt branch, is said to have vanquished the "tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas," who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army. (*IA.*, XIV, p. 201). Whether these tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the rulers of Acalapura cannot be determined.

37 *IA.*, XII, p. 125.

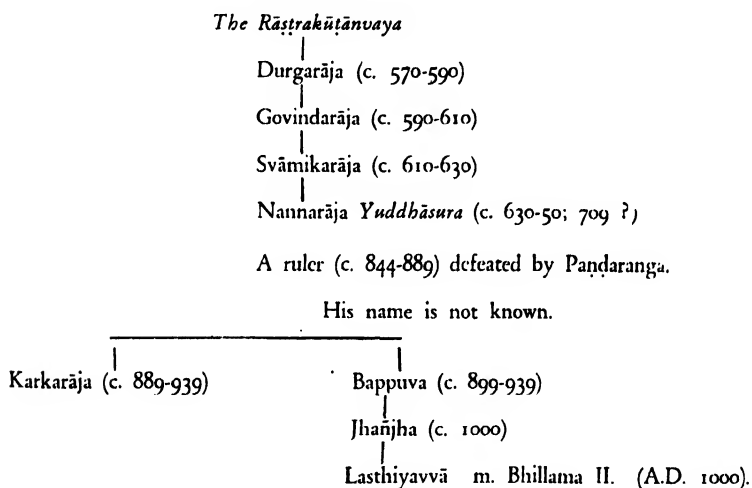
38 *Bom. Gaz.* I, Pt. 2, pp. 232-3.

39 Fleet, *Op. cit.*, p. 513 note (4); Altekar, *Indian Culture*, II, p. 404.

40 Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 425.

It must be remembered nevertheless that the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Central India makes no mention of any ruler named Jhañjha in the eleventh century.⁴¹ Could this Jhañjha be a ruler of Acalapura? Possibly it explains how the waning power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Acalapura was augmented by a dynastic alliance between the decadent Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the vigorous Seuṇas who henceforth began to gather power in the very region in which the rulers of Acalapura became extinct.

The genealogy of the Acalapura rulers may be tentatively arranged as follows, especially from the records noticed above.



G. N. SALETORÉ

⁴¹ Ray, *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 550-568.

MISCELLANY

A Short Cultural History of the Cāhamānas

The author of the *Prthvīrājaviṣaya* gives an interesting and witty interpretation of the word, "Cāhamāna," which consists of the letters CA + HA + MA + NA, i.e. of the first letters of *Cāpa*, *Hara*, *Māna* and *Naya* representing Strength, Religion, Reputation and Politics respectively. By this interpretation, the author adroitly acquaints us with the characteristic attributes of the Cāhamānas. There is no denying of the reputed strength of the Cāhamānas which only could save them from so many onslaughts through the ages. As regards "Naya" a little study will show how diplomatic they were in making friends and foes as the occasion demanded. It is to be regretted that there is no good account of their administrative affairs. This age-old monarchy had the usual system of being administered by the Prime ministers and ministers. We come across the names of a few ministers. They are Mādhava of Durlabharāja, Śridhara of Vighararāja, Bhuvanāika Malla of Prthvīrāja, Jakha of Cācigadeva and Vāgabhaṭa (before he was king). In the account of Hammīra we know of his *mantri-mukṣyas* Narapati and Jojalla. There seems to have been ministers of war different from those of court and Jojalla was one such.¹ The Sevāḍi stone inscription of Kaṭukarāja mentions the name of Yaśodeva who was *balādbīpa* i.e. leader of army.²

The Naddula monarchs in the latter half of their rule made a blunder by allowing nearly all the 'Rājaputras' to have some demarcated possessions. It brought the same results to the state as redistribution brings to land. There was possibly no hard and fast discipline of the state so as to make those petty territories ultimately

1 *IHQ.*, vol. XI, 1935, 567 ff.; *Hammira-Mahākāvya*; *LA.*, VIII, 64 ff.

2 *EL.*, XI, p. 30.

accountable to the central government at Naddula. Hence one finds so many branches of short-living dynasties of the Cāhamānas. There was possibly the system of associating the princes with the administered affairs and hence the Kiradu stone inscription of Ālhaṇa³ carried the sign-manual of Kelhaṇa and Gajasimha and the Banmera grant of Kelhaṇa⁴ bore the sign-manual of Kīrtipāla. This was characteristic of the Naddula monarchy.

We come across the names of officials like *Mahāmātya*,⁵ *Mahā-sāhaṇiya*,⁶ *Duḥṣādhya*,⁷ *Dutaka*,⁸ *Paurāṇika*⁹ mentioned in the Cāhamāna records. There were representatives of Padāras.¹⁰ The only reference to a “Śulka-maṇḍapikā” i.e. custom house in the record of Ālhaṇadeva¹¹ leads us to infer that there were departments of commerce and state-revenues.

As regards the administrative units into which the kingdom was divided, the Harṣa stone inscription furnishes us with the following account. “The Mahārāja, after having bathed in the Puṣkara-tīrtha had given the villages Simhagoṣṭha in Tūnakūpaka-Dādasaka Traikalakaka and Īśānakūpa in the Paṭṭabaddhaka-Viṣaya; his brother Vatsarāja the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura Viṣaya; king Vighraharāja, the village Chattradhārā and Śamkarānaka; Simharāja’s other sons Candrarāja and Govindarāja, one village, two hamlets etc. in the Paṭṭavaddhaka and Darbhakakṣaviṣaya; Dhandhuka, an official of Simharāja, the village Mayūrpadra in the Khaṭṭakūpa-Viṣaya; and a certain Jayanirāja, the village Kalikūpaka.”¹²

3 Kiradu inscription of Ālhaṇa; *El*, XI, 43-46.

4 Banmera grant of Kelhaṇa; *El*, XIII, 207-08.

5 Nadol Grant, *El*, XI, 43-46; *IA*, XL, 146 ff.

6 Sevasi stone inscr. *El*, XI, 28-30.

7 Harṣa stone inscr. *IA*, 1913, p. 64.

8 *IA*, XL, 146 ff.

9 *El*, XIX, 45-52. Balvan stone inscription, v. 39.

10 *IASB*, 1916, 101-102.

11 Nadol Grant, *El*, IX, 66, l. 23.

12 *IA*, 1913, 57-64.

From the above passage, it is apparent that the village formed the ultimate unit of the state. A number of villages comprised the Viṣaya corresponding to modern districts, though not so large. The term *Viṣaya* is common in the Cāhamāna and other records. In the above passage occurs another territorial term 'dvādaśaka' which was like a modern subdivision. It was so called perhaps because of its composition of twelve villages. Kirtipāla held twelve villages before he founded the Jalor branch of the Cāhamānas.¹³ This indicates that a group of twelve villages comprised a recognised territorial unit. The Semara plates of Paramārdideva dated c. 1162 A.D. also reveals the existence of three dvādaśakas in the Viṣaya of Vikaura.¹⁴

Another small division of the Viṣaya was the Padāra. Jhamvara appears as one of the four Padāras of Māṇḍavyaputa.¹⁵ *Caurāśi* is another unit. *Pūnapākṣadeva* ruled over one such i.e. Ratnapura Caurāśi.¹⁶ The term *bhukti* was also used to indicate the provinces.¹⁷

Fortunately enough we have a few important inscriptions of the Cāhamānas of Nadol and Jalor which help us to have a glimpse of the then local government. The Nadlai stone inscription of the reign of Rāyapāla may be dealt with here. Dated in the year V.S. 1198 the inscription introduces us to 16 Brāhmaṇas of the town of Dhālopa, who resided in eight different wards.....Headed by all these Brāhmaṇas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhālopa and with Devāica as the mediator the whole people of the town tendered a document. It contained a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country by means of Caukadikā or Pañcāyat system, whatever is 'lost or snatched away from the Bhāṭa, Bhaṭṭaputra, Dauvārika, Kārpaṭika, Vāñijyāraka and others, on their way. If it is however lost at their own place

¹³ *EL.*, IX, 67.

¹⁴ *EL.*, IV, 155.

¹⁵ *IASB.*, 1916, 101-102.

¹⁶ *Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions*, pp. 205-207.

¹⁷ *EL.*, XI, 30 ff.

i.e. the particular ward of Dhālopa to which they belonged, the responsible individuals thereof already mentioned were to find it in person. Many weapons and watchmen were supplied by the Mahārāja Śrī Rāyapāla for carrying on investigation.¹⁸

From the above passage it seems that the town was divided into wards and that the service of the 16 Brāhmaṇas were arranged by the state. It was the custom of the country to render services to the messengers, pilgrims, traders and such itinerants. Even the king encouraged the spirit of such services by furnishing them with necessary equipments. There was also the Pañcāyat system. Some inscriptions issued during the reign of Udayasiṃha Cāhamāna of Jalor (nearly sixty years after the above mentioned Nadol plate of Rāyapāla) make repeated references to the Pañc Committee,¹⁹ meaning perhaps the pañcāyat. In every case the king is associated with the term of office of the Pañc together with other members. Cācigadeva also held the office.²⁰

There is a solitary evidence to show the prevalence of merchant guilds in the state. The Nadlai inscription of Rāyapāla states that the Vaṇajārakas of Abhinavapuri, Badāri and Nādlāi assembled together into a *Deśi*.²¹ The *Deśi* must have been an important congregation. That it was recognised by the state is evident from its being mentioned in the inscription. It is found to arrange some income of a temple by means of negligibly light taxes on the traders. In the Harṣa stone inscription the traders of Śākambhari and the horse-dealers of Uttarāpatha exacted taxes on salt and horses and assigned the income to the temple.²² We find nowhere any definite report about Revenue or other sources of income to the state. In the Jhambra inscription of Kelhaṇa the

¹⁸ Nadlai stone inscription, *EL.*, IX, 159.

¹⁹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. i, pp. 474 ff. The Bhinnal inscriptions.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 480-81. No. XII.

²¹ *EL.*, XI, 42-43.

²² *IA.*, 1913, 60.

Cess of Jhambara is mentioned.²³ The act of remission of certain taxes at Śrīmala by Cācigadeva is recorded in his Sundha hill inscription.²⁴ Custom was collected.²⁵ *Pailā* was recognised weight.²⁶

Currency existed and special mention is made of Ajayarāja who "filled the world with Rūpakas of Durvarṇa" i.e. with silver coins.²⁷ The author of *Prthvīrājaviṇaya* means to say that there was abundant issue of coins. Coins bearing the inscription 'Śrī Ajayadeva' are available abundantly even now.²⁸ The "Dramma" was the generally used coin. In several inscriptions we hear of the grant of "Drammas" to temples. Rāuta Rājadeva is found to make a grant of one Viṃśopaka from the value of the Pailas accruing to him. Dr. H. C. Roy thinks that Viṃśopaka was probably a kind of coin.²⁹

Animal-killing was forbidden by the orders of the state. The Kiradu stone inscription of Ālhaṇa forbids the slaughter of animals on certain specified days under the threat of capital punishment.³⁰ There it is distinctly hinted that the scale of punishment varied according to the status of the violator. There is another inscription issued by the order of Girijadevi, the queen of Pūnapākṣadeva for the same purpose of preventing the people from the slaughter of animals on certain occasions. Violation was to be punished by fine.³¹

Regarding the literary activities of the Cāhamānas we do not know how far are we to believe the account of *Prthvīrājaviṇaya* that Ajayarāja filled the world with "Rūpakas" of Suvarṇa i.e. by well-written dramas. Vighararāja was also reputed as the author of the *Harakeli Nāṭaka*.

23 *JASB.*, 1916, XII, 103 ff.

24 *El.*, IX, p. 74.

25 This is inferred from the occurrence of the expression "Sulka-maṇḍapikā" as shown above.

26 Nadlai S. Inscription, *El.*, XI, 41-42. *Dynastic History of N. India* II, 1113, fn. 6.

27 *PV.*, v. 88. Somalekhā used to coin fresh rūpakas every day, v. 90.

28 *IA.*, 1912, 209-11.

29 *Dynastic Hist. of N. India*, II, 1113, fn. 5.

30 *El.*, XI, 43-46.

Mahākavi Śomadeva adorned his court and wrote the *Lalita-Vigraha-Nāṭaka*.³² Udayasiṃha, as is known from the Sundha hill inscription was a great scholar.³³ During the reign of Vigraharāja II there lived a great teacher of the lākula doctrine expounding Pañcārtha. His name was Viśvarūpa.³⁴

Our information relating to social affairs of the Cāhamānas is scanty but not so in regard to their religious beliefs and to their spirit of toleration. The position of the Brāhmaṇas was the highest.³⁵ That there were ladies connected with the temples is evident from the Sadadī stone inscription of Jojalla and the Nadol stone inscription of Rāyapāla. The latter inscription possibly mentions of a tax the *Pramadākulas* had to pay. *Sati* was practised. As to the religion of the Cāhamānas we shall see what gods they generally worshipped and invoked in their inscriptions. It is very difficult to say whether the story of the lake of Śākambharī connected with Vāsudeva by the authors of the *Prthvīrājaviṇaya* and *Hammīrabhāṅgavya* meant that the Cāhamānas worshipped the goddess Durgā (*Śākambharī*). Epigraphic evidences show that the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī were devout worshippers of Śiva. Rudrāṇī, wife of Candrarāja, took particular interest in illuminating the temple of Śiva-liṅgas.³⁶ She further propagated religious ideas with a special emphasis on *ahiṃsā* by engraving injunctions on a pillar.³⁷ It is unique in the history of the Cāhamānas and deserves special notice. Vākapatirāja built a temple for Śiva and so did his successor Siṃharāja.³⁸ The famous Harṣa stone inscription of Vigraharāja II opens with "*Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*" and eulogises Śiva in the next ten verses. Candrarāja was an exception in this respect. He built a temple of

31 *Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions*, 205 ff. *EL.*, XX, Appendix p. 209.

32 Ajmer stone inscription, *IA.*, XX, 201 ff.

33 *EL.*, IX, p. 73, vv. 42-46.

34 Harṣa stone inscription.

35 For example, see Ratnapur inscription.

36 *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*, 5th sarga, v. 37.

37 *Ibid.*, v. 38.

38 *Ibid.*, 41-43; Harṣa Inscription.

Viṣṇu at Narapura.³⁹ The Hansi stone inscription of Pṛthvibhaṭa invokes Murāri.⁴⁰ The *Pṛthvīrājaviṣaya* traces the origin of the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari from *Arka*⁴¹ but the Sun is not invoked in their inscriptions. Only the inscriptions of Candamahāsena⁴² and Udayasiṃha⁴³ invoke Bhāskara. The Cāhamānas of Jalor also show their veneration to Śiva by addressing Him as Ṛṣavanātha⁴⁴ and Śiva. Their Bhinmal inscriptions were incised in the walled enclosure of Nilakanṭha Mahādeva. The first remarkable thing that arrests one's attention is their toleration in religion. Śiva was commonly invoked yet Viṣṇu or Murāri was revered. The Cāhamānas of Jalor patronised Jaina scholars. The Cāhamānas of Naddula, as most of their inscriptions plainly reveal, took particular fancy for the Jainas. In a single Nadol grant Ālhaṇadeva addresses Mahāvira, worships the Sun and Īśāna and makes gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, and to the Jaina temple of Mahāvira.⁴⁵ Kirtipāla is also found to have invoked Brahmā, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), Śaṅkara and Mahāvira in his Nadol inscription.⁴⁶ His Jhambara stone inscription was inscribed in a Vaiṣṇava temple.⁴⁷ Jojalla invoked the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha in the Sevadi inscription.⁴⁸ Rāyapāla worshipped Neminātha and donated something to the Jaina ascetics.⁴⁹ In the Lalrai stone inscription some grants are found to have been made for the celebration of a festival of a Jaina god during the reign of Kelhaṇa.⁵⁰ His Sanderav inscription records a gift to the column of a house to Pārśvanātha.⁵¹

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39 *Ibid.*, v. 68.

41 2nd sarga, vv. 40-43.

43 *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. i, 474 ff.

45 *El.*, IX, 63 ff.

47 *JASB.*, 1916, 101-102.

49 *Ibid.*, 37-41.

51 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

40 *IA.*, 1912, pp. 17-19.

42 *ZDMG.*, XL, p. 38.

44 *El.*, XI, 52-54.

46 *Ibid.*, 66-70.

48 *El.*, XI, 30-32.

50 *Ibid.*, 49-50.

Caste of the Śuṅgas

The Śuṅga kings are generally believed to be Brāhmaṇas, and of the Bharadvāja-*gotra*, because Śuṅga happened to be a descendant of Bharadvāja. But it is very strange that nowhere Śuṅga is said to be their *gotra*-name, nor are they stated to be Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand their successors, the Kāṇvāyanas are distinctly called Brāhmaṇas. This led us to study the question closely and the result is given below.

Pāṇini says, "The affix *aṇ* comes after the words Vikarṇa, Śuṅga and Chagala, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively." (IV. 1. 117). There are no rules for the wholesale, or partial elision of this affix in the plural. So the forms, according to this rule, will be *Śauṅgaḥ*, and in the plural *Śauṅgāḥ*, when Śuṅga is a Bhāradvāja, when non-Bhāradvāja, they will be *Śauṅgi* and *Śauṅgayah*.

Different readings of this *gotra*-name under Bhāradvāja are found in the *Gotrapravaraniwandhakadamba*, as *Śugāḥ* (p. 56), *Suṅgāḥ* (p. 57), *Suṅga-Saiśirayoh Bharadvājaś-Suṅgāḥ* (p. 58), *Sauṅgiḥ* (p. 59), *Śauṅgāḥ*, *Śauṅgaḥ* (p. 62), *Śṛṅgaḥ* (p. 162), *Śauṅga-Saiśiryādayah* (p. 167), *Rāśugāḥ* (p. 233) and *Sāṅgiḥ* (p. 234). In the light of the above aphorism of Pāṇini, readings other than those of *Śauṅgaḥ* and *Śauṅgāḥ* are to be rejected as corrupt.

In the *Purāṇas* the plural form is always *Suṅgāḥ*, but in the singular, both *Sauṅga* and *Śuṅga* are found, as, *Devabhūmimathotsādyā Sauṅgan-tu bhavitā nrpaḥ* (*Matsya*, ch. 272, v. 32), *Suṅga-bhṛtyāḥ* (*ibid.*, v. 34), *Bha(Śu)ṅgarājāno* (*Vāyu*, ch. 99, v. 342), and *Suṅga-rājānam* (*Viṣṇu*, IV. ch. 24, 13). It is clear from these readings that they are neither Bhāradvāja, nor non-Bhāradvāja. There is no rule for the wholesale elision of patronymic affixes after *Suṅga*, whether Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya. *Sauṅgaḥ* in the singular and *Suṅgāḥ* in the plural can, however, be supported under *vārtika*

on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 168, read with IV. 1. 170 and II. 4. 62., if the Śuṅgas are assumed to be Kṣatriyas. So the Śuṅga kings were not Brāhmaṇas, but Kṣatriyas.

Now let us see if further evidence is available to corroborate this. The *Harivaṁśa* says that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice fell into disuse among the Kṣatriyas after Janamejaya, owing to *Brahma-śāpa* (curse of Brāhmaṇa), but it would be reintroduced by an up-start (*audbbijja*) commander (*senāni*), a *dvija* of the Kāśyapa-gotra, in the *Kali-yuga*, as

श्रीद्विजो भविता कश्चित् सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः ।

अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ॥ ४०॥

भविष्य-पर्व, ch. 2

The word *dvija* in the above verse is interpreted as 'Brāhmaṇa'. But doubts have arisen in our mind as to its correctness. The word literally means 'twice-born', which includes Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya. The verb *pratyāharīṣyati* i.e. 'will reintroduce' can hardly be applicable to a Brāhmaṇa here, as the sacrifice already existed among them. The necessity for its reintroduction arose among the Kṣatriyas, who were deprived of their right to perform it. So it must have been revived by a Kṣatriya king. The word *dvija* should, therefore, be interpreted accordingly. Whoever this *senāni* might have been, there is no doubt that he was a Kṣatriya. The mention of an *ārṣa-gotra* is no bar to this conclusion. In the *Śrauta-sūtras*, the *pravaras* (not *gotras*) of the *purobitas* have been prescribed for the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. But the custom of mentioning *ārṣa-gotras* by the Kṣatriyas must have come into vogue earlier than Buddha, for he was called Gautama by his *gotra*-name. Aśvaghōṣa in the *Saundarananda-kāvya* says:—

तेषां मुनिरुपाध्यायो गौतमः कपिलोऽभवत् ।

गुरोर्गोत्रादतः कौतमास्ते भवन्ति स्म गौतमाः ॥२२॥

मोन्दरनन्द, ch. I

Who could have been this reviver of the *Āśvamedha* in the *Kali-yuga*? Jayaswal identified him with Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga-dynasty, mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. Recently the correctness of this identification has been questioned (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 739ff; IV, pp. 363 ff.). We have shown that there is no just cause for this apprehension (*JBORS.*, XXIII., pt. iii). A very convincing proof will be found in the verse next to the one we have quoted above from the *Harivaṁśa*, which has so far escaped the notice of the scholars:—

तद्युगे तत् कुलीनश्च राजसूयमपि कतुम् ।

आहरिष्यति राजेन्द्र श्रेतग्रहमिवान्तकः ॥४१॥

भविष्य-पर्व, ch. 2

Śvetagrāham-iv-āntakaḥ is very important for our purpose. Nilakaṇṭha has explained *Śvetagrāha* as *utpātaviśeṣa*, i.e. 'a kind of portent or public calamity', and *antaka* as *pralaya-kāla*, i.e. 'the time of universal destruction'. According to this interpretation the translation will be—'As universal destruction will be caused by a portent named *Śvetagrāha*, so one of that family will, O Lord, cause the *Rājasūya* sacrifice also to be performed in that age'. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice has been compared to 'public calamity', as it entails wars causing destruction (*Harivaṁśa*, Bhaviṣya-parva, ch. 2, vv. 15 and 20). Whatever justification there may be for his explanation of *Śvetagrāha*,¹ there is no authority.² We think that the word refers to the moon, which is called *Śvetadbhāmā* or 'the white-rayed' (*Śvetadbhāmā kalānāthe—Viśvakośa*), *Hiraṇyavarṇa* or 'the silver-coloured' (*Harivaṁśa*, *Harivaṁśaparva*, ch. 25, v. 19), and *Go-kṣīra-dhaval-āṅga-kānti*, i.e. 'the light of whose body is white as cow's milk.' (*Āśvalāyana-Grhyapariśiṣṭa*, 2. 5). *Antaka* here

1 The simile has its defect. The *utpāta* is a 'portent' of *pralaya*, while 'destruction' is the 'effect' of *Rājasūya*.

2 We are not aware of any *utpāta* named *Śvetagrāha* from any other source.

refers to Antaka, the great-grandson of Śuṅga-Puṣyamitra.³ (*Matsya*, ch. 272, v. 28).

Not realising the true historical import of the passage, Nilakaṇṭha must have been led to explain in the manner he has done. The correct reading seems to be *Sveta-graha iv-Āntakaḥ* which might have been changed to suit his meaning. According to our suggested reading Antaka has been compared to the Moon, who was the first king and performed the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, as

ब्रौजौषधीनां विप्राणामपां च जनमेजय ॥२०॥

सोऽभिषिक्तो महाराज राजराज्येन राजराट् ।

× × ×

स तत् प्राप्य महद्राज्यं सोमः सोमवतां वरः ।

समाजहे राजसूयं सहस्र-शत-दक्षिणम् ॥२३॥

हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्व, ch. 25

This comparison seems to be more apt, and may have the implication that they belonged to lunar dynasty.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, we find that Agnimitra called himself a *Baimbika*. Mr. H. A. Shah suggested that the Puṣyamitras might have descended from Bimbisāra. This can be supported grammatically. The *svārthika* form of the name is Bimbika (Pāṇini, V. 3. 83). The descendants of Bimbika are Baimbikas. Bimbisāra belonged to the *Haryaṅka-kula*. We have shown elsewhere that this Haryaṅka may be the same as Haryaṅga of the Aṅga dynasty, which belonged to the lunar line (*ABOR.*, XIX, p. 82).

After this there remains little doubt that the Śuṅga kings were Kṣatriyas and probably of the lunar dynasty. Jayaswal's identification of them with the *Senāni-dviṇa* now stands on a surer ground.

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³ *Antaka*, may be in double-entendre, as Antaka (descendant of Puṣyamitra) and *antaka* (the time of universal destruction).

Date of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*

The date of Patañjali and his *Mahābhāṣya* has been discussed by a number of scholars. A bibliography of the writings on the subject is given by Winternitz, *Gesch. d. Ind. Litt.*, III, pp. 387-90. This bibliography has been brought upto date by L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas, etc.*, pp. 199-200.

Bühler, in *Ind. Insch. u. alt. Kun.*, p. 72, was not very sure of the generally accepted date of Patañjali, i.e. the 2nd century B.C., which is arrived at from the grammarian's supposed contemporaneity with Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 185-49 B.C.). Winternitz (*op. cit.*, p. 390) said, "As regards placing Pāṇini in the 5th century. Kātyāyana in the 3rd and Patañjali in the 2nd, it is only a working hypothesis." Barth pointed out, "Side by side with these citations (इह पुष्यमित्रं राजयामः, etc.), there are others which appear to have a much more modern stamp", and observed, ".....the chronological edifice Pāṇini-Kātyāyana-Patañjali—a very fragile edifice.....Patañjali later and probably much later than the middle of the 2nd century before our era....." (Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 201).

Barth's observation seems to be true. While some passages of the *Mahābhāṣya* point to an early date, others appear to be much later. This fact may possibly suggest that there is some truth in the tradition regarding the *Mahābhāṣya* being lost and revived. The work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the Kuṣāṇa period.

The *Mahābhāṣya* knows very well not only the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa*, but also a number of classical *Kāvya*s (from which verses are quoted) based on them.¹ Citations like

¹ Cf. असिद्धिनोयोनुससार पाण्डवम् : संकर्षण-द्वितीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम्. (Kielhorn, I, p. 426), etc. There are quotations from the Purāṇas and possibly also

आमन्द्रैरिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि मयूररोमभिः (ed. Kielhorn, I, p. 416);

प्रथते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी (ib, II, p. 216);

न वर्त्तते चकमिषुर्न पात्यते न स्यन्दन्ते सरितः सागराय ।

कूटस्थाऽयं लोको न विचेष्टितास्ति यो ह्येवं पश्यति सोऽप्यनन्धः ॥ (ib, p. 123);

and many others of this kind no doubt point to a flourishing state of the classical Kāvya literature. The word *sāgara* in the verse quoted above also indicates that the author of our *Mahābhāṣya* lived *after* a poet who wrote *after* the epic legend of Sagara and his sons had become quite famous. Verses quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* offer specimens of such classical metres as Mālātī, Praharaṣinī, Pramitākṣarā, Vasantatilakā, etc. This fact points to a date not much earlier than the later strata of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 2nd century A.D.) and the *Mahābhārata* (c. 4th century A.D.). What is however more interesting is that the Kārikās (dealing with grammatical points) mostly written by the author's predecessors are written in such ornate metres as Indravajrā, Upajāti, Śālinī, Vamśasthā, Samānī, Vidyunmālā, Totaka, Dodhaka, etc.² We know that Sanskrit was at first a language of the grammarians, and the origin of the classical metres must have been due to their experiments. But can we believe, without further evidence, that such metres were used in the 3rd century B.C. (long before the final shaping of the epics), which should be the date of the predecessors of a contemporary of Puṣyamitra?

from the epics or an early text of the *Manusamhitā*. The verse वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायतिलोहिनी । पातः भवति सस्याय दुभिन्नाय सिता भवेत् ॥ (ibid., p. 449) is said to belong to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (S. C. Sen, *Meteorological Concepts of the Ancient Hindus*, J.D.L., XXIX, p. 3); cf. also the verses क्षीणि यस्यावदात्तानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिर्वं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्रस्य लक्षणम् ॥ (ibid., II, p. 220); तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद्ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ (ibid., I, p. 411; II, p. 363); दूरादावमथान्मूलं दूरात् पादावसेचनम् । दूराच्च भाव्यं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपिताद्गुरोः ॥ (ibid., p. 457), etc., etc.

² See Kieth, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, 1928, p. 47.

The *Mahābhāṣya* is later than the poet who wrote जनार्दनस्त्वात्म-चतुर्थ एव (ed. Kielhorn, III, p. 143). This poet therefore knew the fully developed form of the Vyūha doctrine. The Nānāghāt inscription of Nāganikā (1st century B.C.) begins with adoration to Dharma, to Indra, to Sañkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, to Moon and Sun,^{2a} to the *lokapālas* Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava. The significant omission from this list of Pradyumna and Aniruddha appears to prove that the full fledged Vyūha doctrine was unknown at the time of the Nānāghāt inscription. The *Mahābhāṣya* therefore seems to be later than a poet who may not be earlier than the 1st century B.C.

The *Mahābhāṣya* mentions Kāñcīpura and Nāsikyanagara (*ibid.*, II, p. 298; III, p. 42) which point to a date not earlier than the 2nd century A.D. There is no mention of Kāñcīpura in any early work. It seems to me quite significant that Ptolemy, who mentions even ordinary market places of the south eastern coast of India, does not mention Kāñcīpura in his *Geography* (c. 140 A.D.). Nāsikya was the later name of the place which was called Govardhana as late as the 2nd century A.D. That it was a holy *tirtha* is proved by the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Śaka Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.). Immediately after this prince, the Govardhana district with its head-quarters at the city of the same name passed to the Sātavāhanas. In the inscriptions of Gautami-putra Śatakarni and his son Pulumāyi, both of whom lived in the first half of the 2nd century A.D., Govardhana is always the name used. But that the name Nāsikya was gradually becoming popular about the middle of that century is proved by the fact that Nasik is mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*. It must also be noted that neither Govardhana nor Nāsikya is mentioned in the *tirtha* sections

2a. I read चंदसूरानं in place of Bühler's चंदसुतानं. सूर means "the sun."

in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.³ This possibly shows that the place was not famous before the Christian era.

The *Mahābhāṣya* quotes a poet who wrote महीपाल-वचः श्रुत्वा जुषुषुः पुष्य-माणवाः (*ibid.*, III, p. 288), "having heard the king's speech, Puṣya's (i.e. Puṣyamitra's)⁴ boys uttered a cry." It has been supposed to be a citation from a work whose theme was the revolt of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and the death of the last Maurya king (Poussin, *loc. cit.*). If this suggestion be accepted, our *Mahābhāṣya* should be placed long after the time of Puṣyamitra. May it also be suggested that इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः etc. were quoted likewise from the book referred to above? It is however better to suggest that Patañjali was himself a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga; but his work, the original *Mahābhāṣya*, was revised and enlarged by early grammarians of his own school.

In a long explanatory note on Pāṇini's *sūtra* (II, 4, 10) शूद्राणाम् अनिरवमितानाम्, the *Mahābhāṣya* distinctly says that the Śakas and Yavanas⁵ (Greeks) were *aniravasita* Śūdras and that they lived outside Āryāvarta which is defined as the land bounded by the Himavat in the north, the Pāriyātra in the south, Adarśa (Vinaśana) on the west and Kālakavana in the east.⁶ Those Śūdras are said to

3 नामैकदेऽ like Bhima for Bhimasena.

4 See D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 321 ff.

5 It is interesting to note that this Āryāvarta is almost the same as the Madhyadeśa of the *Manusmṛitī*—the land bounded by the Himavat, Vindhya, Prayāga and Vinaśana. Manu's Āryāvarta is bounded by the Himavat, Vindhya, Pūrvasamudra (Bay of Bengal) and Pāścīmasamudra (Arabian Sea). This definition reminds one of the celebrated verse इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलां, etc., of the Trivandrum play which may not be earlier than the end of the 4th century A.D. The stereotyped system of naming members of the different Varnas as evidenced by the following verse of the *Manusmṛitī* (II, 32):

शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राज्ञो रक्षासमन्वितम् ।

वैश्यस्य पुष्टि-संयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रैष्य-संयुतम् ॥

proves that the work in its present shape is not earlier than the 3rd century A.D. Inscriptions prove that this system is later than the 2nd century. The *Mahābhāṣya* may be placed about a century earlier than the *Manusmṛitī*.

have been *aniravasita* who were "not excluded from the dish," i.e., who could take food from the dish of any twice-born person without making it permanently unclean so as to be thrown away. That passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* also indicates that the social position of the Śakas and Greeks was much higher than that of the Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas who could not take food from a *dvija's* dish without making it permanently unclean, and also considerably higher than that of the Takṣans, Āyaskaras, Rajakas and Tantuvāyas who could take food from a *dvija's* dish without making it permanently unclean but could not perform sacrifices. According to the *Mahābhāṣya* therefore, the Śakas and Greeks were not only perfectly Hinduised but were best amongst the Sūdra classes and were possibly allowed to offer sacrifices. When could the Śakas attain to such respectable rank in the Hindu social system?⁶ Even if we accept Sten Konow's identification of the Sai-wang of the Chinese historians with the Indian Śaka-muruṇḍa, we come to a period definitely later than the time of Puṣyamitra. According to Chinese chronicles, about the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C., the Ta-yüe-tchi were defeated by the Hiung-nu, emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Ta-hia; thereupon the Sai-wang went to the south and ruled over Kipin (= Kapiśā in Northern Afghanistan). But this Sai occupation of Kapiśā must be posterior to the reign of Eukratides (c. 175-56 B.C.) and his immediate successors (Smith, *EHI.*, 1924, p. 237 f.; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 1938, pp. 320, 358). Then we have to allow some time for the Śakas to be perfectly Hinduised

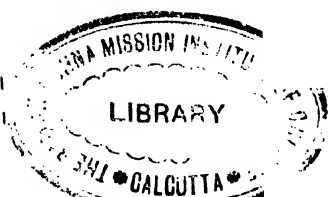
6 It is interesting that the *Manusmṛitā* points to almost the same state of the society. According to Manu, (X, 43-44) the Śakas and Yavanas were originally Kṣatriyas who were degraded to the position of Sūdras; cf.

शनैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।

वृषलखं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥

पौरुषकाश्चाङ्गद्विडा काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।

पारदाः पङ्गवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खसाः ॥



so as to be recognised as pure Śūdras. However short this period of time may be, the *Mahābhāṣya*, on this ground, is to be placed long after 150 B.C. I am inclined to believe that the *Mahābhāṣya* passage refers to a period after the early Śaka kings, such as Maues = Moga who began to rule about 95 B.C. (Smith *op. cit.*, p. 242). The place where the Śakas lived and which was outside Āryāvarta possibly refers to the Scythia of the Periplus and the Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy. The Yavana country is known to have been in the north-western part of India.

These are a few of the points that appear to me to point to a later date for the present text of the *Mahābhāṣya*—a date not earlier than the 2nd century A.D. The suggestions may not be altogether beyond doubt; but they are sufficient to raise a suspicion regarding the ascription of the *Mahābhāṣya* to the 2nd century B.C.

D. C. SIRCAR

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held on three successive days 15th, 16th and 17th December, 1939 in the commodious compound and rooms of the Asutosh Buildings of the Calcutta University. By a happy forethought of the authorities concerned, it had been decided to hold the 16th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at the same venue immediately before the Session of the History Congress. There was a record attendance of members and delegates representing almost all the Indian Universities as well as the Government departments and other institutions interested in the cause of historical research in the country. The Session of the Congress was opened in a spacious and beautiful pandal specially erected for the occasion within the compound of the University Buildings on the forenoon of the 15th Dec. when a fine welcome speech was delivered by the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Hon. Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque), who said that Bengal might not have historic sites of as great an antiquity as some of the sites in northern and western India but still she could boast of her historic sites like Tamulka and Tribeni, Bishnupur and Jessore, Mahāsthān and Paharpur, Nabadwip and Vikramapur, Satgaon and Pandua, Gauḍ and Murshidabad, Dacca and Chittagong, and above all of Calcutta as the place where was laid the foundation of modern India and where the pioneers in the fields of Indian history began their work and the university organised systematic studies and researches into India's past.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal then inaugurated the Conference saying that although the Congress was a comparatively recent body, it represented a long and distinguished tradition of historical scholarship and that he recognised the value of historical researches inasmuch as the "day to day events with which H.E. is primarily concerned were not, and never could be dissociated from the past,

and that, in fact, there is no such thing as a past which could be conveniently divorced from the present." After His Excellency's speech, the Report of the Proceedings of the last Session having been presented by the General Secretary (Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan), the General President (Dr. R. C. Majumdar) delivered his thoughtful address. His speech, besides taking stock of the work of the previous year, contained valuable warnings against the regional and denominational tendencies in certain modern historical writings, and offered a number of fruitful suggestions for future guidance. He first dwelt on the ideas and objects of this Congress, and while appreciating the expansion in the scope of its activities from "All-Indian Modern History" to "Indian History," he expressed his hope to see it widened still further. "In the ancient period" he said: "Indian history and civilisation were vitally connected with the great civilisations which flourished in Western Asia and Africa, and later they were still more closely associated with practically the whole of Northern and Eastern Asia. In the mediæval period, India was a vital link in the great chain of Islamic civilisation which bound together a considerable part of the civilised world. Of the modern period I need say but little, as it is too patent to everybody how the events happening almost on the opposite side of the globe are shaping the political destiny of the country and seriously affecting her moral, material, and economic conditions. It is obvious to me that we cannot follow the currents of Indian history as phenomena isolated from the rest of the world. I also find it difficult to believe that a school of Indian History can really develop in India unless our historical studies are widened and placed on a broader basis." He regretted that no scholar in India "made any original investigation in or gave any new interpretation of any period or aspect of the history of any country outside India. Whether it is a question of ancient, mediæval, or modern civilisation of the East or of the West, the contribution of India towards the

study of their history may be regarded as almost *nil*. On the other hand, there is hardly any progressive country in the modern world that has not made important contributions to the study of Indian history and civilisation." He then pointed out how nationalism and provincialism or communalism might serve as pit-falls to the high standard of historical criticism, and he insisted that the historians must rise above nationalism and "break down the barrier of provincialism and overcome the influence of communalism in historical studies." He concluded his speech by pointing out the great short-coming in Indian scholarship, viz., "the lack of first-hand knowledge about Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign sources of Indian history," and the dearth of Indian scholars in the fields of Indus Valley civilisation and Greater Indian culture. He concluded by saying that the historians should now co-ordinate their efforts for the preparation of a comprehensive history of India.

The afternoon of the 15th December and the whole of the following day were devoted to the meetings of the different sections of the Congress of which there were as many as five this year.

Section I.—Archaic (*sic*) Period (President, Prof. A. S. Altekar).

Section II.—Early Imperial (*sic*) Period (President, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri).

Section III.—Early Mediæval Period (President, Dr. M. Nazim).

Section IV.—Mughal Period including early Maratha-Sikh History (President, Dr. Tarachand).

Section V.—Modern Period including later Maratha-Sikh History (President, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari).

The number of papers offered at the Session is eloquent of the growing popularity of the Congress. In Section I as many as 21 papers were read, in Section II 30 papers, in Section III 26 papers, in Section IV 24 papers, and in Section V 32 papers.

By a proper observance of the time-limit for the reading of papers it was possible to provide for discussions on the more important of their numbers.

A notable feature of the Congress was the Historical Exhibition which was held in the historic University Senate Hall and was opened by the Chief Minister (Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq). Here was shown on proper stands and in suitable show-cases a large variety of antiquities (terraccottas, sculptures, bronzes, copper-plates, coins and paintings belonging to the different collections of the University (Asutosh) Museum (including the famous P. C. Nahar and the little-known Sundarban collections) and those of Government departments, museums, learned institutions and private individuals. Here also was shown a large number of documents from the Imperial Records Departments as well as the Records of the Punjab and Bengal Governments. A lantern lecture on Pre-historic India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit on the evening of the 15th December in the University Darbhanga Hall was another source of attraction to the visitors. As is usual on such occasions the business of the Congress was not neglected, there being one meeting of the Congress Executive which was followed by the Plenary and the concluding Sessions of the Congress. At these meetings among other things the Office-bearers were elected for the following year and resolutions were passed for exploring the avenues for financing the much talked of scheme for the comprehensive History of India to be undertaken under the auspices of the Congress.

The Numismatic Society of India wisely decided to hold its Annual Meeting (in the University Building) along with the Session of the Indian History Congress on the 17th and* 18th December. On the 1st day the President Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit delivered an excellent address in course of which he reviewed the work of the preceding year and pointed out the lines for future research. This was followed by an informing paper on a newly discovered hoard of

Sātavāhana coins read by Prof. V. V. Mirashi. The second day was devoted to the reading of papers and the business of the Society.

The authorities of the Congress arranged a varied programme of entertainments which were appreciated by the assembled members and delegates. These consisted of a Musical Soirée at the Asutosh Hall, an enjoyable Tea Party at the garden and aviary of Dr. S. C. Law, a sumptuous dinner party at the residence of Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq'ie, a steamer trip down the river and a short excursion to the historic site of Triveni *via* Uttarpara and Chandernagore. The session was brought to a happy close by a Dinner Party on the evening of the 17th of December at the palatial residence of the editor of this *Quarterly* Dr. N. N. Law. For the entertainment of the guests Dr. Law tastefully decorated and illuminated his house and provided charming music. The guests were taken round his large library specially rich in its collection of works and journals on Indian history and culture. Dr. Law gave personal attention to all his guests and did all that was possible for him to entertain his co-workers in the field of Indology. At the end of the Dinner the President of the Congress warmly thanked the host in a short speech to which the latter gave a nice little reply expressing his gratification that so many distinguished scholars graced his house by their presence.

Altogether the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress proved to be a great success. The next session takes place at Lahore on a date to be announced later.

U. N. GHOSHAL

REVIEWS

A GRAMMAR OF THE SINHALESE by Wilhelm Geiger. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo 1938.

We welcome this edition, in English garb, of the learned author's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* published in the Grundriss Series in 1900. As it is already a well known standard work, a detailed review or commendation is hardly necessary. It is revised and improved with additional material derived from old Sinhalese texts and inscriptions which have been published in the interval; and one need only say that it fully maintains the veteran Professor's high reputation as one of the foremost scholars of Indo-Aryan. With a preliminary account of Sinhalese script, pronunciation and accentuation, the two parts into which the work is divided deal respectively with the Phonology and the Morphology of the language; and the copious illustrations and running comparative references make it both a practical and an historical grammar, and invest it with a wider interest. In spite of Md. Shahidullah's vigorous plea for the eastern origin of the Sinhalese, the linguistic facts adduced by Professor Geiger, who refers to this question briefly in his Preface, would lead to the conclusion that although Sinhalese is a mixed dialect, its origin is to be sought in a Western rather than an Eastern group of Indo-Aryan. The constant lively intercourse between Bengal and Ceylon is indeed not denied, but the mythical legend of Vijaya's conquest and connexion with Bengal is of doubtful value and need not be seriously pressed. The Eastern element, in view of this intercourse, is explained by Professor Geiger as constituting a superimposition upon the original Western basis of Sinhalese, although it is admitted that it is difficult to distinguish historically the two elements in a precise manner. The question perhaps requires a more detailed comparative study, but until that is

forthcoming Professor Geiger's contention appears to be more convincing. The only omission in the work, which the reader regrets as much as the author himself, is the treatment of Syntax, which might have been included in this revised edition; but let us hope that the defect will be made the occasion for a future exhaustive treatment of this important subject, and no one is more competent to do it than our distinguished author.

S. K. DE

MEGHADŪTA (LE NUAGE MESSANGER), en appendice RTUSAMHĀRA (LES SAISONS), translated and annotated by R. H. Assier de Pompignan; published by Société d'Édition "des Belles Lettres," Paris, 1938; pages xxxiv + 80 + 80.

The book under review is the fifth in the series of Indian classics published under the title of *Collection Emile Senart* by the Institut de Civilisation Indienne de l'Université de Paris under the patronage of the Société Asiatique and the Association Guillaume Budé. M. Pompignan should be congratulated for this excellent edition of the most popular work of Kālidāsa, the prince of Indian poets. Besides text and translation in French printed on opposite pages, there is a short introduction which deals with such questions as the personage of Kālidāsa, his epoch (the author places the poet in 390-460 A.D.), appreciation of the poet and his works, and the title, division, literary value, etc., of the *Meghadūta*. Problems arising from the verses have been discussed in footnotes. No commentary on the *Meghadūta* has been published with the text, although all important commentaries have been consulted. Nineteen verses, supposed to be later interpolations, have been treated separately at the end of the *Meghadūta* portion of the work.

On the whole M. Pompignan has done the work satisfactorily. There are however some points to which we may draw his atten-

tion. He doubtfully places Skandagupta in 455 A.D. (p. xiii). It is however now known that this Gupta emperor ruled in the period 455-67 A.D. We do not know of any translation of the *Meghadūta* by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore (p. xxxii). Vidiśā is not Bhiisa (p. 9), but Besnagar near Bhilsa. I do not understand why Ujjayinī has been represented (p. 10) as “capitale d’Aśoka en 263 env. av. J.C.”

The text and translation of the *Rtusamhāra* have been appended to the edition of the *Meghadūta*. The translation is satisfactory; but the edition appears to have been prepared from only a few MSS. It may be pointed out that the last verse in the Vasanta section, नीलाशोकविकल्पिताधरमधुर्मत्तद्विरेकस्यनः etc. is not found in some Bengal MSS and may not be genuine. On the other hand, some Bengali editions of the *Rtusamhāra* have the following three verses (no doubt spurious) not found in M. Pompignan’s edition :

आम्नीमञ्जुलमञ्जरी वरशरः सत्किंशुकं यदनु-
 ज्या यस्यालिकुलं कलङ्करहितं छत्रं सितांशुः सितम् ।
 मत्तेभो मलयानिलः परश्रुता यद्वन्दिनो लोकजित्
 सोऽयं वो वितरीतरीतु वितनुर्भद्रं वसन्तान्वितः ॥28
 ईषत्तुषारैः कृतशीतहर्म्यं सुवासितं चारु शिरश्च चम्पकैः ।
 कुर्वन्ति नायोंऽपि वसन्तकाले स्तनं सहारं कुसुमैर्मनोहरैः ॥29
 छायां जनः समभिवाञ्छति पादपानां
 नक्तं तथेच्छति पुनः किरणं सुधांशोः ।
 हर्म्यं प्रयाति शयितुं सुखशीतलम्
 कान्ताञ्च गाढमुपगूहति शीतलत्वात् ॥30॥

आम्नी for आम्न is of lexicographical interest. The verse, ईषत्तुषारैः etc., is composed in a rare metre which is a combination of the *Indravajrā* and *Vamśasthā*.

In spite of such minor points we have no doubt that the book will be favourably received by all lovers of *Kālidāsa*.

TARIKH BADSHAH BEGUM by Muhammad Taqi Ahmad. Allahabad, Indian Press. 1938.

Contemporary native materials for the history of the Oudh kingdom are, as Mr. Ahmad rightly observes, still scattered and mostly unused. Not more than half a dozen Persian histories, a few state papers, statistical documents, contemporary memoirs of English writers and the Company's records are about all we at present have of this dynasty. There is also a lack of interest in its history among the modern scholars. Although Abdul Ahad's *Waqae Dilpizir*, not so rare or in immediate danger of perishing as the translator thinks.....I know of at least two copies of the Ms., one each in the British Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengalhe has done well in making this little-known work available in English to those who do not read Persian. The book, a rather sketchy and one-sided account of the activities of the chief consort of the first king, Chazi-uddin Haidar, whose lust for power and religious vagaries gave no small trouble to the Resident till 1837, nevertheless complements and to a large extent confirms what is known about her from English writers. Mr. Ahmad rightly warns us however, against accepting the author's estimate of the Begum's character implied in the narrative, for he wrote under the patronage and with the inspiration of the Residency officials, and, I suspect, he was a Sunni to whom Shia observances appeared highly sacrilegious. Apart from the evidences, pro and con, collected on the question of the pretender, Munna Jan's parentage, the work is of great interest from another point of view to which Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has drawn attention in his Foreword. Besides affording us a glimpse into the female apartments of a degenerate dynasty, it describes, though briefly, the recreational ritualism.....I cannot find a more appropriate word of the women, invented and multiplied to satisfy repressed emotions, which must have been a normal feature of almost all the *Harems* during this period. In Lucknow it was practised

according to the most ritualistic of all the Islamic sects, the *Isnā 'Asharia* branch of the *Shi'a* and the Begum's ambition and lively imagination threatened to spread a new anthropomorphic cult. The book thus opens up a new line of investigation for the student of social and religious history of the Muslims. Like the '*Achootis*', one of the Begum's innovations which spread to the city (p. 12), it may be possible, were the subject pursued thoroughly, to trace the origin of many of the religious rites current among the Muslims to-day, in the vagaries of similarly determined but more successful inmates of the Harem.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. III, pt. 3.

- K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR.—*Rājadharmā*. It is a lecture delivered at the University of Madras dealing with the scope and contents of the literature on *Dharma* that has influenced the social and political life of the Hindus.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Sāmavedasamhitā with the Commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmīn*. The editing of the text continues.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Ālambanaparīkṣā and Vṛtti by Diñnāga with the Commentary of Dharmapāla*. This work on Buddhist logic is being published in instalments. Sanskrit texts have been restored from the Chinese versions of Paramārtha, Hsuan Chuang and I-Ching.
- T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR AND S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads*. This instalment contains the English translation of a portion of the *Annapūrṇopaniṣad*, a minor treatise belonging to the *Atharvaveda*.
- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*A Variant Version of the Ekāgnikāṇḍa*. Edited.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Vāsiṣṭhatattvabodhinī, a commentary on Abhinanda's Laghubuyogavāsiṣṭha by Rāmaabrahmendra, pupil of Upendrayogin*. The manuscript of the commentary deposited in the Adyar Library has been described.

Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XX, pt. 1.

- D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and a Clay Seal from Valā*. These inscriptions in the Kuṭila script were found in the ruins of ancient Valabhī, the capital of the Maitraka rulers in Kathiawad. Though failing to supply any useful information owing to their fragmentary character, they are inferred to have been of the Valabhī period (490-770 A.C.)

- P. K. GODE.—*Vāñcheśvara alias Kuṭṭi Kavi and his Contact with the Patwardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country.*
- A. P. KARMARKR.—*Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's Theory of the Bhṛguisation of the Original Bhārata and the Light it throws on the Dravidian Problem.* On the basis of Sukthankar's assertion that the Bhṛgu re-modelled the *Mahābhārata* in its present form out of the original *Bhārata* of a smaller dimension of 24,000 stanzas, the writer of this note tries further to establish the prominence of the *Bhṛgu* in ancient India. They excelled in literary achievements and undertook reformist activities for the Aryanisation of the indigenous races of the country.
- S. M. KATRE.—*The Formation of Koṅkaṇi.*
- D. S. TRIVEDA.—*The Original Home of the Aryans.* The discussion of various theories in this paper about the original home of mankind and the Aryans ends with the writer's conclusion that "the man or the Aryans were first born on the bank of the river Devikā near Multan in the Punjab."
- IRAWATI KARVE.—*Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in R̥gveda and Atharvaveda.*

Aryan Path, vol. X, no. 11 (November, 1939)

- H. G. CIMINO.—*Early Medicine in Iran and India.*

Bijdragen Tot De Taal-land-, En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indië

Deel 98, Afl. 1-11, 1939

- A. ZEHSENISS.—*Studien zur Geschichte des Sivaismus; die Sivaistischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur*, 1.

Calcutta Review, October, 1939

- K. K. MOOKERJEE.—*Modernism in Buddhist Education.* An account of the condition of the centres of Buddhist learning

and the mode of teaching imparted there has been given on the basis of the memoirs of Chinese travellers. Debates, discussions, and literary gatherings formed part of Buddhist education and 'mass literacy' was its ideal.

Indian Culture, vol. VI, no. 1, (July, 1939)

- BIREN BONNERJEA.—*De Hevesy and the Muṇḍā Problem*.
Guillaum de Hevesy's theory that the Muṇḍā language belong to the Finno-Ugrian family of languages having affinities with Ostyak, Vogul and Magyar (Hungarian) finds support in this paper. This is in opposition to Schmidts' assumption of a family of languages which he named Austric with a sub-family of Austro-Asiatic based on the supposed relationship of Santāli with the Mon-khmer, Nicobarese, Khāsi, Bahnar and Stieng languages. The discussion brings together evidence to prove a close ethnic relation between the Finno-Ugrian and the Indo-Germans as also an absence of any genetic connection between the F.-U. and the Dravidians. It further shows that the Muṇḍā languages have contributed largely to the formation of the Indo-Aryans.
- P. T. RAJU.—*The Cultural Significance of Advaita Philosophy*.
- K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara*. Details about the three main styles of Hindu Temple architecture—Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara have been collected in the paper from the texts on the subject.
- S. K. DIKSHIT.—*Some Historical Traditions*. The stories of treacherous murder of several kings indicated in a passage of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* are shown in this note to have been mentioned also in other places. Though requiring more confirmation for the purpose of being taken as historical facts, the traditions should not be summarily rejected.

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYA.—*The Monistic Conception of Ajñāna and its Inferential Proof—A Critical Study.*

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.—*The Varmans of Eastern Bengal.*

K. K. BASU.—*The Memoirs of Two Bijapuri Nobles.* The reminiscences of Afzal Khan Shirazi and Mustafa Khan Ardistani, two nobles of the court of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur have been given in the paper.

BHAVATOSH BHATTACHARYA.—*Hindu Conception of Dharma in the Fourteenth Century.* The discussion relates to a lengthy passage in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura who has quoted profusely from Dharmaśāstra various views regarding the meaning of dharma.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Two Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions.* The records published here belong to the time of the Eastern Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhimā III of the 13th century A.C.

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY.—*Vedic Antiquity from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* A passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is considered to contain astronomical evidence of Vedic antiquity from 6,000 to 3,000 B.C.

ASOKE KUMAR BHATTACHARYA.—*A Comparative Study of Bhāsa and Kālidāsa.*

E. G. CARPANI.—*A Philosophical Index to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*

Indian Linguistics, vol. VII, pt. 1 (1939)

S. K. CHATTERJI.—*A Study of Bengali Surnames.*

K. P. GOSWAMI.—*Linguistic Notes on Maimansing Dialect.*

BATA KRISHNA GHOSH.—*A Law of Visargasandhi in R̥k-saṃhitā.*

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. XII, pt. 11.

G. V. SITAPATI.—*The Soras and their Country.* The Soras inhabiting at present portions of the provinces of Madras and Orissa are regarded, on linguistic and ethnological considerations, as

a Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian people having connection with the Śābaras of Sanskrit literature. The paper contains an account of the Soras and their present home.

LANKASUNDARAM.—*Revenue Administration of Northern Circars.*

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Date of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.* The available text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is, in the opinion of the writer of this note, not much earlier than the 5th century A.C.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 15 1939

GEORGE M. MORAES.—*Haryab of Ibn Batuta.* Haryab, a chief known to Ibn Batuta to have been the overlord of Jalal-ud-din of Honawar has been identified in the article with Hariharanṛpāla of the Gersoppa dynasty ruling over Haiga on the West Coast in 1342 A.C.

R. N. SALETOR.—*The Beginnings of the Maratha Revenue System in Karnāṭaka.*

ATINDRA NATH BOSE.—*Indo-Aryan Land Revenue System (Between Cir. 600 B.C. and 200 A.D.).*

B. C. LAW.—*Buddha's First Discourse.*

Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. IIX, pt 1.

W. W. TARN.—*Alexander's Plans.* According to the writer, Alexander made no plans for any more conquests after he had left the Panjab. Henceforward his activities were rather directed towards explorations which led him to conquests.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVIII, pt. 2, (August, 1939)

H. K. SHERWANI.—*Mahmud Gawan's Early Life and his Relations with Gilan.*

H. D. SANKALIA.—*Six Different Types of Gaṇeśa Figures.*

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, no. 1.

DURGA PRASAD.—*Shamiwala (Bijnor Dist.) Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins.*

AJIT GHOSE.—*Rare Oblong Coins from Rajgir.*

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CORRIGENDA

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Page	Line	For	Read
1	5	distinction	distinctions
2	14	'key'?	'keystone'?
„	20	out a field	out the field
3	23	<i>mānenēva...vi (mame</i>	<i>(mānenēva...vi...mame</i>
5	4	<i>mukham),</i>	<i>mukham,</i>
„	22	very "Life of Varuṇa	very "life" of Varuṇa
„	35	a bridge of	a bridge or
6	6	XV. 3.25):	XV. 3.25; AA.II.2.3):
6	10,12	<i>delete</i> —what Tvaṣṭr...directions	
8	15,16,17	<i>delete</i> —occupying what is from our point of view the zenith, but from the solar point of view the nadir;	
„	19,20	<i>delete</i> —made up of what is from any one point of view a nadir and a zenith	
„	31	<i>Etudes Traditionelles</i> , 42,1937 <i>Indian Culture</i> , Vol. III	
„	„	seventh ray	"seventh ray"
8	9	The figures should be lettered (b) and (a):	
9	28-31	should appear under the figures	
9	31	Bambins	Bambino
„	34	<i>Add</i> —cf. <i>SB.</i> II. 2.3,10 and	<i>JB.</i> III. 221 <i>after</i> —fixed shadow.
12	23	aharuṇaḥ	dharuṇaḥ
12	31	cf. VIII.26,18 "He (Sun) hath measured out with history	cf. VIII.25,18 "He (Sun) hath measured out with his ray
12	32	<i>add</i> at the end: <i>TS.</i> IV.6.33 "as measurer he standeth in the midst of the sky."	
13	30	Indrāṇī" Heaven and Earth)	Indrāṇī" (Heaven and Earth)
14	16	Sapce	space
14	27	Version	version
15	31	but specifically	as specifically
16	26	"Person".	"Person". ^{20a}
16	31	"That are	"The art
16		<i>add</i> at the bottom as foot note: 20a. Cf. <i>SB.</i> XIII. 8.1.1, where the <i>śmāsāna</i> is built for the deceased "whether as a house or as a monument."	

Page	Line	For	Read
18	32	Endless Resinum	Endless Residuum
19	2	rather than	more than
19	22	(<i>ī viveśa</i>)	(<i>vi viveśa</i>)
20	13	<i>budhnaḥ</i>	<i>budhnaḥ</i>
20	16	- <i>dhanāḥ</i>	- <i>dhanāḥ</i>
20	16	Ṛv. x.	(Ṛv. X.
22	2	him underfoot.	him underfoot, cf. <i>SB. V.</i> 4.1,9 where Indra tram- ples upon Vṛtra.
24	17	(the Sun)	(the Sun)"
24	34	Add at the end: cf. <i>TS. V. 2.6.2.</i>	
25	1	vāyu	<i>vāyu</i>
25	4	exercise	exorcise
29	22-23	immediate	immediately
30	15	Glezes	Gleizes
32	28	<i>Summa Theological</i>	<i>Summa Theologica</i>
„	32	essence	essences
33	15,16	the meeting-place of its converging rafts, had almost certainty	the meeting-place and support of its converging rafters, had
34	2	<i>cakkhumāloke</i>	<i>cakkhum loke</i>
„	4	Gwilt,	cf. Gwilt,
35	7	which is therefore	which socket is therefore
„	23	pantocrator	Pantocrator
„	24	Add after mine "Au sommet des coupôles dominant l'espace d'où montent vers le ciel les prières de fidèles, le Pantocrator apparait toujours dans sa majesté" (Diel, <i>Manuel d'Art Byzantine</i> , II, 848)	
„	25	"e	"We
„	26	edific	edifice
„	31-35	delete This description...archetype.	
36	11	<i>akṣam</i>	<i>akṣim</i>
„	22	<i>auḡe</i> ; would be	<i>auḡe</i> ; it would be
„	33	<i>ambarukkhāmule</i>	<i>ambarukkhāmūle</i>
„	40	navel of of the earth	navel of the earth
37	36	turn-cap	tarn-cap
38	10	in terms of fact,	in terms of registrable fact
39	33	and improbable	and highly improbable
40	17-18	transcendent	transcendant
„	37	<i>ayas-agrayā han</i>	<i>ayas-agrayāhan</i>

Page	Line	For	Read
43	35	sankes	snakes
45	33	Thyself; and <i>Jaiminīya Up</i>	Thyself; similarly Rūmī, Mathnawī, 1.3055 f.; and <i>Jaiminīya Up</i> .
46	34	<i>Add</i> after <i>Skambha</i> , <i>Stauros</i> 'as <i>Kaṣṭhā</i> , (<i>KU</i> . III. 11, <i>PB</i> . IX.1.35, <i>TS</i> . 1.7.8.2, <i>RV</i> . VII.93.3 and IX. 21.7).	
47	11	moving at will in the beyond	moving at will, whether 'in' or 'out'.
49	31	turn-cap	tarn-cap
52	12	subjects of the Breath	subjects of the over-ruling Breath
54	16	<i>Mogyllāna</i>	Moggallāna

POSTSCRIPT II

As has already been observed by Barua, *Barhut*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 11, the conclusion of the first *Mahākapi Jātaka* (No. 407, J. III. 307 f.) contains material of the greatest importance for the history of the “stūpa”. When the Great Monkey dies of his hurts, he receives royal obsequies; his cranium (*sīsa-kapāla*) is treated as a relic (*dhātu*), and after it has been set up on a spear-point at the city gates, a shrine (*cetiya*) is built for it, and service (*pūjā*) is done to it with incense and garlands. *Stūpa* in RV. and the Brāhmaṇas is always either “top” in general or “cranium” in particular: and the Bodhisattva’s *sīsa-kapāla* is already “*stūpa*” in just this sense. Set up on a spear-point, the form of an umbrella is realised, and that of the solid *stūpa* anticipated. The constructed *stūpa* takes its name from that, the cranium viz., which it most conspicuously represents and which it enshrines; the container, as Barua puts it, receiving the name of the contained. The dome is at once the top of the head of the cosmic person and the vault of heaven; all that is above it is supra-cosmic; and that this is the ultimate significance of all constructed domes has already been deduced.

POSTSCRIPT III

In J.V. 129 *uphīsaṃ sīse paṭimuñcitvā*, “putting the turban on his head” amounts to almost positive proof that *uphīso-sīso* means “wearing a turban”, and not “with a head like a turban.”

ERRATA

The Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1938 (vol. XIV, no. 4)

Page	Line	Read	For
661	22-23	Thus we see that while the word <i>vidhavā</i> was in general use the basic word <i>dhara</i> was unknown,	Thus we.....known,
663	29	675	674
665	27	the most liberal	the liberal
666	17	Nārada (XII. 98ff) states,	Cf. Nārada, XII
668	1	second husbands. The logical Medhātithi also is irresistibly drawn to the remarriage-permitting verse of Parāśara in this connexion, though he seeks to explain away <i>pati</i> as 'protector' (<i>pālanakriyānimittakaḥ</i>) instead of 'husband'. The explanation	second husbands. The explanation
668	31	women be given	women given
672	26	was the self-immolation	was self-immolation
674	28	whether to	is it to
677	30	Medhātithi commenting on Manu V. 157 writes	Medhātithi writes
678	1	<i>dharma</i> .	<i>dharma</i> (V. 157).
679	11	writer's	writers'

A STUDY ON THE CHRONICLES OF LADAKH

(Indian Tibet)

BY

DR. LUCIANO PETECH, PH.D.

CALCUTTA

1939.

To
His EXCELLENCY
PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TUCCI
IN TOKEN OF
DEEP ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE

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PREFACE

The materials for the present book were collected during the research work for a thesis for the Doctor's degree at the University of Rome, in 1935 and 1936. The printing required a rather long time, and, therefore, some statements in the Introduction and in Ch. IV are at variance with the results of further investigation, as set forth in the last chapters. I may, therefore, draw the attention of the reader to the short list of Addenda at the end of the work.

Perhaps the reader will feel the want of a map of Ladakh attached to the volume. But, as the present work will normally be used together with Francke's edition of the chronicles of Ladakh (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, Calcutta 1926), it is easy to refer to the splendid maps of Ladakh and neighbouring countries, found in Francke's work. They have also the very substantial advantage of giving the Tibetan names in scientific transliteration, and not, as in the Survey maps, in more or less phonetical transcription.

The system of transliteration employed by me is as follows:

ཀ ka	ཁ k'a	ག ga	ང ña
ཅ ca	ཆ c'a	ཇ ja	ཉ ña
ཉ ta	ཐ t'a	ད da	ན na
པ pa	ཕ p'a	བ ba	མ ma
ཅ tsa	ཆ ts'a	ཇ dsa	
ཨ wa	ཉ zá	མ za	ཨ 'a
ལ ya	ར ra	ལ la	
ཤ śa	ས sa	ཤ ha	ཨ a

For Chinese words I employed Wade's system. But I kept distinct the sound *ki* and *tsi*, *hi* and *si* (and derived sounds), which,

in Pekinese pronunciation and in Wade's system, are reduced to *chi* and *hsi* respectively. I write, therefore, e.g.: *kin* and *tsin*, not *chin*; *bia* and *sia*, not *hsia*.

For Sanskrit words I followed of course the transliteration recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894.

I am deeply obliged, first and above all to my revered teacher Professor Giuseppe Tucci. He not only opened to me his wonderful library of Tibetan wood-prints and manuscripts, but also tendered me every kind of help and advice while reading the Tibetan texts. I owe him also many valuable suggestions on several special problems.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor G. Vacca of the University of Rome, for advice in connection with the Chinese texts; to Dr. B. P. Saksena, of the University of Allahabad, for translating for me several passages from Persian texts; to Mr. S. C. Deb, of the University of Allahabad, for reading with me the proofs of the second part; and to the Manager and the staff of the Calcutta Oriental Press for the painstaking work of printing a book so full of diacritical marks and other difficulties.

The list of Errata is certainly longer than it should have been. The attention of the reader is particularly drawn to the dates misprinted at pp. 2, 3, 7, 48. I had to revise the proofs far away from the press, first in Rome and then in Allahabad, which involved a good deal of correspondence and delay. And this may serve, to a certain extent, as my explanation.

L. PETECH

Allahabad,
August 23rd, 1939.

ABBREVIATIONS

CFD. = *Chronicle of the fifth Dalai-Lama.*

DT. = *Deb-t' er-shon-po.*

GR. = *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loñ.*

LdGR. = *La-dvags rgyal-rabs.*

CHAPTER IV

Sron-btsan-sgam-po. 1: the Deb-t'er-shon-po and the chronological problem.

The first two sections of the *LdGR*. do not contain any date. Nevertheless the chronological problem of early Tibetan history is of such importance that it is not possible to ignore it, even if the *LdGR*. cannot contribute anything to its solution.

It is only with the reign of Sron-btsan-sgam-po that Tibetan chronicles and Chinese sources begin to give us some dates. It is therefore necessary to establish with precision the principal dates concerning this king, whose reign constitutes the starting point of the whole chronology of Tibetan monarchy.

The most trustworthy source is the official history of the T'ang dynasty, of which two redactions are extant; the first, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* (Old History of the T'ang), was compiled in the first half of the 10th century; the second, which is a revised edition of the first, is called *Sin T'ang-shu* (New History of the T'ang), or also simply *T'ang-shu*, and was compiled during the 11th century. The chapters regarding Tibet in both works (Chs. 196A and 196B of the *Kiu T'ang-shu*, Chs. 216A and 216B of the *T'ang-shu*) have been translated by Bushell in *JRAS.*, 1880 pp. 435-541. Unfortunately Bushell availed himself of the K'ian-lung edition, which combines these two works into one, the *T'ang-shu* being printed in smaller characters as a commentary to the *Kiu T'ang-shu*. Because of this, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* was translated in its entirety but not the *T'ang-shu*, and the translation of the latter is not also quite reliable.

The two *T'ang-shu* give us the most important dates of the history of Tibet from 634 to 879; without them, Tibetan chronology would have remained a matter of pure guess, specially on account

of the discrepancies in the native sources and the uncertainty of the Tibetan sexagenary cycle. The Chinese texts are also very useful in so far as they help us in fitting Tibetan history within the framework of the general history of Asia, a task with which the Tibetans have never occupied themselves. Generally speaking, the two *T'ang-shu* do not present any difficulty of interpretation, except one: the restoration of Tibetan names from their Chinese transcriptions. Even this problem was solved to a great extent by Laufer in his masterly article already referred to.¹ Some names still defy any attempt of reconstruction, but this is of no great consequence and does not reduce the utility of this source.

A problem of the utmost importance is the conciliation of the Chinese dates with those scattered in the various Tibetan chronicles. In addition, it is necessary to lay down a method of plausible interpretation of Tibetan dates, when they are not supported by the Chinese ones.

The authority of the T'ang histories was recognized only at a late date and only in part in Europe, where for a long time scholars used to depend blindly on the chronological systems of a few Mongolian and Tibetan works translated into European languages. The chief source of confusion in this field was the 'History of the Eastern Mongols' of Sanang-Setsen, edited and translated by I. J. Schmidt,² a rather recent work (1662) of little intrinsic value. Being the first work of its kind known in Europe, it received too much attention, although undeserving. Its chronology, though untrustworthy, is not more faulty than that found in the great Tibetan chronicles; but unfortunately the translator presented a poor interpretation, and the results are always unreliable and often absurd.

1 'Bird Divination among the Tibetans', *T'oung-Pao*, 1914. In using it, however, one should always bear in mind the remarks of Pelliot, 'Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains', *T'oung-Pao*, 1915.

2 *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, St. Petersburg, 1829.

In regard to Tibetan dates, a point of fundamental importance should be made clear. The well-known sexagenary system,³ resulting from the combination of five elements (wood, fire, earth, iron, water) with the cycle of twelve animals has an origin not very ancient so far as Tibet is concerned. The cycle of the twelve animals, dating back to a remote past and familiar to several peoples of Central and Eastern Asia, was the only system used during the period of monarchy and even later on. This is demonstrated by the few dates contained in the documents from Chinese Turkestan published by Thomas, and in the earlier Tibetan inscriptions (for example, that of Tabo¹ and those collected by Francke); also in Bu-ston, *GR.* and *LdGR.* many dates have been recorded with this imperfect system. Much later, at the time of the second introduction of Buddhism (11th century), the necessity of greater precision was felt by the Tibetan scholars and the sexagenary cycle was adopted, introduced (as it was) from India together with the Kālacakra Tantric system.³ Naturally the new system was immediately found to be very useful and it was then applied also to the past times, completing with the name of the element the numerous traditional dates which were recorded by the name of animals only. Tibetan historians proceeded in this work using different criteria, and thus it is not surprising and

3 For the calculation of Tibetan dates the tables of Stael-Holstein (On the sexagenary cycle of the Tibetans, *Monumenta Serica*, 1935), are very useful. But unfortunately they start from 1024 only. For earlier dates reference must be made to the tables of Pelliot ('Le cycle sexagénnaire dans la chronologie tibétaine,' *J.A.S.*, 1913/1). They are not very easy to handle, but the article is of the foremost importance, since it corrected the errors of the XIXth century authors, and for the first time fully discussed the sexagenary cycle, establishing the fundamental criteria for the conversion of Tibetan dates.

4 Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. 1, (Rome, 1935), pp. 195-204.

5 Laufer, 'The application of the Tibetan sexagenary cycle,' *Tsung-Pao*, XIV (1913), p. 589: "Indeed Kālacakra.....is nothing but a designation of the sexagenary cycle, and the vast literature on Kālacakra is filled with expositions of this system." The Kālacakra system was introduced in Tibet by Ni-ma 'K'or gyi Jo-bo in 1027, the first year of the first cycle of the sexagenary system.

that they were not very satisfied with the results obtained. It is necessary to be very cautious in accepting the Tibetan dates as they are; the second component in them is usually reliable, but the first is always a later deduction, which may sometimes be exact, but very often is wrong. In fact, a great deal of the differences between the various dates of the same event as recorded in diverse sources consists only in the different name of the elements, the name of the animal remaining the same. A striking example is the year in which Sanang-Setsen places the death of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. It really occurred in 650 as stated by the two *T'ang-shu* supported by *GR* and *DT*. The date given by the Mongolian writer, 'Earth-Dog year,'⁶ corresponds to either 638 or 698. Schmidt accepted the later date. It is evident that, while the second part of Sanang-Setsen's date is correct, the first has been wrongly restored by the author or by his sources. This absurd calculation was unfortunately accepted by many scholars (for example, by Francke in his *History of Western Tibet*), and has been the cause of many deplorable confusions.

The only work free from such kind of errors is the *Deb-t'cr-sñon-po* (Blue Register), the most accurate and trustworthy Tibetan historical treatise yet known.⁷ Its author, gZhon-nu-dpal, not only records the dates very frequently, but even takes care, in case of special events, to determine them more accurately by referring to the number of years elapsed from the date of some other famous event.⁸ One of these cross-references used most frequently by the author, is the year in which Sron-btsan-sgam-po was born. This date has been variously and often wrongly recorded by European authors. The most commonly accepted year is 629 (Earth-Ox year), which has

6 In the text: Wu-dog. Wu is the Chinese cyclical character, which corresponds to the element Earth in the Tibetan system.

7 On the *DT*, see Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, pp. 201-207. I fully agree with the enthusiastic opinion of Bell. From the point of view of chronological accuracy the *DT* is really an exception in the entire Tibetan historical literature.

8 In accounts of years, the initial as well as the final year are to be counted.

at least an element of truth in it, since, as we shall see later, the king was really born in an Earth-Ox year. Nevertheless this date of 629 is *a priori* absurd. It would follow from it that the king died at 21, since the year of death 650 is fixed beyond any shadow of doubt by the concurring authority of the two *T'ang-shu*, of the *DT.* and of *CFD.* But we know that he had a son who died before him and that he was succeeded by his grand-son! It is not worth while discussing this absurd chronology. The year of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's birth is unequivocally fixed with all possible precision in the following passage of the *DT.* (vol. KA. fol. 25b 11. 1-2) which is of the utmost importance because on it is based the entire chronology of the *DT.* which in its turn is an invaluable help for us in verifying the dates of all other Tibetan sources:

T'añ Kau-dsu gis sa p'o stag la rgyal k'ams blañs pa de| Sroñ-btsan-sgam-poi lo lña bcu pa la yin pas| Dei goñ gi lo bñi bcu rtsa dgu po bsnan ten| Sroñ-btsan 'k'ruñs nas lo ñis brgya dan bdun cu rtsa gcig sa mo lug yan la soñ ño|.

"When Kao-tsu of the T'ang dynasty raised himself to the throne in the Earth-Tiger year, Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was in his fiftieth year, having completed his forty-ninth year. Upto the Earth-Goat year, 271 years passed since the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po."

The aim of the author is to determine with the utmost precision the Earth-Goat year in which the "destruction of the Law" by king gLaiñ-dar-ma was started, of which he has spoken in the preceding lines. For this purpose he records the number of years that elapsed after such an important event as the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The latter date, in turn, is determined in relation to Chinese history.

The passage contains two known chronological elements: (1) The Earth-Tiger year 618 in which Kao-tsu founded the T'ang dynasty; the fiftieth year preceding 618 is 569. (2) The Earth-Goat year, which, falling in the reign of gLaiñ-dar-ma (836-842 according to the *T'ang-shu*), must be 839; the 271st year preceding 839

is 569. Thus the date of the king's birth is well ascertained by this double element of proof. And in fact, it is repeatedly stated in the *DT.* that the king was born in the Earth-Ox year, that is, in 569. The same date is found in the *CFD.*; the *GR.* and Bu-ston also confirm the king's birth in an Ox-year, although they wrongly reconstruct the first component of the date. Besides, *GR.*, Bu-ston and Padma-dkar-po say that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po died (in 650) at the age of 82, which also makes his birth date to be 569.

Another date of fundamental importance, being the starting point of many chronological calculations, is the year of Atiśa's arrival in Tibet: Water-Horse year, 414th after the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po; this date would correspond to 982. But here we are faced with a serious difficulty: all the traditions are in agreement in placing the year of Atiśa's arrival at 1042, as, for example, showed by the tables of the *Reu-mig* and of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*. In favour of the date of 1042, there is another striking evidence. At the time of Atiśa, the king of Guge was 'Od-lde, who belonged to the seventh generation after gLañ-dar-ma. But it is not likely that seven generations could exist during the 140 years between 842 and 982, an average of 20 years for one generation being too low. Usually a period of 30 years is accepted, and 'Od-lde must, therefore, have reigned from about 1020 to 1050, which is a proof in favour of 1042. In accepting this date, one must admit an error of an entire cycle of 60 years in the calculations of gZon-nu-dpal. This author depended for the rest of his work on Tibetan sources, and neglected to take account of the data given by the Chinese texts, which he used in his first part. He was not aware that the Chinese chronology and that adopted by him for the subsequent periods were not compatible; and it follows therefrom that an entire cycle of sixty years of Tibetan history has simply disappeared from his work. But this does not at all diminish the value of his chronological data concern-

ing Indian paṇḍits and Tibetan lotsawa of later centuries. Summing up: there cannot be any doubt that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was born in 569, but gZon-nu-dpal builds up his chronology of the centuries subsequent to the 11th, by taking the year of the king's birth as 629. This explains to some extent how this absurd date of 629 found so wide acceptance in Europe. It was made known there by the many Tibetan works that derived their information from the *DT*.

One of these works is the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*, translated by Csoma 'de Körös as an appendix to his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. It, together with Sanang-Setsen's history, having been the first work of its kind to be known in Europe, obtained a wide diffusion. Its chronology is derived from various sources, chiefly the *GR*. for the great Tibetan monarchy and the *DT*. for subsequent centuries, and is practically identical with that of Sanang-Setsen.⁹ It is remarkable that, while according to this system the kings Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (c. 620-650) and Ral-pa-can (816-836) are dated about sixty years later, the dates of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan however are approximately correct. The genesis and the causes of these errors in the compilation of the earliest Tibetan chronology deserve a more detailed study.

The year in which the *DT*. was written is also preserved. It is the Fire-Monkey year 848th after the birth of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (vol. K'A, fol. 3b) and 435th after the coming of Atiśa (vol. CA, fol. 20a), that is, 1476.

All the materials of the *DT*. concerning the period of the great monarchy are condensed in only three leaves. They consist essentially in a synchronistic list of Tibetan kings and Chinese emperors, showing the dates of their accession and death. The

9 It is to be noted that the dates of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po* must be increased by two years. Pelliot, 'Le cycle sexagénaire etc.' p. 644.

source of this list is undoubtedly a Chinese one, as shown by a small but convincing detail: gZon-nu-dpal did know how to reconstruct the form K'a-li-k'a-tsu¹⁰ of his source into the original Tibetan K'ri-gtsug (-lde-btan Ral-pa-can), and left in his text the Chinese forms as they were. But it appears that the work he used was not the *T'ang-shu*, since there are some divergences as to the dates; the author might thus have availed himself of materials independent of the official history of the T'ang dynasty.

10 Table of Chinese Characters, No. 11. The modern pronunciation of the first character is k'o. But in Ancient Chinese it was (according to Karlgren) pronounced k'a and thus it is transcribed in the *DT*.

CHAPTER V

Sron-btsan-sgam-po II: The Tibetan Empire

As we have said, it is established with certainty that Sron-btsan-sgam-po was born in 569. The date of his accession, however, is not known to us. The Tibetan sources place his ascension to the throne at 13, but this is a traditional figure attributed to the accession of many subsequent kings as well. So far as it appears, the heir to the throne, as soon as he reached majority (13 years), used to be solemnly proclaimed as the heir-apparent and nominally associated with the throne. This association, which generally was a purely formal act, could become effective in case of invalidness of the king for reasons of age or illness. This custom survived upto very recent times, and in Baltistan it was in force even during the first half of the last century, inspite of the fact that the Baltis had become Muslims; in 1815 Vigne was present at the enthronement of the heir-apparent of Skardo, who was then aged 13.¹ To the same custom is apparently due the long series of 1Gyal-ts'ab (Yuvarāja) which occurs in the history of Guge during the reigns of the monk-kings Ye-'ses-'od and Byan-'c'ub-'od.² This number 13 has of course no connection whatsoever with the date of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan's death which is unknown to all sources. I shall only mention that the above quoted passage of Ma Tuan-lin (*ante* p. 37) *can* imply that gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan was still alive in 618: "In the beginning of the T'ang epoch he had hundred thousands of good soldiers." But the character *yu* (Table of Chinese characters No. 12) may mean, besides "he had", also simply "there were." We may

1 His account is reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 186.

2 Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, 23-24.



perhaps assume that gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan lived up to about 620, but there is no certainty about it. Supposing 570-620 to be his regnal years, his son Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po might have reigned from 622 to 652 approximately.

The name of the king, which is so different from that of his predecessor and successors, is not in reality the right and complete one. It is composed of the two syllables -sroñ-btsan, which are a very common ending of Tibetan royal names, and of the laudative nickname -sgam-po ("accomplished"). The real name has been preserved by Bu-ston (II, 183) and by Padma-dkar-po (fol. 97b): it is K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan. This is corroborated by the Chinese sources. The *T'ang-shu* gives the forms K'i-tsung-lung-tsan, (Table of Chinese characters No. 13) that is K'ri-sroñ-btsan,³ and K'i-su-lung, (Table of Chinese characters No. 14) that is K'ri-sroñ; Ma Tuan-lin (Ch. 334 fol. 27A) has K'i-su-nung-tsan, (Table of Chinese characters No. 15) a name in which the character *nung* seems to be due to a corruption of the text. No Tibetan source other than Buston and Padma-dkar-po has preserved the real name of the king. But this is not surprising at all, because it is a fact which occurs very often in the history of Tibetan monarchy that the real name of a king is nearly forgotten being substituted in common use by a title or a nickname.

Among the events of the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, three have chiefly struck the attention of the Tibetan historians: the creation of the Tibetan alphabet on Indian pattern by T'on-mi Sambhoṭa, and the two marriages of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, with the daughter of king Amśuvarman of Nepal, and with an imperial

3 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., p. 92. The equivalence tsung-lung=sroñ seems to me, however, to be rather dubious. Laufer, considering the Japanese pronunciation so, has suggested an ancient pronunciation so of the character *tsung*. But in fact this character in Ancient Chinese was sounded, according to Karlgren, *tsuung*. Probably there is an error in the text.

Chinese princess. All that the *LdGR.*, has to say about Sroñ btsan-sgam-po refers mostly to these three facts, on which it is needless to dwell further.⁴ The Ladakhi chronicle, on the other hand, completely ignores the great legislative activity of this king, to which several leaves are devoted in the *GR.* A study of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's laws is out of the scope of this work, but that passage in the *GR.* deserves a profound research, and it would be extremely interesting to find out as to what extent those laws are historical reality and how much are creations of later historians.

On this point of the text of the *LdGR.*, it might be remarked that the name of the pandit who taught Sanskrit to T'on-ni Sam-bhoṭa is not Sei-ge-sgra (Siṃhanāda) but, by agreement of all the other sources, Lha-rig-sei-ge (Devavidyāsiṃha).

The most important personality of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's reign was undoubtedly the minister 'Gar gDoñ-btsan,⁵ commonly called simply by the name of his clan, 'Gar (often also mGar). This name

4 Cf. in addition to the great Tibetan chronicles, *T'ang-shu* in Bushell's translation pp. 443-445. See also Bacot, *Le mariage chinois* etc., who translated the passage of the *Mani-bka'-bum* referring to the Chinese marriage. It is rather difficult to accept Bacot's opinion that the *Mani-bka'-bum* is the work of one of the earliest Dalai-Lamas, since it was certainly known to the author of the *GR.* (written in 1328). The XIIth and XIIIth chapters of the *GR.*, which speak of those two marriages, are completely drawn from the *Mani-bka'-bum*, which has frequently been copied word for word. The materials upon which the work is based, must in each case have been very ancient.

5 Bacot says (*Le mariage chinois* etc., p. 11): "The talents which the *Mani-bka'-bum* attributes to him were those of his predecessors and rivals. He must have been one of the youngest ministers of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and he survived the king for long". This opinion is completely unfounded. The importance of 'Gar can by no means be reduced; all the sources, Tibetan as well as Chinese, agree on this point. Especially the *T'ang-shu* is very explicit in stating that the internal consolidation and the territorial expansion of the Tibetan kingdom are largely due to the exploits of 'Gar, it speaks comparatively less of the king and more of the minister. Neither there is any reason to suppose that he was one of the youngest ministers; with certainty it is only known that he survived the king and died fifteen years after him (*DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24a).

'Gar, by which the minister became famous in Tibetan history and legends, is completely unknown to the Chinese sources, where he appears as Lu-tung-tsan (Table of Chinese characters No. 16). -tung-tsan perfectly corresponds to gDoñ-btsan, but I cannot make out what the character *lu* (Ancient Chinese pronunciation: *luk*) might represent. Thus we notice the strange fact that the real name of the minister is nearly always missing from the Tibetan texts and occurs always in the Chinese; on the contrary, only the name of the clan appears in the Tibetan texts, while it is quite unknown to the Chinese.

Another nickname of this minister is brought down to us by the *LdGR*: Rig-pa-can, "the Wise One." This finds its parallel in a passage of the *GR*. (fol. 99a), according to which that 'Gar bore the title of Rig-pa-can.

The *LdGR*, and Bu-ston speak of a group of Indian pandits who, during the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, came to Tibet in order to collaborate with native scholars such as T'on-mi Sambhoṭa and dPal-gyi-rdo-rje in translating Buddhistic texts. This information may or may not be trustworthy; in any case, there cannot be any doubt that the work of translation in a large scale was carried on later on under the supervision of Padmasambhava. It was not in accordance with the actual state of Buddhism in Tibet during the 7th century. Although the Tibetans have made a C'os-rgyal (King of the Law) of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po, the introduction of Buddhism with which he is credited does not appear to make him deserve the name. He respected the religion of his two foreign wives and welcomed their images and other sacred objects with that mixed feeling of veneration and fear, with which all sacred objects are accepted in Tibet, from whatever part they might be forthcoming, for fear of offending the gods (or demons) that dwell in them. This holds, above all, for the two famous statues, the Jo-bo Śākya and the Tsan-dan Jo-bo, which in this period had the character of national

palladiums (some such thing as the True Cross was for the kingdom of Jerusalem five centuries later). For accommodating them in a way worthy of them, the first of the famous Tibetan sanctuaries, the Ra-mo-c'e at Lhasa was built. These are the fundamental facts as to which all the chronicles are in agreement, and about which there cannot be any doubt, if the legends woven around them in subsequent times are left out of account. But the theory of the conversion of Tibet cannot be built upon such a scanty foundation. This has been the first contact of the religion of Buddha with the country which later on became its refuge, but nothing more. It is not likely that already in that period a systematic translation of Buddhist texts had begun.

Also for Sron-btsan-sgam-po, as for gNam-ri-sron-btsan, the *LdGR.* is the only Tibetan source that speaks of his conquests. The names of the conquered countries are: rTsa-mi and Siñ-mi to the east, places which cannot be identified⁶, bLo-bo and 'Zaṅ-žuñ to the south; the first name refers, according to Francke, to the region that lies to the north of Muktinath in Nepal (thus, to the west of the Manasarowar), but this is a statement which I have not been able to verify; the second name refers to Guge, which at this time did not belong to Tibet, either linguistically⁷ or politically.⁸ In the end,

6 The *Padma-bkai-t'añ-yig* mentions, among the conquests of Sad-na-legs a gTsañ-mi of the west. Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts* etc., I, 271 n.) thinks that this name might correspond to the rTsa-mi of the *LdGR.* wrongly placed by the chronicle to the east. He suggests with reserve the identity of rTsa-mi with Sāmi, lying to the north of Chitral and to the west of Gilgit and Hunza. But this suggestion requires further proofs before it can be accepted.

7 The country is full of non-Tibetan names of places, regions, rivers, and mountains, although sometimes in manuscripts and inscriptions they appear in Tibetan garbs. This should suffice for concluding that there existed a separate language of Guge. But there are also other direct evidences. Cf. Thomas, 'The Zaṅ-žuñ Language,' in *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 409-410.

8 The country required a long time before it finally yielded to the Tibetan domination. One of the documents published by Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 822) deals with conquests in Zaṅ-žuñ by Zu-te, a relation of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. A

the Turkish (Hor) kingdoms of the north are mentioned, undoubtedly a hint to the campaign conducted little later than 634 against the T'u-yu-hun.⁹ The other Tibetan sources are silent about the conquest of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

somewhat later document (*JRAS.*, 1931, p. 808) mentions a defeat inflicted upon the people of Guge by the councillor bTsan-sñā. But the country was completely subdued only by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, after the murder of its ruler Lig-mi-rgya-yab (Laufer, *Ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po*, in *T'oung Pao*, 1901, p. 262). It was probably at the conclusion of peace with Guge that Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po obtained as wife the princess of Žaṅ-žuṅ, of whom the *CFD.* speak at fol. 27b.

9 Identified by Pelliot with the A-ža's of the Tibetan sources. (*Les noms tibetains des T'ou-yu-houen et des Ouigours*, *J.As.* 1912, pp. 520-523). Thomas places this people in the Shan-shan region in Eastern Turkestan.

CHAPTER VI

The Period of the Regency

After the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po in 650, the monarchy suffered an eclipse which lasted half a century. Tibetan sources help us little in regard to this period, and their accounts often show mythical features which remind us of the legend of the 27 kings and also of the Kesar saga. It is a strange contrast with the clarity and the comparative objectivity that may be noticed in regard to Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The Chinese sources, which never appear so much valuable as in this case, permit us to reconstruct in broad outlines the history of Tibet in the second half of the VIIth century. But we are obliged to depend wholly on their reliability (normally a very high one), as we are not in a position to verify their statements by comparison with other sources.

The doubt already arises on the identity of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's successors. This great king had no sons by the two foreign princesses whom he married in a very advanced age: the Nepalese one at 66,¹ the Chinese one at 72.² But by another queen, the princess K'ri-lcam of Moñ,³ he had previously had a son who rose to the throne (that is, was associated with his father) at 13 and died at 18, leaving a son of tender age. Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po again ascended the throne (that is, all the powers, he shared with his son were again concentrated in his hands), and at his death in 650 he left his grandson heir of the kingdom. These are the positive facts that can be derived from the chronicles and are confirmed by the *T'ang-shu*, which also speaks of the succession of the grandson to the throne at a very young age. All the rest is obscure, beginning with the very names of the son and grandson of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. In the chronicles two names are

1 *GR.*, fol. 87.

2 *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A fol. 1b

3 Perhaps a name of clan. *GR.*, fol. 113a and *CFD.*, fol. 28a.

to be found, Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan and Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan, but there is no agreement as to which refers to the son and which to the grandson. The commonly accepted version, represented by *GR.*, *DT.*, *CFD.* followed by later chronicles, attributes the name of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan to the son of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po who died before his father. On the contrary, the small group of works not influenced by the *GR.*, and constituted by *LdGR.*, and Bu-ston (who in this case was copied by Sanang-Setsen), inverts the order of the names. In the light of the antiquity of this group, which outweighs the numerical insufficiency of its constituents, we cannot decide off-hand in favour of the commonly accepted version. The Chinese sources are of no use in this case. Ma Tuan-lin (Ch. 334 fol. 17b) calls K'i-li-p'i-pu (Table of Chinese characters No. 17) the successor of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. This name, the ancient pronunciation of which was K'iot-liei-p'jie-puo. cannot be reduced to a Tibetan form, except the usual prefix K'i-li = K'ri. The documents from Central Asia hitherto published are silent on this point. This problem may eventually be solved by the publication of the two Tibetan chronicles in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris used by Bacot in his article already referred to. The question has a certain importance also because its solution would offer a good indication of the comparative value of the official historiography (*GR.* and other works based on it) and of the group Bu-ston—*LdGR.*

In the Chinese sources this period is characterized by the brilliant and happy regency of Lu-tung-tsan first, and of his son K'in-ling next. The latter was for about thirty years the most powerful man in Central Asia; to him is due the increase of Tibetan power in such enormous proportions as to become a serious danger not only to the external possessions but also to the interior territories of China and even to the very existence of the empire.⁴ His most

4 A detailed and very useful account of these events from a Chinese point of view may be seen in Franke's *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II, 395-402.

notable success was the complete extermination, in the years subsequent to 663, of the T'u-yu-hun, followed by a crushing defeat inflicted on a Chinese army in 670. In this long struggle the minister had been ably assisted by Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's old minister T'onmi Sambhoṭa, who seems to have assisted him chiefly through his skilful diplomacy,⁵ and by his brother Tsan-po, commander of the army that was fighting on the Chinese frontier. The victory of 670 brought to Tibet the acquisition of the Chinese "Four Garrisons" (Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr), that is to say, the possession of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. It is true that this first Tibetan empire was shortlived; it fell to pieces before a Chinese expeditionary force which reconquered the "Four Garrisons" in 692 without much difficulty. Later on in 699 the minister, whose popularity might have vanished after the loss of Eastern Turkestan, was overthrown by a reaction against his rule headed by the king himself, and was driven to suicide. In spite of his sad end, it cannot be denied that he was a strong and genial-minded personality. Lu-tung-tsan and K'in-ling are two of the most interesting figures in early Tibetan history. They were the very able and vigorous representatives of a tendency towards hereditary ministry, analogous to that which in different times and different places gave rise to the Franc majordomo's the Marathi Peshwas, and the Japanese Shogun. In Tibet this attempt was premature and was nipped in the bud by a strong reaction on the part of the dynasty, which was still too young and vigorous to abandon the direct management of the state and to content itself with merely an honorary position.

Still more striking is thus the fact that the record of these two personages partly is missing at all, and partly is differently related in the Lamaist chronicles. This is the only case of a direct and irreconcilable contrast between the Chinese and Tibetan sources. This

5 He was still alive in 675 when he was sent with proposals of peace to the Chinese Court. *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A, fol. 2b.

contrast is already in evidence in the accounts of the events which immediately followed the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. The *GR.* (fol. 122b) and the *CFD.* (fol. 30a) tell us that the Chinese, as soon as they came to know of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's death, desiring to avenge the devastations inflicted by 'Gar during the preceding wars, invaded Tibet with a powerful army, arriving so near to the capital as to necessitate, as a measure of precaution, the transport of the two Jo-bo's from the Ra-mo-c'e to the fort of Lhasa. The invaders were eventually driven back by 'Gar who, however, died during the war. This account has all the appearances of the truth, and there is no intrinsic reason whatever for doubting its historical authenticity. Nevertheless, there are some weighty arguments which speak against it. First of all, the T'ang-shu, who records many other wars of which the Tibetans have lost all memory, does not mention this invasion, which is ignored also by the Chinese source of the *DT.* Moreover, the *DT.* vol. KA fol. 24a has recorded the date of 'Gar's death as falling 15 years after Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's death, i.e., in 664. The chronology of the *DT.* is generally very accurate, and its authority considerably reduces the value of the account in *GR.*, according to which 'Gar should have died during the Chinese invasion immediately after the death of the king. It may be safely inferred, therefore, that this war is not a historical event. But as it is unlikely that the Tibetans should have invented needlessly such a story from top to bottom, I think that it may be based on the vague memory of some inroad of Mongolian tribes from the north or of the people of Guge from the west. This incursion was falsely painted and exaggerated by the chronicles, that wrongly put the 'death of 'Gar in relation with it.

But for this uncertain information, 'Gar's activity as regent is completely unknown to the Tibetan chronicles, although they are full of his achievements as the minister of king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

So far as K'in-ling is concerned, the problem is still more difficult. The *CFD.* (fol. 62a) gives us the following genealogy of the

'Gar clan: "dPon-saṅ-rgyas-dños-grub descended from the heavens to the land of men *and became* mGar Ts'o-nam-ts'a-'brug: To him was born mGar sToṅ-mes-k'ri-c'ags; the son of the latter, mGar sToṅ-btsan Yul-bzuñ was the minister of the dharmaṛājā Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. His son was bTsan-po Yon-tan-rgyal-bzuñ, then in succession Lha-gcig sÑan-ldem-bu, K'ri-zañs-dum-bu, K'ri-gñer, K'ri-lcags; the son of the last (dei-sras).....etc.". It is likely that the five personages last mentioned were brothers. And in fact according to the *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216A, fol. 2a), Lu-tung-tsan had five sons: Tsan-si-jo who died young, K'in-ling, Tsan-p'o, Si-to-kan, P'o-lun. Evidently bTsan-po of the *CFD*, corresponds to Tsan-p'o of the *T'ang-shu*, the able general who for many years fought victoriously by the side of his brother K'in-ling against the Chinese. It is more difficult to find out K'in-ling in the Tibetan list. I propose to identify him with sÑan-ldem-bu. This personage bears the very high title of Lha-gcig (the Divine One); in addition, we are informed by the *GR*. (fol. 122b) that one of the ministers of king 'Du-sroṅ-maṅ-po-rje was in fact gÑa-btsan-ldem-bu, son of 'Gar. The Turkestan documents⁶ as well speak of a minister named 'Gar-bTsan-sñā, an important personage who came to Turkestan about 673 after having defeated the Guge peoples. Phonetically the name K'in-ling (Table of Chinese characters No. 18; ancient pronunciation: K'iəm liəng) remains a mystery, and it is neither possible to say if it is a name or a title. It is impossible to find something similar in Tibetan.⁷

The 'Gar clan survived the disaster of 699 and maintained his position in the high Tibetan aristocracy,⁸ but never again exercised any political influence.

6 Thomas, in *JRAS.*, 1931, p. 808.

7 In the documents published by Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 54) there is mention of a minister named K'ri-brin, whom Thomas wants to identify with K'in-ling. But the phonetical similarity is too vague.

8 The name 'Gar occurs in the list of the Tibetan nobility present at the

As we see, the Tibetan chronicles completely ignore the regency. They do neither tell us anything more about the grandson of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po than that he married a princess of Bru-ža (Gilgit)⁹ and died in 679.¹⁰ He was succeeded by his son 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje,¹¹ called by the Chinese K'i-nu-si-lung, (Table of Chinese characters No. 19), that is K'ri-'du-sroñ.¹² Also about him the chronicles of Central Tibet give no useful information. He married a princess of mC'ims¹³ and died in 704.¹⁴

consecration ceremony of bSam-yas during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, (755-797), more than eighty years after the downfall of K'in-ling (GR., fol. 132a).

9 GR., fol. 122b.

10 DT., vol. KA. fol. 24a, supported by the *T'ang-shu*.

11 This is the most common form of the name. But the words -mañ-po-rje constitute nothing but a laudative surname ("Polykrates"), which was very common in this epoch. It frequently occurs in many names of ministers preserved by the eighth century chronicles found at Tun-huang (Bacot, *Le mariage Chinois* etc. p. 30). But the true name of the king was another. One of the chronicles of Tun-huang (Bacot, *Le mariage Chinois* etc., p. 8) calls him K'ri-'du-sroñ, a name which perfectly corresponds to the Chinese transcription in *T'ang-shu*. Taking account of the rather rigid uniformity of the onomastic type of the Tibetan dynasty, the name in its exact and complete form must have been K'ri-'du-sroñ-btsan. The form Guñ-sroñ-'du-rje accepted by Francke is undoubtedly wrong.

12 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., p. 74. Laufer affirms that the character *nu* had in the T'ang period the phonetical value of *du*. This statement has no foundation. The ancient pronunciation of this character was, according to Karlgren, *nuo*. The equivalence *nu*-'*du* can be explained in the following way. In the modern pronunciation prevailing in Eastern Tibet and to a great extent also in Western Tibet, the prefixed letter ' is not silent, but is sounded as a nasal, if the preceding words end in a vowel (bKa-'gyur is pronounced Kangyur). Thus the union K'ri-'du is pronounced nearly as K'ri:du. Now, the prefixes in that period were still fully alive, just as they are to-day in the dialects that have remained in a more archaic stage, it may be also pointed out that in Tibetan orthography, which is a historical one and may be taken to represent with a sufficient degree of accuracy the actual pronunciation of the VIIIth century, prefixed ' in many cases freely interchanges with a prefixed *m*, showing thus its nasal value. In Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's time, prefixed ' not only was sounded, but also it put into background, at least for Chinese ears, the following dental. Thus *nu* is a sufficiently exact transcription of *du*.

13 GR. fol. 122b. This clan played a very conspicuous part in the internal events of Tibet during the VIIIth century.

14 DT., vol. KA, fol. 24a. Not in 705 as it appears in Bushell's *Chronological*

The *T'ang-shu* is vaster in information. The greater part of this reign was occupied by the regency of K'in-ling. But as soon as the king achieved majority, he became tired of the old minister's tutelage, and succeeded in bringing about his downfall and his suicide, an event in which Chinese intrigues played a great part. Three years later (702) the king himself for the first time since Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po took the field personally against the Chinese, although with little success. A little later he died during a campaign against Nepal and the peoples of the Indian frontier that had rebelled against him. The young king must have been a very energetic personality and his premature death was a great loss for the dynasty, if not for the state. As a matter of fact, the monarchy apparently suffered a new eclipse under his successors, since the Chinese again were in contact with generals and ministers only, the king being scarcely ever mentioned.

During the reign of 'Du-sroñ-man-po-rje, the chronicles refer to the existence of seven heroes famous for their physical force. About each one of them a remarkable achievement is narrated, such as seizing a lion by his mane, catching a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet, and so on. The insertion of such a legend in the heart of history is a curious fact, and it is difficult to find out its origin and its reason. It is however not impossible that there is some relation between the seven heroes and the Tibetan aristocracy, since some of the names of the most famous clans occur in the list: Cog-ro, 'Broñ, 'Gos. Do this refer to the legends of the eponyms of the principal Tibetan families? But how could they be inserted here? It is to be hoped that some new texts might be discovered and bring fresh light on this interesting problem.

Table (p. 438). The *T'ang-shu* states only that in 705 the Tibetan ambassadors arrived with the announcement of the king's death and with the customary gifts sent by this successor.

Also in the case of 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje the *LdGR*, is richer in historical materials than the chronicles of Central Tibet. It gives us the list of the king's conquests, a list which is all the more important, because not even the *T'ang-shu* tells us in this regard anything more precise than the usual vague hints to war in the one or the other direction. We thus come to know that the Tibetan armies reached the Hoang-ho (K'in-ling's wars and war of 702) and invaded Nepal (war of 704), Turkestan (conquered in 670) and bLo-bo (on which see ante; it refers to the conquest of Guge). In fine, we find for the first time the mention of Baltistan, relations with which acquired considerable importance during the following reign.

The political horizon of Tibet particularly expanded during this epoch. In addition to China, Nepal, Guge,—countries with which their relations date back at least to the time of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan, the Tibetans, as a result of their northern campaigns, came into contact with the Turks,¹⁵ with the peoples of Khotan and of Kucha, and a little later also with the Arabs, with whom last they maintained amicable relations during the entire 8th century.

The petty kingdom of gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan had grown in less than a century to be a pan-Asiatic power. The documents from Central Asia throw a flood of light on the Turkestan wars, on the administrative system of the countries under direct Tibetan control, and on the policy followed in regard to the protected states. It is a pity that the memory of that glorious period gradually underwent corruption and obliteration after the victory of Buddhism following the fall of the monarchy. In the Lamaist chronicles, the history of Tibetan monarchy is nothing but a pretext for edifying tales, or, at the most, the framework in which the life and work of the great apostles of Buddhism are bound together. A little more than the

¹⁵ In 674 and 696 the Tibetans concluded a military alliance with the Turks against the Chinese. Chavanne, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. (St. Petersburg 1903) pp. 74, 77.

skeleton of the history of the 'dynasty, and almost nothing of the history of the nation has been saved from the general shipwreck.

We hear nothing about Buddhism during the period of political and military expansion towards the north which was the principal merit of the dynasty. This confirms once again the scarce historical foundation of the so-called introduction of Buddhism by Sron-btsan-sgam-po. It is, however, probable that the religion began to gain ground, through the continuous commercial and military relations with India and Turkestan. We shall see how during the following reign Buddhism already exercised a certain influence, which later on grew very rapidly.

CHAPTER VII

Mes-ag-ts'oms and K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan

In 704, after some troubles, the throne was occupied by K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsan,¹ more commonly known by his surname Mes-ag-ts'oms. The name of this king is to be clearly distinguished from that of K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan, alias Ral-pa-can (817-836); the same thing can be said about the names of the kings K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan (755-797) and K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs (797-804).²

It appears that Mes-ag-ts'oms was strongly subjected to the influence of his mother's family, the mC'ims clan. His chief minister was mC'ims rGyal-śug-stiñs.³ The Chinese annals as well state that the king never exercised any personal influence on the affairs of the state; they mention a family called Ch'en, which in this period was all-powerful in Tibet and played a decisive part in the enthronements of new kings. This Ch'en, corresponding to an ancient T'iēm, is a transcription of a foreign sound C'im; it is thus clear, as shown by Pelliot,⁴ that the Ch'en family is identical to the mC'ims clan. The great influence of this clan is thus confirmed also by the Chinese sources; it was still considerable in the last period of the monarchy, for the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822 mentions two ministers belonging to this family.⁵ The mC'ims' did not, however, enjoy the nearly royal rank and position of the 'Gar's in the preceding century.⁶

1 Called by the Chinese K'i-li-so-tsan (Table of Chinese Characters No. 20). Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, p. 92.

2 Cf. Hackin, *Formulaire Sanskrit-Tibétain*, pp. 68-73. 3 GR., fol. 123a.

4 J.As. 1925 p. 73. In Bushell's translation (JRAS., 1880, p. 523) this character is wrongly transcribed as Lin.

5 mC'ims Zañ-rgyal-bžer-k'on-ne-btsan and mC'ims Zañ-brtan-bžer-snag-cig. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, pp. 74-75, nn. 13 and 15.

6 The seat of the mC'ims clan was near bSam-yas. The holy cave of mC'ims-p'u is still an object of worship (S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 294), being associated by tradition with the career of Padmasambhava (Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 134).

The reign of Mes-ag-ts'oms was characterised by a lively political and military activity in all directions. Round about 715, the Tibetans entered into an agreement with the Arabs with a view to impose by common consent a new king on Ferghana.⁷ Another of the chief features of the great Tibetan-Chinese conflict was the struggle over Baltistan; it never ceased during this reign, because this land was the key to Turkestan and its possession allowed the Tibetans to attack the flank of the Chinese defensive system in Central Asia. Matrimonial alliances with the Turks were concluded.⁸ A remarkable activity was also going on in the south, where the failure of 704 had to be avenged; we may infer from Ma Tuan-lin's account⁹ that the Tibetan raids were very frequent and fortunate, with disastrous consequences for the Northern Indian rulers, who had to turn back even upon China for help against the Tibetans. And all these are but elements of secondary importance in the imposing picture of the duel between the T'ang's empire and the mountaineers of Tibet for the possession of Central Asia.

The wars continued uninterruptedly, but for the moment there was no decision. An attempt was made by the Chinese for arriving at an agreement, giving in marriage to the Tibetan king an Imperial Chinese princess, but the result of this policy was nil. About this agreement there is a discrepancy between the *T'ang-shu* and the Tibetan chronicles. The Chinese annals say that it was concluded while the king was still very young, in 710, a little later than his accession. The *GR*.¹⁰ places this marriage in a much later epoch and gives a romantic account of it. The princess had been betrothed to the heir-apparent Ijañ-ts'a-lha-dbon (son of the queen Ijañ-mo K'ri-btsan); but the prince on his way to the frontier

7 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kin Occidentaux*, p. 148 n.

8 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kin Occidentaux*, p. 46.

9 Ch. 338, translated by Julien, *Notices sur les pays et les peuples étrangers, tirées des géographes et des annales chinoises*, *J.As.*, 1847, II.

10 Fol. 123b-124a. Cf. also Bu-ston, II, 186.

where he was to meet his bride, fell from his horse and broke his neck. The princess thus had to content herself by marrying the old king. From this marriage a son was born, whom another wife of the king, Za-bži-stens, a princess of sNa-nam (Samarkand?), tried with success to present as her own. I do not think that this story is tenable. The *T'ang-shu* explicitly states that the king at the time of his wedding was a mere youth. Whenever there is a contrast between the Chinese and Tibetan sources, it is always preferable to rely on the Chinese version, not only because it is much nearer to the events,¹¹ but above all for the infinitely greater historical sense that distinguishes the Chinese chroniclers.

In the *LdGR.*, this time every mention is missing of military undertakings, although this was one of the periods most troubled by unceasing warfare.

To Mes-ag-ts'oms a great building activity is attributed; his most important achievement was the construction of the royal fort at Lhasa, which is referred to also in the *T'ang-shu*.

Besides this, the Tibetan sources inform us of the translation of several Buddhist texts by a group of lotsawa. There is no reason to call this information in doubt. Buddhism began already to take root in the country, or at least in the court, and the need was felt for having the sacred texts of the new religion available in the mother tongue. This zeal of translation, still scarcely systematic and disciplined, went on gradually increasing and had as a consequence, a little later on, the coming of Padmasambhava and the final acceptance of Buddhism by the dynasty and by more or less wide sections of the people. But already at that time reactions were not lacking. During a pestilence in 740-741, all the foreign monks, and a little

¹¹ The *Kiu T'ang-shu* was compiled in the first half of the 10th century, while none of the Tibetan chronicles used by me is older than the first half of the 14th century.

later the Tibetan monks too, were expelled from the country in order to appease the irritated gods.¹²

In 755¹³ Mes-ag-ts'oms died and was succeeded by his son K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, called by the Chinese K'i-li-tsan, K'i-li-su-lung-lie-tsan and So-si-lung-lie-tsan (Table of Chinese Characters No. 21, No. 22 and No. 23), that is, K'ri-btsan, K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Sa-sroñ-lde-btsan.¹⁴ He was born in the Iron-Horse year 730 according to *GR.* and the Vaidurya-dkar-po, or in the Water-Horse year 742 according to the *CFD.* It is another of the many examples of uncertainty about the first component of a date, which has been reconstructed in later times. The birth of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan in a Horse year remains in all cases certain.

His reign is doubly important because it marked the zenith of Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhism as the chief religion of the state. The history of this period is characterized by a definite superiority won by Tibetan arms in their struggle against their century-old enemy. But, as a matter of fact, this success was to a great extent due to two events in which the Tibetans took no part. One was the destruction of a Chinese army by the Karluks and the Arabs in 751,¹⁵ an event which shook from the foundations the already tottering Chinese dominion in the Tarim basin. The other was the terrible insurrection of An Lu-shan and of his successors, which for seven years (756-763) carried destruction over all the

12 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc. I, 62 and 83-84.

13 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 24b. *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 216A, fol. 11b.

14 Laufer, *Bird Divination* etc., pp. 74, 93; but see Pelliot's remarks, '*Quelques transcriptions*' etc., p. 23. Laufer affirms that, analogous to the equivalence *nu-du* (see above page. 59), the ancient pronunciation of *lie* was *de*. This statement has no foundation. In this case also, in order to explain the correspondence *lie-lde*, one must bear in mind the full phonetical value of the prefixes, which were not yet weakened. The sound *l* in *lde* was pronounced with such emphasis as to lend its phonetical value to the entire word. Thus *lie* is simply the transcription of *lde*.

15 Csoma de Körös, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 183.

16 Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London 1928) pp. 195-196.

Chinese provinces, often forcing the emperors to flee from the capital, killing enormous number of men, and inflicting an irreparable blow to the dwindling authority of the T'angs.¹⁷ The weakening effects of these two great calamities were soon felt. In the years between 760 and 766 the Tibetans conquered almost the whole of Kansu, thus cutting off the Chinese army of Turkestan, which by 766 was reduced to the garrisons of Kucha and Pei-t'ing near Guchen (the "Two Garrisons"). Although segregated from the mother country, the Chinese veterans heroically held out for a quarter of a century, yielding only in 787.¹⁸ But Khotan, although apparently not held by Chinese troops, continued to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty till about 791.¹⁹ While the northern army was fighting in Kansu and Turkestan, the eastern army obtained in 763 its greatest success in two centuries of struggle, entering victoriously in the very capital of the T'ang's, Ch'ang-an, where the Tibetan commanders crowned as emperor a T'ang prince who assumed the title of reign (*nien-hao*) Ta-she. But the rule of this puppet lasted only 15 days, after which, on the retreat of the Tibetans, the capital was re-occupied by the soldiers of the rightful emperor Tai-tsung. The war continued with alternate prospects of victory and defeat until an "eternal" treaty of peace and alliance was concluded in 783. It recognized the vast Tibetan conquests: the whole of Turkestan, almost the whole of Kansu, and vast portions of Szechuan. The *T'ang-shu* diffusely relates the preliminary negotiations and the ceremonies of the conclusion of this pact. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the vexed question whether the inscriptions of the Lhasa pillar, as published by Waddell,²⁰ refer to this

17 O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, vol. II (Berlin 1936), pp. 454-465.

18 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, p. 114.

19 Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford 1907) p. 536.

20 *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, *JRAS.*, 1909.

treaty or to that of 822, as held by Pelliot.²¹ I shall only point out that to the strong arguments supporting the latter date may be added the silence of the Tibetan sources about the treaty of 783, while that of 822 is widely spoken of by the historians, who were certainly aware of the real contents of the Lhasa inscriptions. The *GR*. speaks profusely of them.

The "eternal" treaty of 783 was broken soon after its conclusion, and the war started again, gradually degenerating, however, into a series of devastating raids, of no military or political consequence; and the Chinese eventually gained the upper hand. But the shock suffered by the T'ang empire, already on the verge of decadence, was very grave, and Turkestan was never recovered by the Chinese.

In order to have a free hand against China, the king seems to have constantly followed a policy of friendship at all costs with the other great Asiatic power, the Arabs. From all the sources collected by Chavannes in his very useful volume *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux* we get the impression that the Arab-Tibetan collaboration was seldom disturbed. Informations from Arab sources are very scanty. For the period under discussion, we have only a passage of al-Ya' qūbī,²² according to which the Caliph at-Mahdī (775-785) demanded and got tributes from various eastern rulers, among whom the king of Tibet is mentioned. A temporary payment of tribute to the Arabs is not surprising, as Tibet at that time was passing through the critical period which preceded the peace of 783, and it was a vital necessity to avoid at any cost hostilities in its rear.

The *LdGR.*, refers, in its usual list, to conquests in all directions. The wars in Turkestan are mentioned, under the shape of the notice of the conquest of Kashghar, which was one of the "Four Garrisons."

21 'Quelques Transcriptions' etc., 1-2. Cf. also Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain*, p. 69 sqq.

22 *Ibn Wādhīb qui dicitur al-Ya'qūbī Historiae*, ed. Houtsma (Leyden 1883) vol. II, p. 479.

Mention is also made of campaigns in India, and this corresponds to actual facts, since the Pāla kings in Bengal and Bihar were compelled by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan to pay tribute to Tibet,²³ and the king Ral-pa-can (817-836) still maintained some kind of suzerainty over two or three rulers of India.²⁴ Last of all, the *LdGR.* speaks of the conquest of Baltistan up to Gilgit; this was a natural consequence of the conquest of the Four Garrisons, since Chinese intervention, which several times had upheld the independence of this land, was now impossible. China had been cut off from Central Asia, and nearly a millennium had to elapse before the Chinese armies re-appeared in the Tarim basin.

In internal politics a curious fact can be noticed. The Tibetan sources, not confirmed by the Chinese, tell us of a regency of ministers hostile to Buddhism, who were overthrown and killed when the king reached majority. As we see, it is nearly the same story as the *T'ang-shu* relates about K'in-ling and 'Du-sroñ-man-po-rje sixty years before. But there are no evidences as to whether these facts are historical or are the result of a bad mistake of the chroniclers, who transferred events of the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's successors to the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. If we accept the historicity of this regency, it may be observed that one of the ministers is called mC'ims rDo-rje-spre-c'uñ.²⁵ This fact points to a continuation and even a growth of the influence of the mC'ims clan, that was already very strong, as we have seen, during the reign of Mes-ag-ts'oms. Not only the grandmother and one of the ministers of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan belonged to this clan, but also his first queen, mC'ims bZa-ma.²⁶ The mC'ims clan (and the Tibetan aristocracy in general) seems to have been utterly hostile to Buddhism, as it may be inferred from the persecutions ordered by K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's ministers who

23 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc., I, 272-273.

24 *LdGR.*, p. 34, ll. 5-6.

25 *DT.*, vol. KA., fol. 14b.

26 Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 120.

did not hesitate even to treat with indignity the two venerated Jo-bo, burying them first, and carrying them away later on. As we shall see further on, gLañ-dar-ma's reaction too was to a great extent manipulated by the nobility.

The reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, whom the chroniclers call an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, is the most important in the history of the Land of the Snows. But in addition to this, his reign exercised also a great indirect influence on the ultimate destiny of Central Asia, through the elevation of Buddhism to the state religion of Tibet. This saved the main spiritual conquests of Mahāyāna Buddhism from the irreparable decadence to which it was subject in the country of its origin. The king, as soon as he took the reins of government in his hand, completely inverted the policy adopted by the ministers whom he had displaced, and became the most enthusiastic propagator of the new religion in his kingdom, although it is possible that the chronicles, which are the works of monks, have exaggerated the religious zeal of this king. It is also very likely that political considerations largely influenced his activities in favour of the new faith, because its introduction largely helped to the destruction of the power of numerous noble families which had hereditary Bon-po priesthood and took advantage of the religion for increasing their political fortunes. Whatever the true designs of the king may have been, it is certain that Tibetan Buddhism made an enormous stride during his reign. This progress is indissolubly connected with the name of Padmasambhava, the greatest of the Indian paṇḍits who were called in by the king for helping him in the conversion of his subjects. Padmasambhava soon became all-powerful and completely dominated the mind of the royal family. The religiousness of the king and of his wives²⁷ was undoubtedly sincere, as it is reflected in the education of

27 The *bTsun-moi-bkai-t'añ-yig* (3rd part of the *Padma bkai-t'añ-yig*), translated by Laufer under the title *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, shows the queen Ts'e-spoñ-bza as a devout Buddhist and as a helping hand to her husband in

their descendants, who faithfully continued the work of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan till the reaction of 836 and the subsequent fall of the monarchy.

A great importance is attached by the *GR.*, and the allied chronicles to the foundation of bSam-yas, an event which took place, according to Bu-ston, (II, 189) and Padma-dkar-po (fol. 100a) in 787. The importance of this foundation has been undoubtedly exaggerated by these sources, since it is to be borne in mind that the author of the *GR.*, bSod-nam-rgyal-btsan, who wrote his work in 1328, was a monk of bSam-yas, and was naturally inclined to exalt his own monastery. The long epic fragment in the *GR.*, which has been translated by Laufer,²⁸ is certainly drawn from the dkar-c'ag (māhātmya) of bSam-yas. This ceremony must have been nevertheless an act of the utmost importance; otherwise there could be no explanation of the dominant position it occupies in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*, the first composition of which goes back probably to the IX century, and in Bu-ston, who is also earlier than the *GR.*, as he wrote in 1323.²⁹

The date of the king's death is, according to the *T'ang-shu*, 797. Tibetan sources widely disagree on this point. The *GR.* (fol. 135a) gives the Wood-Ox year 785; the *CFD.* (fol. 39b) the Iron Dragon year 800; Bu-ston (II, 196) the Water-Tiger year 762 or 822; the *DT.* the Iron-Monkey year 780. The statement of the *DT.* is due to a misunderstanding, as I shall explain later on, and all this bewildering cluster of dates has no weight against the authority of the *T'ang-shu*, so much nearer in time to the events concerned. Anyhow, this question is intimately connected with the intricate problem of the succession of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

religious work. Another queen, P'o-yoñ-bza instead, is portrayed as an obstinate antagonist of Padmasambhava.

²⁸ *Die Bru-za Sprache*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1908, pp. 39-47.

²⁹ *Ren-mig*, in *JASB.*, 1889.

CHAPTER VIII

The sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan

K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, according to all the sources, had three sons,¹ the eldest of whom, Mu-ne-btsan-po,² succeeded his father at the age of 28.³ A very strange fact is reported about him, strange not only to us, but also to the Tibetans themselves.⁴ He is said to have redistributed three times the wealth of the country, establishing thus social equality between rich and poor; but after each redistribution, those who had been rich recovered their wealth within a short time, and those who had been poor returned to their original state. This story may at first sight appear an absurdity. But it seems to me that such stories are difficult to invent root and branch (besides, to what purpose?). There must have been some sort of a foundation for the growth of such a legend. I venture to propose, therefore, the following interpretation, although I admit that it is a simple hypothesis, based on very uncertain foundations. The Tibetan aristocracy maintained at this time its great influence on the government, which practically was in its hands. And this was also the case during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, although he was the most powerful of Tibetan kings; this is amply demonstrated by one of the songs sung at the foundation ceremony of bSam-yas and preserved in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*.⁵ In it the noble singers display a strong sense of pride and a clear consciousness of their

1 He had also a daughter, princess K'rom-pa-rgyan, whom he presented to Padmasambhava as wife. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, chs. 15-21.

2 The form Mu-k'ri-btsan-po in *LdGR.* is doubtless wrong.

3 *GR.* fol. 133b.

4 See, e.g., the attempts at a philosophical explanation in the *CFD.* (fol. 40a).

5 Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 126-127.

power and wealth; there is even a mention of parties which struggled to acquire predominance in the state. The power of the nobility reflected itself in that of the ministers; only a few of the more energetic kings succeeded in getting rid of their regents-ministers, who acted, though nominally on behalf of the king, in reality according to their own convenience. Mu-ne-btsan-po as heir-apparent had occasion to feel the influence of the aristocracy, and had before him the example of his father's vigorous action. He decided to free the monarchy from the power of the nobility, destroying the very foundation of its strength. Accordingly, he gradually confiscated in three successive steps the estates of landed proprietors (that were nothing but the old tribal chiefships of the 5th and 6th century subdued by gNam-ri-sroñ-btsan), either joining them with the private possessions of the crown, or parcelling them among the commoners. But the old aristocracy of the clans, deep-rooted as it was in the country, was too strong an enemy for the royal reformer: it was his attempt at strengthening the effective power of the monarchy that was responsible for his tragic death after a short reign, the shortest in the entire Tibetan history. The chronicles attribute his end to private reasons. He had married one of the widows of his father. This lady having refused to undergo the formalities of mourning for K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, the queen P'o-yoñ-bza, mother of Mu-ne-btsan-po, attempted to assassinate her, but she was protected by the king against the murderers sent by the old queen. P'o-yoñ-bza, furious about her failure, turned against her son and caused him to be poisoned.⁶ It may well be that his death was due to personal reasons, but I am inclined to believe that the queen, who profoundly felt the duty of solidarity with her clan, rendered herself the interpreter of the wishes of the entire aristocracy, removing her son who threatened to do away with the nobility.

6 GR. fol. 134a. See also *Bodhimör* in appendix to Sanang-Setse, p. 357.

To the death of the king may also have contributed the complete failure of his foreign policy and the difficult situation in which Tibet was placed. The victories of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan over China made Tibet the most powerful state of Central and Eastern Asia; but as a logical consequence Tibet's friends of yesterday, who became apprehensive of Tibet's unchecked expansion, changed into enemies. The first blow to the Tibetan system of alliances was struck already during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. In 791 the powerful king of Nan Chao (modern Yun-nan), hitherto a faithful ally of the Tibetans, concluded peace and alliance with China, and inflicted a crushing defeat on a Tibetan army sent to punish him. Henceforward, Tibet had to guard against this new enemy from the south-east, who threatened the communications of the Tibetan armies fighting against China. Some years later, the Arab Caliph too, hitherto the traditional ally of Tibet, turned against it. The greatest of the Abbasides, Hārūn ar-Rashid (785-809) distrustful about his too powerful neighbours, sent in 798 an embassy to the Chinese court for the purpose of organizing a joint attack on Tibetan Turkestan.⁷ This attack was carried out with considerable success. While the Arabs kept more than the half of the Tibetan army fully occupied on the western border,⁸ the Chinese had a free hand and gained a long series of victories in the campaign of 802. On the whole, however, the Tibetans succeeded in holding their own, and the storm passed away without any substantial loss of territory. But the fighting on three fronts became too much for thinly populated Tibet, and its forces were not sufficient for gaining the upper-hand. Even when the Tibetans occasionally fought some victory, it did not change the general course of the

7 *T'ang-shu*, Ch. 221B, quoted by Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, III, 411.

8 *K'in T'ang-shu*, Ch. 198, fol. 17b, quoted by Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II, 484.

war. Tibet was abruptly checked in its expansion and was now reduced to the defensive. The imperial dream of the Tibetan kings had vanished for ever; but the very fact that nothing less than the coalition of the two most powerful empires of early Middle-Ages was necessary for checking the expansion of the Tibetan state, is a magnificent witness of the political capacities and military valour of those sturdy mountaineers.

The Chinese sources do not speak of the murder of king Mu-ne-btsan-po. They know of him little more than the name, which in the *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216B, fol. 4b) is Tsi-chih-tsien (Table of Chinese Characters no. 24). In the beginning of the 9th century it might have been pronounced approximately Tsiuk-chih-tsiän. Probably the text is corrupt, because it is impossible to find a Tibetan equivalent for this name, which is so different from all the other names of Tibetan kings occurring in the *T'ang-shu*.

As pointed out above, Mu-ne-btsan-po had two brothers. We are not sure about their names, not one source agreeing with the others on this point; the most commonly occurring ones are Mu-rug-btsan-po, Mu-tig-btsan-po and K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan. Apparently the confusion is due to the fact that the kings were called by different names according as they came into contact with different kinds of people. The problem is thus solved to a great extent by a passage of the *Padma-bkai-t'an-yig*,⁹ which explains the diverse value of the various names of the third brother, Mu-ne-btsan-po's successor: in his intercourse with his teacher (Padmasambhava), he was called Mu-tig-btsan-po ("Pearl King;" probably an initiatic name); with his father he was called K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan (probably the true personal name, perfectly agreeing with the onomastic type of the dynasty); with the ministers he was called Sad-na-legs (a nickname which in the chronicles normally

9 Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, 270.

substitutes all the others, and was probably the popular name of the king); in his relations with China the name Mu-ru-btsan-po was used.

The above-mentioned personage succeeded Mu-ne-btsan-po, since the second brother (whose name in all likelihood was Mu-rug-btsan-po or Mu-rum-btsan-po) had already been assassinated during the reign of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. Mu-ne-btsan-po had reigned one year and several months according to the Tibetan sources, one year according to Bushell's translation of the *Kiu T'ang-shu* (Ch. 196, fol. 12b). But there are strong evidences against this. Particularly in the case of the *Kiu T'ang-shu*, there seems to be an internal contradiction. The facts are the following: For this period, the *Kiu T'ang-shu* relates the death of Tibetan kings in the following years: 797, 804 and 817. But to the notice about the death of the Tsan-p'u in 804, the following sentence is added: "The Tsan-p'u who died in the 4th month of the 13th year of Chên-yuan (797) was succeeded by his eldest son, who died one year after, when the second son succeeded to the throne."

The obvious interpretation is that K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's eldest son succeeded to the throne in 797 and was succeeded in 798 by his brother, who died in 804. But under the heading of the 13th year of Chên-yuan there is no mention of a change on the Tibetan throne, and the above quoted sentence does not occur either in the *T'ang-shu* or in later works such as the *T'ung-chih* and Ma Tuan-lin. It is even positively contradicted by the *T'ang-shu*, which, besides not mentioning such an event in 798, definitely states that the Tsan-p'u who died in 804 was followed by his brother. It seems therefore probable that we must read *seven* years instead of *one* year.

On the other hand, in doing this we are in contradiction with the Tibetan sources, which nearly unanimously assign to Mu-ne-btsan-po a reign of one year and several months. But if we want

to follow them and the *Kiu-T'ang-shu*, we must accept three kings as reigning in this period: the first 797-798, the second 798-804, the third 804-817; this would lead us to an absurdity, since all sources, Tibetan as well as Chinese, know only of two kings, viz. K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's two sons Mu-ne-btsan-po and Sad-na-legs.¹⁰ I may add that, if there is anything real in the tale of the threefold re-distribution of wealth, such a far-reaching reform, which might almost be called a revolution, cannot have been carried out in the short time of one year.

The *DT.* does not give us any help for solving this question. gZon-nu-dpal misunderstood his Chinese sources, and a complete confusion was the result. His list of kings for this period is the following:

Mu-ne-btsan-po	...	...	780-797
Ju-tse-btsan-po	...	...	797-804
K'ri-lde	...	...	804-814
K'a-li-k'a-tsu	...	...	814-836

The dates of Mu-ne-btsan-po are due to a curious misunderstanding. In a passage of the *Kiu-T'ang-shu* (Ch. 196B, fol. 2b) concerning the events of the year 780, K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan is incidentally called with the abbreviated name K'i-li-tsan, that is, K'ri-btsan.¹¹ This name led astray several authors, Chinese as well as Europeans, and also gZon-nu-dpal; they supposed K'ri-btsan to be another king, who succeeded to the throne in or before that year. And since the successor of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan is Mu-ne-btsan-po, gZon-nu-dpal took him as the Tibetan equivalent

¹⁰ The name of a king IDiñ-k'ri which is inserted between Sad-na-legs and Ral-pa-can by some of the manuscripts of the *GR.* (my ms. B and ms. III of those quoted by Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain*, p. 71), is most certainly an interpolation. It does not occur in any other Tibetan source; more than this, it is even ignored by most of the manuscripts of the *GR.*, also by the most ancient: Hackin's ms. I, found by Pelliot in Tun-huang.

¹¹ Laufer, *Bird Divination*, p. 93 note.

of the supposed Chinese name K'i-li-tsan. But next he was faced with the puzzling name Tsu-chih-tsien, which he could not translate by Mu-ne-btsan-po. He did not overcome the difficulty, and simply transliterated Tsu-chih-tsien as Dsu-ce btsan-po, for which Ju-tse-btsan-po is evidently a misprint. The dates of this king are quite correctly given as 797-804, showing thus that gZon-nu-dpal understood the text of the *Kin T'ang-shu* in the same way as I have done and was not misguided by the passage concerning the one-year reign of Tsu-chih-tsien. Next comes K'ri-lde (-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs), 804-814. Except for the second date, which is 817 in the *T'ang-shu*, all this is also perfectly correct. It may be observed that, notwithstanding its errors, the *DT.* supports my theory concerning the period 797-817, and mentions only two kings in those years.

As for the *LdGR.*, its royal list of this period is wrong. The compiler made things easy for himself; the succession according to him is always from father to son (which is quite false), and he relates little more than the bare names of the kings.

Summing up the preceding discussion, we may safely assume that K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan had three sons, of whom the first, Mu-ne-btsan-po (Chinese: Tsu-chih-tsien) succeeded the father, the second did not reign, and the third, Sad-na-legs, succeeded his brother.

The following table shows the dates of these kings:

K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan	...	...	755-797
Mu-ne btsan-po	...	...	797-804
Sad-na-legs	...	...	804-817

Sad-na-legs' reign was comparatively uneventful. The Tibetan chronicles do not relate anything noteworthy. There is an information in the British Museum Ms. of the *LdGR.* about the coming of the Pandit Kamalaśīla during this reign. This is wrong: Kamalaśīla had been invited to Tibet by K'ri-sroñ-lde-

btsan, under whose presidency the famous debate took place in which the Pandit defeated the Tibetan followers of Chinese Buddhism¹². In the relations with China, this reign was a comparatively peaceful one, while it was characterised by the closest, but essentially hostile, contacts with the Caliphate. From the beginning of the century, al-Ma'mūn, the second son of Harūn ar-Rashid, was governor of Khorasan. Immediately after his father's death, he came into conflict with his brother, the new Caliph al-Amīn (809-813). In addition to these troubles with his brother, which soon were to degenerate into a fratricidal strife for the throne, he was obsessed by the incessant Tibetan raids. A heterogeneous mob, the back-bone of which was composed by Tibetan troops (junūd), besieged even for a time the capital of Transoxania itself, Samarkand.¹³ The Tibetan war, which he inherited from his father, had become a serious handicap for al-Ma'mūn; in fact, he laments in a letter preserved to us by the historian at-Ṭabarī¹⁴ of his difficult situation, because on the eve of taking the field against al-Amīn, he had to leave at his rear the hostile rulers of the east, amongst whom he mentions the king of Tibet. But eventually he succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the king of Tibet, who (probably, in reality, the Tibetan governor of Turkestan) even paid a visit to al-Ma'mūn in one of the towns of Khorasan, and presented him with an idol of gold seated on a golden throne bedecked with jewels. al-Ma'mūn later on sent this precious object to the highest sanctuary of Islam, the Ka'ba at Mecca.¹⁵ According to the Arabic historians, the king of Tibet should even have been converted to Islam. We do not know whether this peace lasted for long. In any case, this is the last mention of Tibet in Arabic sources.

12 Bu-ston, II, 191-196.

13 al-Ya'qūbi, II, 528.

14 *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wal-mulūk* (Leyden edition), II, 815. See also Ibn al-Atir-*Ta'rikh al-Kāmil* (Thorndike edition), VI, 160.

15 al-Ya'qūbi, II, 550. See also Ibn al-Faqih (*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, V) p. 19.

CHAPTER IX

Decadence and fall of the monarchy

With the accession of king K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan Ral-pa-can to the throne 817, the history of Tibet becomes again clear and does not present any chronological and genealogical difficulties till the fall of the monarchy. The father of this king (Sad-na-legs had five sons. The eldest, gTsañ-ma, renounced the world and took the vows of a Buddhist monk (later on he was killed by order of gLañ-dar-ma); the second one, Ral-pa-can, was the most fervent Buddhist that ever rose to the Tibetan throne; the third gLañ-dar-ma,¹ was to give later on a fierce demonstration of his fanaticism for the Bon-po religion. The royal family seems to have been animated in this epoch by strongest religious enthusiasm. Such an atmosphere characterises in all times and in all places the conversion of a people to a new religion; the fanaticism of the Turkish converts two centuries later offers an instance.

The nickname Ral-na-can (Sanskrit *Kesarin*, Lat. *Caesar*) is explained by the *GR*. thus: the king, in order to show his veneration for the monks and the lotsawas, wrapped his hair with long pieces of cloth, on which the holy men sat. The rise of such legends plainly shows that the king was really a very religious, nearly a bigoted, man. Accordingly, some chronicles² even tried to place him among the incarnated kings, as an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi; but this was not accepted by the majority.

The pacific mentality of the king manifested itself in a lull in military activity. In fact, the three great empires which for two centuries had struggled for the possession of Central Asia were

¹ According to *CFD*, fol. 41a, gLañ-dar-ma was the second son; he should have ascended to the throne after the death of his father, but was excluded from it on account of his Bon-po faith.

² Bu-ston, II, 196 followed by Sanang-Setsen, p. 49.

already in full decadence. The Caliphate was now under the influence of the disintegrating forces to which it finally succumbed; in 820 the semi-independent dynasty of the Tahirids in Khorasan was founded and at the same time began the career of the Samanids of Transoxiana; the Arabic state disappeared thus for ever from the political life of Turkestan. The empire of the T'angs was nearly on its last legs and was not in a position to busy itself with what happened outside the frontiers of China proper. Tibet was now exhausted by the long and unequal struggle on three fronts. Peace was called for by the force of circumstances. As we have seen, the treaty between Tibet and the Caliphate was concluded round about 810. Little later on, in 822, the famous treaty was signed which finally closed Tibet's long-lasting fight with its great neighbour. The text of the treaty together with the additional documents was inscribed on stone pillars. It is now too well-known to require further elucidation here. Waddell's edition is imperfect, but until it becomes possible to secure a good estampage or photographs of the inscriptions, it is useless to resume the discussion.

Unlike the treaty of 783, the 822 peace was not broken (apart from the usual incidents on the frontier) and lasted until the fall of the monarchy, the end of the T'ang, the partial Uiguric conquest and then the Islamization of Eastern Turkestan removed all possibilities to conflict for several centuries to come.

The *LdGR.* gives us the customary list of conquests; but it deals with countries that were already under Tibetan suzerainty since a long time past. According to the statement of the *T'ang-shu*, Ral-pa-can was far from being warlike, and the same impression can be gained from a perusal of the Tibetan chronicles. The works of peace were much more attractive for him, and, in addition to the invitations to Indian pandits,³ we hear also of a regulation of weights and measures after the Indian pattern.

3 The expression bKa-cog of the *LdGR.* (p. 33) is an abbreviation of the

The Buddhistic zeal of the dynasty was responsible for a gradual replacement of the aristocracy by Buddhist monks in the most influential charges of the court. The *Bodhimör*⁴ speaks plainly about this. In addition, a real persecution of the old Bon-po religion was in sight. All this contributed to the growth of a tension that had to burst inevitably into a revolution. In 836 a conspiracy was formed and the king was assassinated by two noblemen. The chronicles clearly recall that the conspiracy was the work of the aristocracy. Among the conspirators and the chief supporters of the new regime occur a few of the most famous names of the old families that once formed the backbone of the state, and of which for a long time, since the coup d'état of K'ri-ston-lde-btsan, nothing was heard. The assassins were sBas Stag-snas (Bu-ston: sBas rGyal-to-re) and Cog-ro Legs-sgra; the Cog-ro clan was one of the most noted Tibetan families in the eighth century.⁵

The conspirators placed on the throne prince K'ri-dbu-dum-btsan,⁶ called gLan-dar-ma, younger brother of Ral-pa-can. This king became the target of all Lamaist historians who painted him with the foulest colours as a combination of Nero and Julian the Apostate; the *T'ang-shu*, under Buddhist influence, increases the dose. Out of all these exaggerations it has become impossible to lay down precisely what was the real character of this king. In any case, it is undeniable that the persecutions, or more appropriately vexations, of Ral-pa-can were answered by a deliberate attempt at suppressing Buddhism. I do not think that the chronicles are far from truth when they say that the temples were closed or destroyed, and the monks were forced to escape or were

names of the two lotsawas dPal-rtsogs of bKa and Klui-rgyal-mt'san of Cog-ro (*GR.*, fol. 34b).

4 In the notes to Sanang-Setsen, pp. 361-362.

5 A minister Cog-ro Blon-btsan-bzer-lto-yon is mentioned in the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, pp. 74-75, n. 14.

6 *GR.*, fol. 134a.

dishonoured by being obliged to break their vow of *ahiṃsā*. The prime minister of *gLaiṅ-dar-ma* was one of the murderers of *Ral-pa-can*, *sBas Stag-snas*; he was probably the guiding spirit of the reaction.

The *LdGR*. offers a curious interpretation of these events. It makes the king and his three chief ministers incarnations of demons invoked by four Brahmins who were angry on account of the success of Buddhism in Tibet. This legend, evidently of popular origin, remains isolated and no trace of it is found in other sources.

In 842 *gLaiṅ-dar-ma*⁷ was assassinated by the monk *dPal-gyi-rdo-rje*, who succeeded miraculously in escaping. But the death of the protector of the *Bon-po*'s did not restore the predominance of Buddhism, although the historians like to represent the activity of *gLaiṅ-dar-ma* as a simple interlude after which Buddhism resumed its victorious penetration. The fact that the throne remained to the descendants of *gLaiṅ-dar-ma* and that for two centuries scarcely anything is heard about the new religion, is enough to explode the legend of an immediate restoration of Buddhism. The persecution done by *gLaiṅ-dar-ma*, although it lasted only four years (it really began, as it appears, in 839), inflicted a heavy blow on Buddhism and revealed how superficial was its penetration, apparently so brilliant. The Tibetan converts, no longer guided

7 Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 10) affirms that even *al-Berūni* knows *gLaiṅ-dar-ma*. He refers probably to the king *Lagatūrmān*, who according to *al-Berūni* (Arabic text, p. 208, l. 2) was the last of the Tibetan dynasty (this is a blunder of *al-Berūni*; it was probably of Śaka origin) of the *Šāhi* of Kabul. In fact, *Sachau* (*Alberuni's India*, II, 361) thought of *gLaiṅ-dar-ma*, but he himself abandoned the idea which is absolutely untenable, historically, geographically, and phonetically. If we admit a corruption (quite possible and very frequent) of Arabic *l* with "*laṣḍid*" into *k*, the name perfectly corresponds to *Lalla-Toramāṇa*. *Toramāṇa* is a well-known name among barbarian rulers of North-Western India, and *Lalla* finds a correspondence in the very name of the successor of this king, *Lalliya* (which in *al-Berūni* is corrupted into *Kallar*; see *Seybold* in *ZDMG.*, 1894 pp. 699-700).

by the profound learning and spiritual altitude of the Indian teachers, rapidly degenerated and gradually reverted to the worship of natural forces which seems to constitute the nucleus of Bon-po religion; as a matter of fact, the Tantric Buddhism of Padma-sambhava already contained in itself the germs of similar development. Thus the necessity of persecuting Buddhism was no longer felt, as this religion had practically disappeared. It was only after two centuries that Rin-c'en-bzan-po, Atiśa and Mar-pa started, one may say, *ex-novo* the work of conversion, which on this occasion was crowned with success.

After the death of gLan-dar-ma the first queen pretended to be pregnant⁸ and a little later she presented as the son of the murdered king a baby who had the name of K'ri-lde,⁹ but, as he owed the throne to the mother, was generally known as Yum-brtan ('he who was supported by the mother'). The *T'ang-shu* (Ch. 216B, fol. 4b) confirms this story in the main lines; it calls the new king K'i-li-hu (Table of Chinese Characters No. 25); in fact, K'i-li = K'ri; he was really the nephew of the queen and ascended the throne at the age of three under the regency of his aunt. It is to be noted that the queen, and thus the new king as well, belonged once more to the famous clan mCims. But a little later another wife of gLan-dar-ma brought to light a son, gNam-lde,¹⁰ commonly known under the name of 'Od-sruis. The young prince, or others in his behalf, claimed the throne, with partial success. The unity of Tibet was destroyed; after a century there existed a great number of petty local chieftains, descended from 'Od-sruis and Yum-brtan.

The two families seem to have antagonized in the field of religion as well. While the short rule of Yum-brtan over the entire country continued to support the Bon-po religion,¹¹ to 'Od-sruis is

8 GR., fol. 140a.

9 CFD., fol. 46a.

10 CFD., fol. 46a.

11 GR., fol. 140a.

attributed by the chronicles the immediate restoration of Buddhism. This is wholly unlikely, but it is striking that the kings of Guge, to whom finally the victory of Tibetan Buddhism is due, were the descendants of 'Od-sruis.

After the brief information about K'i-li-hu, the Chinese do not know the existence of a monarchy in Tibet, and for the rest of the T'ang period had their contacts only with the local chiefs of the frontier. The old kingdom of Sron-btsan-sgam-po was dissolving into tiny fragments and did not come to life any more.

It is not easy to-day to determine the causes of the fall of a monarchy which for two centuries fought against the Chinese empire as an equal adversary. But one of the causes was certainly the discredit into which the monarchy fell in the eyes of the people and, above all, of the aristocracy. As in all oriental dynasties, the inevitable decadence overtook also the Tibetan one, although it was slower and less pronounced in this case. For a warlike people as were the Tibetans before the victory of Buddhism, the military feebleness and political incapacity of the last kings was bound to appear discreditable. Besides this, while we do not hear of an attempt against the person of the king for two centuries, when the queen P'o-yon-bza struck a serious blow to the dynasty poisoning her son, the fascination disappeared and the people followed the example which was offered by the reigning house itself. The last two kings were assassinated; the monarchy did not command any more respect either morally or politically.

gNam-ri-sron-btsan founded the state and Sron-btsan-sgam-po consolidated it and made it powerful, basing it on the aristocracy; the monarchy maintained itself keeping the friendship of the nobility and dividing it in order to secure its obedience. But the last kings had lost the political tradition of the founders. If the attempt of Mu-ne-btsan-po had succeeded, it would have placed the state on new and sounder bases. But

after its tragic failure the succeeding kings were too weak to deserve the respect and esteem of the nobility; moreover, they foolishly antagonized it, trying to keep it away from influential positions, that were accorded to the new spiritual aristocracy hailing from India. The nobles, who could no longer dominate the dynasty, opposed it, and the reaction they led was so strong as to sweep away not only Buddhism, but the monarchy itself, which had to appear as an useless burden on the chiefs of clans who had regained the consciousness of their power. They continued however to disguise their ambitions under the name of rightful princes of the ancient royal house. These princes succeeded in founding strong states in the west (Güge, Ladakh), where the Tibetan immigration was more recent and the immigrants were freer from the bonds of the clans. But they could never again exercise an effective power in the feudal anarchy of Central Tibet, where the clan system remained as the only true form of government until Buddhism had changed gradually in the course of centuries the very character of the people.¹² The monarchic tradition, extinct in Tibet proper, took refuge in territories originally non-Tibetan, in the western states.

The Tibetan monarchy, although it filled two centuries of the history of Asia, did not leave any political or ethnical traces in Turkestan; it left only scanty and unimportant traces in Tibet itself, which in 842 found itself nearly in the same conditions as it was in the 6th century. From the cultural point of view, the monarchy marks the beginning of Tibetan literature, which did not, however, show any remarkable development in this period. It began to flourish only one century and a half after the death of

¹² Even today the nobility maintains a portion of its ancient great power and Tibet may be said to be to a certain extent a feudal State. Cf. Bell, *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford 1924) p. 142.

gLañ-dar-ma, when Rin-c'en-bzañ-po and Atiśa commenced the translation of the sacred texts systematically and on a large scale.

There is one aspect of the historical mission of Tibetan monarchy which deserves to be studied more thoroughly; it is its function of a dividing wall between the two great empires and civilizations: the Chinese and the Arabic-Musalman. If Tibet had not arrested the march of Chinese armies which in the decade 650-660 were about to penetrate into Western Turkestan, they would have come face to face with the Arabs in Khorasan. In anticipation of a similar clash, the Chinese, with that practical political sense which has always distinguished them, prepared ably the political bases of their advance, presenting it as a restoration of the Sassanian empire. They had always been in amicable relations with the old Persian dynasty; the last king, Yazdajird III, before the decisive battles with the Arabs in 636 and 642 sent the state treasure in safety to China.¹³ His son Firuz was recognized by the T'angs as the king of Persia and was installed in this position in the frontier regions, probably in modern Seistan, but could not maintain himself against the Arabs but for a few years. His son Narses too enjoyed Chinese support.¹⁴ The unexpected intervention of the new Tibetan state nipped in the bud all Chinese designs in Persia, obliging the Chinese governors of Eastern Turkestan to devote all their attention towards the south-east. It is impossible to speculate to-day what consequences Chinese support to the last defenders of the ancient Persian kingdom and religion would have brought, or simply to foresee what results the direct contacts between the two great civilizations, Arabic-Musalman and Chinese, could have produced.

13 Eutychius (Sa'id ibn al-Batriq), *Nazam al-jawhar*. Quoted by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, vol. III (Milano 1910) p. 654.

14 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, p. 172 and 'Notes additionnelles sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux', in *T'oung-Pao*, 1904, p. 22.

CHAPTER X

The Sources of the LdGR.

In Chapter I, I have dealt with the sources of the first section of the *LdGR*. (cosmology and mythology). The aim of the present chapter is to put the second section of the *LdGR*. (history of the great Tibetan monarchy) in its right place among the other Tibetan chronicles. It may seem highly premature to speak of the sources of the *LdGR*., since the number of Tibetan chronicles hitherto known is so scanty that it makes impossible any attempt of real research of the sources carried out with strictly scientific criteria. Scholars in Europe are in a particularly unfavourable condition in this regard, because the few Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles that have been published in Europe and in India are (with one single exception) certainly not among the best or the oldest or the most authoritative. It is just the best fruits of Tibetan historiography (the *GR*. and the *DT*.) that have escaped their attention. Thus the only possible course is of laying down a few general lines of development of history-writing in Tibet on the base of the scanty material hitherto known; the following scheme is thus to be regarded as altogether provisional and may need correction or even may be discarded on the evidence of any new Tibetan historical work coming to light. It is simply a systematic catalogue of all the works that I know of.

The historical literature of Tibet may be divided into three great periods.

I. The first period, that may be called archaic, ranges from the 7th to the 13th century, including thus the monarchy, the epoch of final introduction of Buddhism by Rin-c'en-bzan-po and Atiśa, and the centuries immediately following. Very few works of this period have survived. Among the oldest ones are the various

manuscripts of historical contents discovered in the sands of Eastern Turkestan and preserved partly in Paris and partly in London. They are contemporary to the great Tibetan monarchy, and as such their publication would mark an important step ahead in our knowledge of Tibetan history. The first origin of the famous work, the *Padma-bka-t'an*, an account of the career of Padmasambhava, dates back to this period; but in its present form, it is certainly of much later date. It has preserved to us a good deal of highly interesting information which would otherwise have been lost. The various *rnam-t'ar*, or biographies of the great Buddhist teachers and thinkers, are a kind of literature that largely flourished during the latter half of this epoch;¹ they are very interesting from the point of view of religious history, but have scarcely any importance for the history of Tibetan monarchy. Towards the end of this period or at the beginning of the following, (but in any case before the *GR*.) was probably composed the *Mañi-bka'-bum*, a narration of the achievements of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po attributed to the king himself.

II. The second period is the golden epoch of Tibetan historiography. It includes the 14th and 15th centuries, an epoch that also corresponds to a magnificent revival of the entire religious and literary life of Tibet; it is sufficient to recall the names of Bu-ston and Tson-k'a-pa. To this second period belong only three of the works known to me. But these have an outstanding importance and exercised a deep influence on all subsequent chronicles.

The first in the chronological order is the *C'os'-byun* (history of religion) of Bu-ston, of which we have an excellent translation by Obermiller. It was written in 1323 and is a veritable mine of information about Indian Buddhism. The history of Tibet, instead, is concentrated in a few pages and is very concise so far as the non-religious facts are concerned.

¹ On the *rnam-t'ar* literature see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II.

A few years later, in 1328, was written the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-lon*, that became the history of Tibet par excellence. This chronicle, which is very imperfect from our western point of view (the historical material is buried under a mass of confused legends and anecdotes), has an intrinsic value that is certainly much inferior to that of the other two works of this period; it is, however, richer in information about the political history of Tibet.

The third of the great chronicles, the *Deb-t'er-snon-po*, was composed in 1476, a century and a half later than the other two. It is not, strictly speaking, a real chronicle, since it consists of a small historical introduction in the form of chronological tables derived from Chinese sources, and of a series of biographies of the great teachers of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Its chronology is a remarkable example of precision, an unique thing in the whole of Tibet. One could even have the impression that gZon-nu-dpal had a Chinese teacher from whom he imbibed the love of exact chronology that is characteristic of the Chinese.

From these three works are derived practically all the chronicles of the third period. The *DT.*, naturally, has not exercised any great influence, since it could not serve as a source for the history of the monarchy, which it only refers to in passing. Of Bu-ston and the *GR.*, it was certainly the second that had the greater number of followers.

III. The third period extends from the 16th century to our own times. It opens with the *C'os-'byun* of Padma-dkar-po, written probably in the first half of the 16th century. Though being of the utmost importance for the history of the Lamaist sects, it is almost useless for the history of the monarchy. Judging by the few leaves which it devotes to the latter, it appears that it owes more to Bu-ston than to the *GR.*

The first work of the 17th century is the well-known history of Indian Buddhism of Tāranātha. Any mention of Tibet is practi-

cally missing in it, and thus it cannot be possibly counted among Tibetan chronicles.

In 1662 the Mongol prince Sanang-Setsen wrote his chronicle, the undeserving reputation of which has already been pointed out. It is based (so far as the history of Tibet is concerned) almost completely on the *GR.*, although the author has kept in view, and occasionally even followed, Bu-ston.

In the notes to his translation of *Sanang-Setsen*, J. J. Schmidt quotes long extracts from a Calmuc work, the *Bodhimör*, the date of which is not known. It is a sufficiently faithful translation of the *GR.*

In the second half of the 17th century one of the greatest figures in Tibetan history, the fifth Dalai-Lama Ngag-dbañ-blo-bzai (1617-1682), wrote his chronicle (for its full title see Bibliography), the reading of which presents innumerable difficulties, to the extent of being nearly unintelligible, on account of its continuous dependence on the rules of Indian alamkāra. In spite of this, it has no mean value, inasmuch as the author, besides being one of the most brilliant intelligences Tibet ever produced, could avail himself of materials not accessible to others, as, for example, the Lhasa archives. So far as the history of Tibetan monarchy is concerned, it follows mainly the *GR.*

The chronological tables of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*, translated by Csoma de Körös in appendix to his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, date back to the end of this century (1686). The chronology of the *Vaidurya-dkar-po* seems to have been derived mainly from the *GR.*

Towards the latter half of the 18th century (after 1746) a work of the same nature was compiled: the chronological tables of the *Reumug* by Sum-pa-mk'an-po (1703-1776), translated by S. C. Das in *JASB.*, 1889. It is a sufficiently accurate work, far more than the *Vaidurya-dkar-po*. It appears that the author extensively availed

himself of the *DT*. These tables are but an appendix to a more bulky work, *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, which I could not make use of. It is a strange fact that the list of the 27 kings in the *dPag-bsam-bjon-bzan*, as reproduced by Francke in his notes to the *LdGR*., is independent as much of the *GR*. as of Bu-ston, and seems instead to have been derived from the *Mañi-bka-'bum*.

Finally, in the opening years of the 19th century the *Hor C'os-'byun* of 'Jigs-med-nam-mk'a was composed. It contains but scanty references to the history of Tibetan monarchy, probably drawn from the *GR*.

I do not know to which epoch belongs the *rGyal-rabs-bon-gyi-'byun-gnas*, edited by S. C. Das and known to me only through Laufer's review ('*Ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po*', in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901).

Having thus drawn in broad outlines a picture of the Tibetan historiography, we can determine the position that the *LdGR*. deserves in it. It occupies an important position among the best works of the third period. As for myself, its value is inferior only to the *CFD*. and is at least equal to Sanang-Setsen. The *LdGR*. is closely akin to Bu-ston, as I have already mentioned. The grounds on which this statement of mine is based are limited but sure. In the first place, the list of the 27 kings is identical in both the *LdGR*. and Bu-ston, while it differs definitely from that of other chronicles. Secondly, the list of Indian paṇḍits that came to Tibet during the reign of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po is characteristic of *LdGR*. and Bu-ston, while in other chronicles there are but scanty traces of it. Thirdly, the group of works that call the son of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po with the name of Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan is formed by *LdGR*. and Bu-ston only. Lastly, the identity of facts as narrated by Bu-ston and *LdGR*. is, generally speaking, perfect while discrepancies are not lacking in this regard between these two works and all the other chronicles. The difference, however, in the style and arrangement of materials

is such as to exclude a pure and simple derivation of the *LdGR.* from Bu-ston. The possibilities are two: either the authors of the *LdGR.* knew Bu-ston through one or more intermediate compilations, or the *LdGR.* is wholly independent of Bu-ston and was derived from the same sources as Bu-ston; the second possibility is more likely.

But the compilers of the *LdGR.*, although availing themselves of the same materials as Bu-ston, took notice also of the *GR.*, or of its sources, for the proto-historic and legendary parts. Here too it is difficult to say whether it was done as a direct derivation from the *GR.*, or quite independently of it. Those parts of the text which are word for word the same in both *LdGR.* and *GR.* are composed by what we shall call the "chronicle in verse."

The story of the Tibetan kings up to Sron-btsan-sgam-po was transmitted at the outset in the form of a chronicle in verse, of a type which closely resembles the *Vaṃśāvalis* of the Punjab Hill States. Of this chronicle nothing remains but a few sections preserved in the *LdGR.* and *GR.* Below is given a list of the pieces found in *LdGR.*

A. The first and the longest piece occurs p. 29/l.13—p. 30/l.9. It includes the following fragments

- (1) The series of the seven K'ri's (page 29/l. 13-22) in verses of seven syllables
- (2) Also the following two lines (23, 24) constituted a part of the chronicle, although, corrupted during the many centuries of oral tradition and also later on by the copyists, they appear as prose. Comparing them with the corresponding paragraph of the *GR.* (fol. 52), equally corrupted, they can be reconstructed thus:

de dag la dbu la 'od kyi lha dag yod pas
dguñ lo mañ du bžugs
sras 'og ma rnams bc'ibs k'a t'ab tsa na
de ltar bde bar gśegs.

- (3) The following lines of prose (25-27) can easily be reduced through some small modifications to verses of nine syllables. They appear also in the *GR*, in a much enlarged form, in which the order of verses is different and which looks as if it were a paraphrase of the original text. The more concise form of the verses in the *LdGR*, seems nearer to the original.
- (4) Then follows a group of verses (p. 29/1.28—p. 30/1.6) on the progress of civilisation in the times of Spu-de-guñrgyal; they occur almost identically in the *GR*. (fol. 55).
- (5) The list of the Legs' is in its nucleus composed in verses of five syllables, all of the same type: Dei sras.....
śo legs. The interpolated observations concerning some of these rulers are in prose. The series of the lDe's is also in prose, and perhaps it was so in the original.
At least it is very difficult to reduce it to verses.

B. A group of four verses (p. 30/1.22-25) that speaks of the discoveries made under king K'ri-sñān-bzuñ-btsan, evidently formed a part of the chronicle.

C. The same may be said about the verses that speak of the discoveries made under king Sroñ-btsan?sgam-po (p. 31/1.18-24). They occur also in the *GR*., but there they are inserted absurdly in the middle of a song on the lips of the Chinese bride of Sroñ-btsan-sagm-po on the eve of her departure for Tibet.

The verse at page 31/1.11 does not form a part of the chronicle. It is of an erudite origin and is the first verse of a poem which in its entirety is given in the *GR*. (fol. 66). It is a sort of grammatical joke and consists of four verses of nine syllables containing no vowel but *a*, and of four verses of seven syllables containing only the vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* respectively. The verse in question is rather obscure. It is beyond our knowledge why Francke takes gñal-ras-gsal as a name of Sphyān-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara); this is completely groundless.

Comparing the various readings,² I propose to reconstruct the verse as follows:

žal ras gsal ba dañ mdañs gañ ba bzañ

and to translate it:

“The face (of Avalokiteśvara) is completely luminous and the colour is altogether auspicious.”

Another fragment in verse is to be found at page 33/1.8-15. But its style, so different from that of the verses hitherto quoted, its argument (a sort of hymn in honour of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Padmasambhava), the phraseology, which reminds us of the later Lamaist authors, conspire to make it unlikely that these verses should form a part of the chronicle. It is instead, one of the few examples included in the *LdGR.* of those poetic pieces of half epic and half religious character that abound in the *GR.* and of which a fine specimen was translated by Laufer.³

The *GR.* contains in addition certain other fragments of the chronicle in verse. But there is a wide difference between the *LdGR.* and the *GR.* in this regard. Instead of the verses relating to the progress of civilization under the single kings, of frequent occurrence in the *LdGR.*, the *GR.* regularly mentions (in verses of nine syllables) the location and names of the royal tombs, and this information is never missing for any king, even in the 8th and 9th century.⁴

The fragments are too scanty to enable us to conclude whether the *LdGR.* and the *GR.* derive from the same source, each one of them drawing different groups of verses, or they were based on two

2 *LdGR.* ms. S: gžal ras gsal la ñad mdañs gañ ba bzañ

LdGR. ms. L: gžal ras gsal la ño mdañ gañ ba bzañ

GR. ms. A (fol. 66): žal ras gsal la dañ 'dañs gañ ba bśad

GR. ms. B (fol. 76b): žal ras gsal ba dañ dañs gañ ba bzañ

3 'Die Brūža Sprache', in *T'oung-Pao* 1908, pp. 39-47.

4 It is to be noted that the *CFD.* gives after every king a short poem on his achievements. Those poems, however, have a somewhat different character and are of a later origin.

different sources. It may be only pointed out that the fragments in *LdGR.* show an archaic character which is slightly more pronounced. In any case, the existence of a sort of primitive *Vaṃśāvali* in verse is not to be doubted.

Another very important source of the *LdGR.*, chiefly for its third section (Ladakhi history) must have been the *dkar-c'ag* (*māhātmyas*) of the Ladakhi monasteries; they are works of usually very ancient origin and contain very interesting informations. The notices in the third section about pious works and donations of the kings are almost certainly copied from the *dkar-c'ag* of the most important Ladakhi monasteries: for example, Alchi and Lamayuru.

The general impression that the *LdGR.* offers us is that of a great antiquity of its material. As we have it now, it is of recent origin, but its first redaction goes back to a remote past. The entire first section with its numerous Bon-po infiltrations must be of a very ancient origin. For the second section the compilers have not only availed themselves of a historical material identical to that used by Bu-ston, whose work is the oldest among the three great chronicles, but also have preserved for us extensive pieces of the very ancient chronicle in verse. The entire arrangement of the materials and the style itself of the work lead us to the conclusion that the *LdGR.* was not simply compiled from Bu-ston and the *GR.*, but represents a more or less independent redaction of an ancient body of historical traditions brought into Ladakh by its Tibetan invaders (*Skyid-lde Ni-ma-mgon*), which maintained itself comparatively pure up to its final redaction.

SECOND PART

CHAPTER I

Ladakh before the 10th century

As we have seen, the first part of the *LdGR.* should be grouped with Central Tibetan chronicles, with which, despite all of Francke's attempts at interpretation, it shares the peculiarity of never mentioning Ladakh; the name of Mar-yul (Ladakh) is practically absent from the great Lamaist chronicles, which mention it only on a unique occasion, when they relate the partition of Western Tibet among 'Od-sruñs' descendants. Even the Chinese sources, although very well informed about Tibet and contain references also to Baltistan, seem to have no knowledge of Ladakh. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* no more than vague allusions are to be found. Hence, it may be said that there are no literary sources extant on Ladakh's history prior to the 10th century, which, therefore, remains practically unknown and may be only tentatively outlined by hypothetical reconstruction based upon present ethnical conditions and upon the history of neighbouring countries and none too abundant epigraphical data. Francke is the only author who has attempted such a reconstruction.¹ Without wishing by any means to detract from the merits of this able pioneer in such an almost unexplored field as the history of Tibet and Ladakh still is, one cannot help recognizing that the value of all his work and particularly of his research on the period of the origins is materially diminished by his preconception that Ladakh was the original seat of the Tibetan monarchy and the centre of the formation of the state.

In the population of Ladakh, Francke admits four successive strains, as the consequence of four successive immigrations:

1 *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 12-46.

Tibetan nomad tribes, Mons, Dardis, Central Tibet folk. The existence of the first of these strains is argued from Ptolemy's mention of a Dabasai people, whose name was connected by Cunningham, Francke and others with dbUs—the region, of which Lhasa is the capital. But the connection does not seem to be phonetically warranted. Furthermore, the territorial subdivision system presupposed by the name dbUs is of a later age, at least not prior to the fall of the monarchy, and probably as late as the time of the first Dalai-Lamas. Such a system appears as patterned after a *maṇḍala* scheme,—not a surprising occurrence inasmuch as the *maṇḍala* theory occupies a preponderant place throughout the Tibetan 'Weltanschauung'; we have already seen in the first section of the *LdGR*. a list of regions so arranged as to form a *maṇḍala*. The later officially recognized division of Tibet into provinces may be reduced to the following scheme: dbUs (which, in fact, literally means 'centre') in the centre, K'ams to the east, Lho-yul (the country between the Tsangpo and the Indian frontier, including Bhutan) to the south, gTsañ to the west, Byaṅ-t'añ to the north. Such a division certainly did not exist in the 7th and 8th centuries, not being mentioned in the Lhasa inscriptions, in the Turkestan documents, or in any of the older literary sources; it cannot possibly date back to Ptolemy's time.

Moreover there is no reason for locating the Dabasai in Western Tibet. They were a trans-Gangetic Indian people, dwelling to the west of the Dabasa mountains, where Ptolemy places the source of the Daona (the river Mekong).² They seem, therefore, to have lived in north-western Yün-nan; they might have been a Tibetan people, but they cannot have anything to do with Western Tibet. In the latter region Ptolemy knows of but two peoples: the Daradrai,³—the present Dardis, and the Byltai',—namely, the Baltis, of whom the

2 Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale*, p. 400.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

former certainly and the latter most likely are not a Tibetan people: the Baltis, being originally kindred to the Dardis, could not have become Tibetanized at so early a time. Hence it is clear that it is utterly impossible to find in Ptolemy any evidence as to the existence of a Tibetan population in Ladakh at his time.

The name of Mon designates in Ladakh the low caste of the musicians and blacksmiths, representing, in Francke's opinion, the remains of the ancient population conquered and reduced to a low condition by the Dardi invaders. But this view cannot be upheld any longer, since Dainelli⁵ proved that the Mons do not in the least differ from the remainder of the population. The fact that popular tradition credits the Mons with many ancient constructions of unknown origin does not have any evidential value, because the Western Tibet people apply the name to all the non-Tibetan populations of past ages, without reference to any tribe in particular; by Mon buildings, therefore, they mean only buildings credited to foreign peoples of ancient ages, who of course have no connection whatsoever with the caste of musicians and blacksmiths.

Francke's system is untenable as far as the two first strains are concerned. But the other two fit historical and ethnical realities. There is no doubt that the ethnical substratum of the Ladakh people is Dardi. The names of rivers and mountains are there to attest it, although dressed in Tibetan garb. Anthropometrical research confirms the present Ladakhis to be a mixed race, the chief elements of which are the Dardic (Indo-Iranic) and the Tibetan (Mongoloid).⁶ Dardi folklore preserves the tradition that the whole of Ladakh was originally occupied by the Dardis.

5 *Spedizione Italiana De Filippi*, serie II: *Resultati geologici e geografici*, vol. IX: *I tipi umani* (Bologna 1925) pp. 137-139.

6 Biasutti, in *Spedizione Italiana De Filippi*, II/X, *I tipi umani*, p. 262. Dainelli (*ibid.*, p. 44) goes one step further and positively avers: "It is a white people, which, certainly not in its mass and perhaps not even in a majority of its members, has had a slight touch of mongoloid characters."

The period of the Tibetan immigration is difficult to fix, but it is most unlikely to belong to a time prior to the 7th century, as up to then Ladakh not only had no connection with Tibet, but was also separated from it by the Guge people of non-Tibetan race and language.

The first glimpse of the country's history belongs to the 2nd century of the Christian era. Ladakh belonged then to the great Kuṣāṇa empire,⁷ which has left a mark of itself in an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters at Khalatse. This inscription, edited by Sten Konow,⁸ bears the name of the great king Uvima Kavthisa (Wima Kadphises II) and a date, the year 187, corresponding perhaps to 103 or 104 A.D.⁹ Obvious economic and geographical considerations warrant the assumption that in later times, as in the previous Kuṣāṇa period, the various rulers of Kashmir did not neglect to secure control of the important trade highway of Ladakh by garrisoning the strategical key-points, until the establishment of the strong Balti kingdom of Skardo interposed a barrier between the two countries. Such military occupations are most likely to have occurred, but they have left no trace other than a religious and cultural influx attested to us by several inscriptions of various periods.

None of the great Chinese pilgrims seems to have gone through Ladakh. Yuan Chuang mentions a Mo-lo-so region, which Cunningham identifies with Ladakh.¹⁰ This identification, how-

7 Ptolemy places the Byltai (Baltis) in the Śaka region (Berthelot, pp. 199-208). This might warrant the suggestion that Baltistan (hence, probably, Ladakh as well) before the Kuṣāṇa conquest could have been included in the Śaka satrapy of Taxila.

8 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, The Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, vol. II, part I (Calcutta 1929) pp. 79-81.

9 But Konow's chronology is very doubtful; see Rapson's remarks in *JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 190-191 and 198-199. I disagree with Rapson's views only inasmuch as I do not think the possibility of the existence of a Kuṣāṇa inscription in Ladakh may properly be doubted on geographical grounds.

10 *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta 1924) p. 164; *Ladakh, physical, statistical and historical* (London 1854) pp. 18-19. But Mo-lo-so does not stand

ever, extends us no aid, for Yuan Chuang talks of these regions by hearsay, never having visited them.

For the 8th century events we can rely on the history of Baltistan for the same period. The latter country, continually threatened by the Tibetans, could maintain its independence only by virtue of frequent Chinese aid. In 722 A.D., 4000 Chinese soldiers entered Baltistan and assisted its king in repulsing the invaders.¹¹ Shortly before 733¹² king Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa of Kashmir raided the eastern countries and defeated the Dardis and the Tibetans.¹³ Another Tibetan invasion occurred in 737, the Chinese this time aiding indirectly by a diversion towards the Kuku-nor regions.¹⁴ Lastly in 747 the king of Baltistan having made an alliance with the Tibetans, a large Chinese expeditionary force under Kao Hsien-chih re-established the T'ang influence in Baltistan.¹⁵ A Chinese garrison was even established for a few years at Gilgit. This is the last information on Balti history to be derived from Chinese sources. A few years after the expedition of Kao Hsien-chih, the Tibetan conquest of the "Four Garrisons" eliminated China altogether. Baltistan was eventually forced to recognize the more or less effective suzerainty of the Tibetan kings, and is, in fact, listed among the countries conquered by K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan.¹⁶ Baltistan's strategic importance to the Tibetans was enormous in that it made flank attacks possible on the Chinese stronghold system in Turkestan. All strife with Baltistan was brought about by the Tibetans' desire of gaining an opening towards a new line of attack on the "Four Garrisons", as plainly stated

for Mo-lo-po and is not a transcription of dMar-po ("Red land"); it only transcribes the words Mar-sa ("Low land"), a variant of the more common name Mar-yul. Cf. Francke, *Notes on Mo-lo-so*, *JRAS.*, 1908, 188-189.

11 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 150-151.

12 In 733 Muktapīḍa announced his success to the Chinese court. Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 167.

13 *Rājatarāṅginī*, Stein's translation, Ch. IV, verse 168.

14 Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 151 note.

15 Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 151-153.

16 *LdGR.*, p. 87.

in a passage of the *T'ang-shu* translated by Chavannes,¹⁷ wherein the Tibetans speak to the Baltis thus: "We are not plotting against your kingdom, but only availing ourselves of the road through it in order to attack the "Four Garrisons." In fact, the northern mountain passes winding down from Eastern Turkestan into the Indus valley, although difficult, afford fair accessibility, and have been run through more than once by comparatively large armies, as, beside the Chinese troops in the 8th century, also by the Turco-Mongolians of Sultan Said Khan and Mirza Haidar in 1532 and 1533. The relations between the kingdoms of Baltistan and Khotan were very close in the 8th century, and commercial and military traffic through the passes can be surmised to have been very lively. Even an instance of personal union between the two kingdoms occurred in 737, when, upon the death of both kings in battle, Vijayavarman, a son of the king of Skardo, became, though not for long, also king of Khotan.¹⁸ The way through Baltistan, therefore, was by its very nature the most suitable for effecting flank attacks on the Chinese positions in Turkestan,—an advantage that outweighed the imperviousness of the tract along the Indus from Guge to Baltistan to the movement of an army.

Guge had been conquered during the second half of the 7th century. Baltistan was overpowered by the Tibetans in the years immediately following 751. The occupation of Ladakh must have been effected some time between these two events, probably early in the 8th century. Ladakh did not constitute an integral part of the Tibetan state, but must have been considered as a dependency or even as a kind of colony, since, like the whole of Western Tibet, it remained outside the territorial organization of the Tibetan army as described in the *Padma-bkai-t'an-*

17 Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-king Occidentaux*, p. 150.

18 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc. I, 139

yig, part V, chapter 4.¹⁹ This colonial or semi-colonial status is quite natural, because Ladakh's population was not as yet or was only beginning to become Tibetan,—a process that must have required a long time, inasmuch as the Tibetanization of Guge, separating Ladakh from Tibet proper, was a pre-requisite. Tibetan rule was not to last long; Turkestan's conquest abated interest in Baltistan, as a country too remote and now devoid even of the military importance that formerly had been its only attraction. Lhasa's sovereignty must have soon become merely nominal. When Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon early in the 10th century founded the Western Tibetan kingdom, he found no trace of Tibetan rule in Ladakh. The lower part of the valley was divided into a large number of very small states, while upper Ladakh constituted a single state a little more important; its dynasty boasted, as did the Gru-gu dynasty, of descending from Kesar.²⁰ Probably this situation had existed from very ancient times, notwithstanding the invasions the country had suffered.

The story of the founding of the kingdom by Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon strangely recalls, with but little change, the customary account of the founding of all the Punjab Hill States: a foreign (Rajput) prince, taking refuge with a few followers into the country, subdues the various Rāṇās and Thākurs (local chiefs), establishing thereby a state. As can be seen, the Ladakhi story is identical excepting for the fact that the prince is not a Rajput, but a Tibetan. This, however, is but one of the many traits that the *LdGR.* and the *Vaṃśāvalis* of the Punjab Hill States have in common; as already observed by Francke, the resemblance in basic outlines between these works is very remarkable. Although I do not feel warranted to draw historical conclusions from such a coincidence, which might well be entirely fortuitous, I should, however, say that primitive political conditions in Ladakh and in the mountain states

19 Thomas, *Literary Texts* etc. I, 282.

20 *LdGR.*, p. 93.

were alike, the local nobility holding power and keeping the land divided into a number of petty states wholly unconnected with one another. It is the same situation as in Central Tibet during the 6th century, though with this very important difference, that, while in Tibet unification was a spontaneous process arising within the country, and the dynasty was a native one, in the western states (Guge, Ladakh, Punjab Hill States) unification was the work of a foreign élite.

For the reasons stated above (see *ante* pp. 98-100) the population found in the country by Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon must have been practically free from any Tibetan strain. The first mention of Tibetan people in Ladakh is to be found in the *Hudūd al-'Alam*, a Persian geographical treatise composed in 982-3, translated by Minorsky (Gibb Memorial New Series, XI, London 1937). It calls the regions that correspond to-day to Baltistan and Ladakh by the name of Bolorian Tibet (p. 93). This proves that in the 10th century the process of Tibetanization was so far advanced that Ladakh could be described as a Tibetan country. The earliest tangible tokens of the existence of Tibetans in Ladakh are the inscriptions of Alchi, dating no further back than the 11th or 12th century.

Buddhism, no doubt, was the country's religion even before the foundation of the new state, although not in the form it took in Tibet, as any Tibetan religious influence earlier than the 11th century is to be excluded, but as introduced from and influenced by Kashmir. Indian cultural and religious influence must have been very strong from the most ancient times, as attested by the numerous Indian inscriptions of a religious nature found in Ladakh, the oldest of which, an inscription in Brāhmī characters at Khalatse, dates back to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.²¹ Not until the 11th or 12th cen-

21 On these inscriptions, besides their first mention in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905/6, p. 165, see Francke's articles '*Historische Dokumente von Khalatse*', *ZDMG.*, 1907, pp. 592-593.

ture did Kashmir's influence begin to abate, gradually yielding to that of Toling, Guge's great religious centre.

Before the introduction of Buddhism the local religion must have consisted in the amorphous mass of animistic and totemistic beliefs which is characteristic of the infancy of all peoples and which later on was set up into a well-organised religious system under the name of Bon. Graffitoes representing the ibex are very common in Ladakh: in later times the Buddhistic figuration of *mc'od-rten* (*caitya*, *stūpa*) was laid over many of them. Hence we are confronted with an earlier totemistic cult having the ibex as the sacred animal, which was supplanted by Buddhism, probably about the Kuṣāṇa period or even earlier, not without, however, leaving its traces in Ladakh's popular mythology; in fact, according to a local legend, one of the incarnations of the Buddha was an ibex.

CHAPTER II

The first Ladakhi dynasty

Ladakh's history proper begins for us in the first half of the 10th century, and, as the *LdGR* is the only source extant for the period from that time to the beginning of the 15th century, we have no choice but to follow this text almost blindly, since we lack practically all possibilities for a critical use of it. Where Chinese sources leave off, there is no other record enabling us to make a comparison. None of the inscriptions containing royal names dates further back than the 15th century. Moreover, as far as inscriptions are concerned, disappointment would be the lot of anyone who would rely on them for materials for completing the meagre information supplied by the *LdGR*. Unlike India's magnificent collection of inscriptions that have enabled us to reconstruct her early history, Ladakh's epigraphy, although occasionally interesting from a religious point of view, is so hopelessly poor in historical content that the few names of kings and the very few dates found in it look to us like a big find. The *LdGR*, itself, although generally richer in historical material than the chronicles of Central Tibet, suffers remarkably from being the work of Lamas, whereby the tokens of piety (temples, sacred paintings and sculptures, copies of sacred books) constitute its chief topic. Little more than the mere names of the kings is all that the *LdGR* has preserved of the first dynasty, whose rule lasted till the latter half of the 15th century, and even the list of those names is anything but reliable, because, as some of the names are missing from one or another of the manuscripts, so other names may be missing from all the existing manuscripts. In short, these six centuries are practically a blank page in Ladakh's history. In the following pages I have assembled all the positive facts that can be gathered from the sources at my disposal.

As I have already stated, after gLaiṅ-dar-ma's death Tibet had plunged into a state of anarchy as a result of the strife between Yum-brtan and 'Od-sruṅs: hatred survived them in their respective descendants with continuous and unrelenting hostilities lasting many years. During one such armed engagement in Central Tibet, a grandson of 'Od-sruṅs, Skyid-lde, also known as Ņi-ma-mgon,¹ was defeated and compelled with a small party of his followers to take refuge in mŅa-ris-skor-gsum, while his more fortunate brother succeeded in holding out as a ruler of upper Tsang.² Skyid-lde was well received by king (?) dGe-śes bKra-śis-btsan of Purang, who gave him as wife 'Bro-bza 'K'or-skyoṅ, of whom we are not told whether she was of dGe-śes' kin or not; but at any rate she belonged to that 'Bro clan, which had held an important place among the Tibetan nobility of the 8th century³ and had already given a queen to Tibet: 'Bro-bza Byaṅ-c'ub, one of K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan's wives.⁴ Whether through this marriage or otherwise, Ņi-ma-mgon became the master of Purang.

He built for himself a capital there—a city which Bu-ston (II, 200) calls Ņi-zuṅ,—and operating from such a base, he conquered the whole of m-Ņa-ris-skor-gsum. Upon his death

1 According to Bu-ston, II, 200: K'ri-skyid-lde. Almost to a certainty, this is the same as the K'ris-kyi-liṅ of the *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetain* edited by Hackin (p. 18). After gLaiṅ-dar-ma's death, the type of the Tibetan royal names changes completely. Up to that time they had been quadrisyllables ending in *btsan* and with either of the terms *gsug* or *sroṅ* in the second or third place. The true names of 'Od-sruṅs, Yum-brtan, Ņi-ma-mgon and of the greater number of Guge's kings are disyllables, with the element *lde* in the second place. The names of the first Ladakhi dynasty do not run to a definite type; but an agnomen ending in *mgon* is very frequent among them and eventually becomes a name.

2 *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 19a.

3 In the Lhasa pillar inscription of 822 a minister 'Bro Zaiṅ-..... is mentioned. Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, p. 78.

4 Laufer, *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, p. 121.

about 930³ he left his vast kingdom to his three sons who divided it among themselves. According to the chronicles of Central Tibet,⁶ dPal-gyi-lde, also known as Rig-pa-mgon⁷ took Ladakh, bKra-śis-mgon took Purang, and lDe-gyi-lde took Guge. The *LdGR.* instead affirms that Rig-pa-mgon took Ladakh, bKra-śis-mgon Purang and Guge, and lDe-gtsug-mgon Zanskar and Spiti. It is difficult to decide which is the correct version. The chronicle of bZaṅ-la in Zanskar, edited by Francke,⁸ supports the *LdGR.*'s version, which seems to be the more credible, among other arguments, because no trace of a Purang kingdom is found in any later source and this region appears to have always been a dependence of Guge, while it is known that the Zanskar kingdom lasted in independence throughout seven centuries until Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's time.

Francke avers that dPal-gyi-mgon received with Ladakh the suzerainty over his brothers. There is no ground for this opinion; there is no mention in the *LdGR.* of any suzerainty over Guge vested in the kings of Ladakh, although the *LdGR.* should have been eager to confirm a matter doing so much honour to Ladakh. On the contrary, we have evidence that the situation was quite the reverse: according to the *GR.* (fol. 142a) the kings of Guge down to Nāga-

5 The approximate dates were set by Francke by assigning an average thirty year's rule to each king. Of course they have but a hypothetical value and more so because one or more names may be missing from the list of the kings. The dates recurring in this chapter tally with those of Francke's translation of the *LdGR.* The dates in the *History of Western Tibet*, assigning a twenty-five year's rule to each king, are vitiated by the initial error of placing gLaṅ-dar-ma's death in 925. It is one of the unfortunate results of Sanang-Setsen's undeserved fame, whose chronology has misled so many European authors.

6 *GR.* fol. 142a; *DT.*, vol. KA, fol. 19b; Bu-ston, II, 200.

7 This is the complete name preserved by Bu-ston (II, 200). The *LdGR.* shortens it to dPal-gyi-mgon. The *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibetain* (p. 18) has the form dPal-byin-mgon.

8 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 163-166.

lde ruled also over Purang and Ladakh; there is no reason for doubting this statement which is quite in keeping with the high cultural, political, and religious level attained by Guge's kings, as attested by the magnificent buildings of Toling and Tsaparang.⁹

To this time (10th century) probably goes back the foundation of the Alchi monastery, the oldest in Ladakh.¹⁰ Francke further attributes to Skyid-lde Ni-ma-mgon an inscription at Shieh.¹¹ But his reasons for so doing are too weak and partly rest upon an erroneous figure of this king's reign, 975-1000. The only certainty is that the inscription, which bears no king's name, must date back to a very ancient time, as evidenced by its archaic features (*drag* suffix and title of *btsan-po*).

With Byan-c'ub-sems-dpa, the fourth king of this dynasty, is connected the question of the great Tabo inscription mentioning a king of this name, whom Francke¹² identifies with the king of Ladakh, gathering therefrom what he considers additional evidence of Ladakh's suzerainty over Guge. But, as we have seen, the actual situation was quite the reverse. Hence, as this king could not be a ruler of Ladakh, Tucci's¹³ theory is doubtless correct that he is the same as the king-monk Ye-sés-'od of Guge, Rin-c'en-bzai-po's protector.

As to Lha-c'en-rgyal-po, the sixth king, to whom the erection of the Li-kyir monastery is attributed, it is to be noted that Lha-c'en-

9 Cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. 11 (Rome 1937) and Tucci, *Secrets of Tibet* (London 1935). For the cultural and religious importance of the kings of Guge cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II, where on pp. 17-21 the royal genealogies according to the various sources are given.

10 Francke, 'Archæology in Western Tibet', *Indian Antiquary*, 1906, pp. 350-352.

11 No. 10 of his *First and Second Collections*. See also *Archæology in Western Tibet*, pp. 93-96.

12 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 41 and 90.

13 *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 198-199. The full text of the inscription is printed at pages 195-198 of the same work.

rgyal-po is not a name, but the result of the joining of two titles, the first of which (Mahādeva) is common to all the kings of the first dynasty, and the second means just "king."

The names of these first rulers are very doubtful and have probably been preserved in mutilated form in the chronicle. dPal-gyi-mgon, as we have seen, is a contraction of dPal-gyi-lde and Rig-pa-mgon. 'Gro-mgon (second king) is perhaps a nickname although by his time the forms ending in -mgon might already have become proper names; Ņi-ma-mgon is a nickname; Grags-pa-lde (third king) is a true name; Byañ-c'ub-sems-dpa (Sanskrit: Bodhisattva) has every mark of being a title.

Utpala, the sixth king (c. 1080-1110) is chronologically the first of the few great monarchs Ladakh can boast of. The strangeness of his Sanskrit name has its parallel in that curious process of Hinduization whereby shortly after this period the kings of Guge bear Hindu names, to begin with the name of the very dynasty, rMal (Malla). I do not know whether this taking of Indian names had also a political background. In the case of the kings of Guge it may be due to matrimonial alliances with the Malla dynasty of Nepal; but in the case of Ladakh such a fact cannot be accounted for.

Prior to his accession to the throne, Utpala was but the chieftain of a small principality under the suzerainty of Guge. His successful wars enabled him to subjugate Kulu, which for many centuries remained a tributary of Ladakh,¹⁴ bLo-bo, Purang, and several localities of Baltistan. Naturally his eastern conquests were not lasting ones, such territories being unreachable except through Guge, but the suzerainty of Guge over Ladakh came to an end and does not seem ever to have been renewed. Such a declaration of independence

14 The authors of the *History of the Punjab Hill States* identify (p. 438) this invasion with the one referred to in the *Vaṃśāvali* of Kulu in Uchit' Pal's reign; but this king lived in the second half of the 10th century, while Utpala belongs to the end of the 11th century; this fact would seem to exclude any connection.

should find its confirmation in the above quoted passage of the *GR*, according to which Guge's rule over Ladakh lasted until Nāga-lde's reign. But serious chronological difficulties stand in the way. The latest known date of Guge's history is that of the council assembled at Tabo by king bTsan-lde in the Fire-Dragon year, not a long time after Atiśa's coming (1042), namely in 1076. Admitting that bTsan-lde reigned approximately from 1060 to 1090, the reign of Bha-re, Nāga-lde's father, would occur approximately between 1150 and 1180. As can be seen, there is a very wide difference between this date and Utpala's time; but the list of the kings of Ladakh is so doubtful that a possible contemporaneity cannot be excluded *a priori*, although it would be necessary to admit a misplacement or an omission of a few names in the *LdGR*.

Nag-lug, the seventh king, built the castle of Khalatse in the year of the Dragon,—an event that can be connected with an inscription (No. 30) which records the construction in the Dragon year of the Khalatse bridge by the great minister Gar-ka.¹⁵ Unfortunately the inscription bears no king's name.

As to dGe-bhe and Jo-lдор, eighth and ninth kings, it may be noticed that their names look as if they were of Dardi origin.

The very existence of the eleventh king, Lha-rgyal, is in doubt, as it is mentioned only in the Schlagintweit Ms. Even his name, "God-king", looks suspicious. Under our hypothetical chronology, this king should have ruled about the middle of the 13th century. It seems that Ladakh recognized then¹⁶ the suzerainty of Jinghiz Khan and of his successors and sent them tribute. But the country was too far out of the sphere of action of the great empire of the steppes to make such recognition more than purely platonic, unless it were just a piece of the mere boasting by Mongolian writers.

15 Francke, *Archæology in Western Tibet*, p. 237.

16 The first time in 1207, according to Jigs-med-nam-mk'a, p. 24.

Concerning dÑos-grub, the thirteenth king, the information given by the lamas, who compiled the *LdGR.* is of a religious character, and it is quite in keeping with the king's name (Siddha). It is an interesting fact that "in the time of this king the usage of novices going to dbUs-gTsañ was first introduced." It occurs to me that, as formerly novices were content to seek knowledge in the schools of the monasteries founded by Rin-c'en-bzañ-po in Guge and in Ladakh itself,¹⁷ the change would indicate the end of Guge's cultural and religious influence over Ladakh.

rGyal-bu Rin-c'en, the fourteenth king, presents the problem of the identification of the Kashmir king Rīñcana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The passage concerning this king was translated by Paṇḍit Daya Ram Sahni in the article *References to the Bhoṭṭas or Bhauttas in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kashmir* in the *Indian Antiquary* 1908, to which Francke contributed an article. Studying the question from a Tibetan point of view, he came to the conclusion that the two names represent one and the same person. It is true that the identity of time (Rīñcana reigned ca. 1320-1323 and Rin-c'en is placed approximately between 1320 and 1350 by our hypothetical chronology) and that of name (Rīñcana being the Sanskrit transcription of Rin-c'en) constitute seemingly a decisive evidence; but, on the other hand, a Rin-c'en as a king of Ladakh does not at all fit in with the information given in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which pictures him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance on his father's assassins.¹⁸ The very title attributed to him by the *LdGR.*, rGyal-bu (king's son), stands against the identification, as, while it fits perfectly a fugitive prince, it is quite unsuitable for a king.

17 Myar-ma monastery; see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, 64.

18 The killers are called Kālamānya. They probably are identical to the Ha-le Mons of the *LdGR.* and to the bsKal-mons of the Guge legends (Tucci, *The Secrets of Tibet*, pp. 103, 104, 106). The latter is probably only a learned spelling of the foreign name Ha-le Mon.

A reasonable theory would be that the name of prince Rin-c'en, although he did not reign over Ladakh, was inserted here by the compilers of the *LdGR*. in order to increase the importance of the kings of Ladakh in the eyes of the Kashmiris, with whose country Ladakh had very close political and, above all, commercial ties at the time of the writing of the chronicle; thanks to such an interpolation, the kings of Ladakh could boast of having ruled over Kashmir in past ages. Furthermore, it is all the more easy to admit that Rin-c'en was not a Ladakhi king; the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* does not afford the least indication that he had come from Ladakh rather than from Baltistan or Purig or Zaskar or Guge.

Ses-rab, the fifteenth king, is a very doubtful personage, his name does not appear either in the *Schlagintweit* or in the British Museum Ms.

The two last kings of the first dynasty, 'Grags-'bum-lde and bLo-gros-mc'og-lan, most probably reigned for the greater part of the 15th century (about 1410-1440 and 1440-1470 respectively).¹⁹ During this century Ladakh's history becomes somewhat clearer. The information supplied by the *LdGR*. is no longer so meagre as for former periods, and elements for critical comparison are furnished by non-Tibetan works as well. Naturally, for the Lama compilers the outstanding activities of the king are those possessing a religious character; hence, the narrative is encumbered with long lists of temples and *mc'od-rten*, sacred paintings and texts. It is of interest at this point to learn of the building of a temple by 'Grags-'bum-lde in Toling, Guge's great religious centre. Guge must have then been a much more powerful and populous kingdom than Ladakh and was not at all, as claimed by Francke, under Ladakh's suzerainty; but there is nothing peculiar in a king acquiring merit by erecting

19 There is no ground for attributing, as Francke does, a 40 year reign to 'Grags-'bum-lde.

holy buildings in a country not his own, and Toling had been and perhaps to some extent still was one of the most active cultural and religious centres of all Western Tibet and one with which Ladakh's Lamas and kings were then in close touch.

The approximate correctness of the dates set down for 'Grag-'bum-lde (1410-1440) is verified by the record in the *LdGR.* that he received a mission sent to him by the great reformer Tson-k'a-pa (1357-1419). It was probably the result of this mission that the Mulbhe edict (No. 36) was issued against the last survivals of local worship, preserved probably by the Dardi elements of the population; the Mulbhe edict definitely prohibited all bloody sacrifices.²⁰ It is obvious that in this king's time the dGe-lugs-pa sect must have held great sway in Ladakh,²¹ where even now it shares the leadership with the 'Brug-pas.

The 15th century is characterized by repeated Musulman invasions, which were then more frequent than at any other time, although generally not of great consequence. We learn of them from sources foreign to Ladakh, since the *LdGR.* makes no mention of them, just as it makes no reference even to Mirza Haidar's much more serious invasion in the next century. This consistent ignoring of such events is somewhat strange and cannot be accounted for only by national pride forbidding to include in the great royal chronicle the narration of events that were anything but flattering for the country. There must be some stronger motive which it is impossible to discover.

The Kashmiri menace began to make itself felt towards the end of the 14th century. Firishta tells us that the king of Little Tibet, having learned of king Shihab ud-din's (1359-1378) great conquests, sent him an embassy to plead for the sparing of his

²⁰ Francke, '*The Rock Inscriptions at Mulbhe*', *Indian Antiquary*, 1906, pp. 75-76.

²¹ *LdGR.*, p. 100.

country from invasion.²² This report doubtless concerns Baltistan and not Ladakh. For the Moghul historians of India, Little Tibet is Baltistan and Great Tibet is Ladakh. Central Tibet is generally unknown to them, but is once or twice referred to under the name of Ursang or Urzang (dbUs-gTsañ). Experience shows that, whenever sources refer to Tibet without further qualification, Baltistan is usually meant.

There is no doubt that Firishta refers to Baltistan when he tells us that Rāi Mādari, king Sikandar's (1394-1416) all-powerful minister, completely subdued Little Tibet.²³ Sikandar, having become suspicious about Rāi Mādari's intentions, marched against him, met and defeated him at the frontier of Tibet (Zoji-la ?), put him to flight and permanently annexed Baltistan to Kashmir. The conversion of the Baltis to Islam was effected most probably by the most brutal and ruthless means, as Sikandar is famed as the most fanatical of the Kashmir kings, and by his inhumanity and intolerance has earned in history the title of Butshikan (the Iconoclast). This invasion probably left Ladakh unscathed or affected it only slightly. But through Baltistan's (temporary) annexation to Kashmir, Ladakh had become a neighbour of that strong Muslim state and was bound sooner or later to fall a prey to ravaging raids from it.

In fact, king Zain ul-Abīdin (1420-1470) immediately after his accession to the throne personally led an expedition against Tibet "and plundered the country and massacred its people;"²⁴ on this occasion Ladakh also was invaded, as the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tells us that the king reached as far as Guge (Goggadeśa). It seems that Sheh

²² *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, (Lucknow 1321 A.H.), p. 339 Briggs, *History of the rise of Mohammedan power in India*, (London 1829) vol. IV, p. 459.

²³ *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 340. Briggs, IV, 462

²⁴ The sources on this invasion are *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 342 (Briggs, IV, 469) and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Jonarājā, translated in the already quoted article *References to the Bhottas* etc., p. 188.

was sacked in the course of this invasion, as the king saved a golden statue of Buddha from the hands of his soldiers in Śayadeśa,²⁵ which name may stand for the territory of Sheh as well as for the whole of Ladakh, of which Sheh was the capital. Of course the king had no intention of effecting a permanent conquest: it was merely one of the customary raids aiming at collecting plunder and extorting tribute, a good deal like those that in the same period were almost systematically effected by the first kings of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi. The *LdGR*. does not record this invasion; on the contrary, it tells of the conquest of the whole of mNa-ris-skor-gsum and of a rich booty or tribute taken from Guge by king bLo-gros-mc'og-ldan. Francke has struck the right manner of reconciling the reports from Kashmir with those from Ladakh by admitting that the Ladakhi king, defeated by the invaders, was compelled to join them in their expedition to Guge and, therefore, conspicuously shared in the booty. It also appears that the king's brother was taken as hostage to Kashmir and was there converted to Islam, since the *LdGR*. gives him the Muslim name Ali.

Firishta²⁶ tells us of a tribute of rare birds sent from lake Manasarovar by the Rājā of Tibet to the king of Kashmir, but it is impossible to establish whether the tributary sovereign was the king of Guge, the king of Ladakh or the prince of Skardo.

In 1451 Ladakh suffered another raid from Kashmir²⁷ led by Adam Khan, Zain ul-Abidin's eldest son.²⁸ But this too must have been rather unimportant, as we know that it constituted but an honorable form of exile for the prince; it is not likely that the

25 It is remarkable that Mirza Haidar too (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 460) employs the form Shaya.

26 *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 344. Briggs, IV, 470.

27 *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 345 (Briggs, IV, 471). *References to the Bhottas*, etc., p. 189.

28 Adam Khan was never king of Kashmir, as erroneously stated by Francke in his notes to the *LdGR*.

king could be so imprudent as to place at the prince's disposal a force of any importance.

bLo-gros-mc'og-ldan's reign, badly begun with the Kashmiri invasions, disastrously ended with the downfall of the dynasty: he was deposed and imprisoned with his brothers by a prince descending from a collateral branch; with him ended the first Ladakhi dynasty.

Excepting for the last two kings, about whom there is a little more detailed information, the *LdGR.*, as far as the first five centuries of the Ladakhi kingdom are concerned, amounts to but a mere genealogy with a few errors to boot. We have seen that the names of two kings (Lha-rgyal and Śes-rab) occur only in some manuscripts and another (Rin-c'en) is probably a late interpolation. I have already repeatedly suggested that it is not to be excluded and is indeed probable that some kings' names were lost to the handwritten tradition: in fact, the 30 year average duration required by Ladakh's royal list in its present form (including, therefore, Rin-c'en's interpolation), although it roughly corresponds to the average duration of reign in the great Tibetan monarchy, seems to be excessive inasmuch as the Punjab Hill States,—Chamba, for instance where living conditions do not vary a good deal from Ladakh's—present in general a 20 years average. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that succession should have occurred invariably from father to son, as the *LdGR.* would have us believe. We have already pointed out an instance in which the chronicle, in violation of historical truth, reports kingship to have invariably been transmitted from father to son. Besides, the names of the kings of the first dynasty are strangely heterogeneous, contrasting with the almost standardized names of the great Tibetan monarchy, of the Guge dynasty, and even of Ladakh's own second dynasty. Finally, none of the first 'dynasty kings' names has been preserved in the inscriptions. Hence, were we to extend our critical inspection up to its furthest limits, we should have to conclude that this fragmentary list is nothing else

than a purely fantastic reconstruction of a later date, and that the descent of the Ladakhi kings from Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po is a legendary one. But I do not deem it necessary to go so far.

Be that as it may, during this whole period of six centuries the kingdom led a peaceful and even life throughout, not unlike any of the other Himalaya states, suffering no particularly serious irruption from without or, until the very last years, no internal commotion within. As it seems, Ladakh did not share (or shared only in a very small measure) the magnificent revival of Buddhistic religion, art, and literature, which was started in Guge in the 11th century and continued all over Central Tibet in the successive centuries; none of the great teachers of Tibetan Buddhism was born in Ladakh, the importance of which in the development of Tibetan literature and art is practically nil. Only two of the kings of the first dynasty may be recognized as having a certain personality of their own and some historical importance: Skyid-lde Ņi-ma-mgon (who, strictly speaking, is out of the count, his son dPal-gyi-mgon having been the first true king of Ladakh) and Utpala. From all that we have said, the conclusion is obvious that the history of this period holds but a merely local interest.

CHAPTER III

The first kings of the second dynasty and Mirza Haidar's invasion

The new dynasty, which occupied the throne in the second half of the 15th century, descended from king K'ri-gtsug-lde (c. 1380-1410), who had two sons; the elder, 'Grag-s-'bum-lde, succeeded him on Ladakh's throne, while the younger, 'Grag-s-'pa-'bum, established a collateral branch, receiving a few villages as an apanage. He built g'ŋin-sgañ (Tingmosgang) as a capital for his little dominion. His descendants in the first two generations bear Indian names, a fact for which we can discover no reason; the son was called Bhara and the grandson Bhagan. Bhagan deposed and imprisoned the last king of the first dynasty and became the founder of the second dynasty, which endured until the overthrow of the Ladakhi kingdom and its annexation in 1841 by Gulab Singh of Jammu, later on Maharaja of Kashmir.

It was during the reign of Bhagan (if we can rely on our hypothetical dating),¹ that the country suffered two Muslim raids, the one from the north and the other from Kashmir. For the invasions from the north (from Eastern Turkestan) the chief source is the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* by Mirza Haidar. The author was a magnificent, gallant, intelligent, and faithful warrior, one of the most interesting figures of this period. His work has no rival (in the 16th century) excepting for Babur's *Memoirs*, which, however, it surpasses in wealth of historical content. Its author carried on war in Ladakh and neighbouring territories for over three years, and collected a large mass of information about

¹ The Bhagan mentioned in the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 463) as a local chieftain (Jo) in Ladakh is not the same as this king. It would be a chronological absurdity to think otherwise. And even if we were to admit with Francke that king Bhagan was still alive in 1533, it is clear from the text that Mirza Haidar's Bhagan was not the king of Ladakh, but only some local ruler.

the country and its religion and customs. But this information, whether it deals with names or events, is of very scanty use and is difficult to reconcile with the *LdGR*. The fault is partly of Mirza Haidar, who certainly is not too exact, particularly concerning proper names, and partly of the compilers of the *LdGR*., who, besides taking much more interest in religious than political events, omit as a rule all accounts of foreign inroads and in general all references to matters of an untoward import.

About 1480 two of the generals of king Hasan Khan of Kashmir (1472-1489) were sent to invade both Great and Little Tibet. Because of dissensions, they proceeded by different ways with the result that, while one succeeded in occupying Ladakh's capital, the other suffered a heavy reverse;² the invasion remained fruitless, as the victorious general was compelled to retreat as a consequence of his associate's defeat. The *LdGR*., as usual, does not spend a single word on this event.

Not many years later, another enemy reached into the valley of the Indus,—the Mongols from the north.³ It appears from a passage in the *Tārikh-i-Rashidī* (p. 320) that Mir Vali, one of the generals of Abu-Bakr Khan of Kashgar, subdued Balor (Gilgit and Kafiristan) and Tibet (Mirza Haidar always applied this name to Ladakh) as far as the Kashmir border. Elias⁴ places this event in the last few years of the 15th century. It is very doubtful that Ladakh was reached by this first invasion, which probably stopped at Skardo or Nubra.

Bhagan had two sons, Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal.⁵ The latter, after his father's death, caused his elder

2 'References to the *Bhottas*' etc., pp. 190-191.

3 So called Mongols. Actually these Moghulistan princes of Mongol (Jinghiz-khanid) strain had become practically Turks, though still boasting of their origin. Their troops were absolutely non-Mongol.

4 *Tārikh-i-Rashidī*, p. 403, note.

5 From these two kings onwards, the name type of the dynasty changes, and

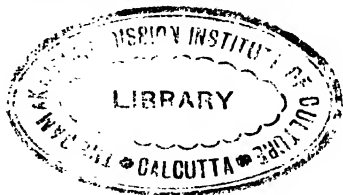
brother to be blinded and usurped the throne (about 1500). But, being childless, he allowed his brother to marry, in order to enable the dynasty to survive; in fact, all of the three sons of the blinded prince held the throne in succession.

The *LdGR.* repeatedly emphasizes the fact that in Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's time bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal held the throne. To that period belongs an inscription (No. 38), wherein Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal is mentioned with the title of Yab-c'en-rgyal-po ("great father king") together with his three sons, the eldest of whom bears the title of Sa-skyon-c'en-po ("great warden of the earth"). None of these four personages bears the official title of the Ladakhi kings: C'os-rgyal-c'en-po (Mahā-Dharmarājā), i.e. Great Righteous King; hence, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal was still reigning. The two titles in this inscription are very strange and, as far as I know, do not occur elsewhere. Probably bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal had compromised with the legitimate heirs to the throne by granting them such high-sounding titles. It is remarkable that this inscription was found at Tingmosgang. This village was the private property of the dynasty, of which it had been the cradle, and was now probably an estate assigned to Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and his family.

In 1517 Ladakh was attacked by Mir Mazid, one of the Emirs who had revolted against Babur and had been defeated by him.⁶ But, for once, that was a raid that turned out in a disaster, the Emir being defeated and killed. Probably the mention in the *LdGR.*, (p. 103) of a victory over the Hor (Mongols) refers to this invasion. It cannot possibly refer to Mirza Haidar, because the latter, although ultimately compelled to quit the country, was never actually defeated by the Ladakhis; besides, his long occupation of the country is completely ignored in the *LdGR.*

down to the ultimate fall of the Ladakhi kingdom takes the form of quadrisyllables, invariably ending in -rnam-rgyal.

6 *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, p. 357.



In spite of these minor foreign interferences, Ladakh abruptly awakened from its age-old slumber by the Kashmir invasions of the previous century and gradually came into political and military contact with the neighbouring countries, began, though timidly, to take its first steps in a policy of expansion. At least this seems to be what the *LdGR.*, means to convey when it vaguely speaks of conquests from Purig to Guge's eastern borders. Of course, annexations are out of the question; it may be understood that the king sent raiding parties against many of the neighbouring countries, receiving therefrom spoils and promises of tribute. But a little later the storm of Mirza Haidar's invasion made short work of these first hints of the urge to rule near-by foreign territory.

The *LdGR.*, as usual, almost altogether ignores this king's political activities, and is content with the above vague mention, while it dwells at length upon his building activity, which seems to have been really important; and of course it does not fail to list donations to monasteries and execution of copies of the whole set of the *Kangyur* and *Tangyur*.

This promising progress was suddenly interrupted by a fierce invasion from the north, one of the most serious ever suffered by Ladakh. In 1532 Sultan Said Khan, a remote descendant of Jinghiz Khan ruling at Kashgar since 1514, set out with his army for the holy war against the Tibetan misbelievers. His Emirs had previously effected raids into Ladakh,⁷ but this invasion of 1532, carefully prepared and led by the Khan in person, was organized and carried out as a war of conquest.⁸ One of the sections of his army, led by his ablest commander, Mirza Haidar, through the Suget and Karakorum passes reached Nubra (in the Shayok valley), where the weak resistance of the local levies was drowned in blood. From

7 *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 403.

8 Mirza Haidar devotes pp. 135-137, 143-144 and especially 403-465 of his work to his Tibetan adventure.

Nubra, Mirza Haidar passed on to Ladakh. About the government of the country he tells us: "In Ladakh there are two rulers, by name one Tashikun and the other Lata Jughdan." This statement roughly depicts the situation actually existing in Ladakh at the time. The country was then split between king bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal ruling from Sheh, the capital of Ladakh, over most of the territory, and the Yab-c'en-rgyal-po Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal ruling, under his brother's suzerainty, over an unknown, but small, area in lower Ladakh, comprising Tingmosang (gTiñ-sgañ) and Linshot (Liñs-sñed). Tashikun (this transcription will be explained later on) stands for bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal; the form Lata Jughdan is more difficult to connect satisfactorily with Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. It would not of course be fair to expect from Mirza Haidar a scientific and correct transcription such as, to a certain extent, the Chinese transcriptions in the *T'ang-shu* are; nevertheless, it is obvious that he knew this name in a form different from that handed down in the *LdGR.*, and in the inscriptions. Lata might be an approximate transcription of Lha-dbañ (it would, however, be necessary to admit that the prefixed letter *d* had not yet become silent by that time). Jughdan probably stands for some title, perhaps P'yug-ldan or mC'og-ldan.⁹

The Khan soon joined Mirza Haidar. At first he had wanted to take a more eastern route, but, owing to the advanced season and to the poverty of the country on the way, he was persuaded to go by the same road by which his lieutenant had come. Sultan Said spent the winter in Baltistan, while Mirza Haidar carried out a successful raid on Kashmir, returning then to his chief. The scarcity of victuals prompted the Mongols to divide their forces: Mirza Haidar was to attempt the conquest of

9 *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, p. 418.

10 Francke's explanation (*LdGR* p. 101) is untenable.

Central Tibet, while the Khan was to return to Yarkand. But Sultan Said's health, undermined by excessive use of strong drinking, did not stand the strain and, further weakened by mountain sickness, he died while crossing the Suget pass (July 1533). His death completely changed the situation. His successor, Rashid Khan, not only took no interest in the plight of his troops that had remained beyond the passes, but even mortally offended Mirza Haidar by putting to death the latter's uncle. Mirza Haidar was thus cut loose from his base; he became after this, and was even after, a mere soldier of fortune, acting on his own, a man without a home and destined to become soon a captain without soldiers. When Sultan Said died, he was already on the way to Central Tibet and he did not arrest his march on receiving the bad news. He entered Tibet (Guge, in this case) and advanced without meeting practically any resistance. But, as befell the Dogras three centuries later, the climate and the insurmountable difficulties of the ground stood against the invaders as a more formidable barrier than any Tibetan army. Mirza Haidar had to bow to such foe and start back when he was no more than at 'eight days' march from Lhasa. Under such conditions a retreat could not fail to be disastrous, but his military genius was much greater than that of Zorawar, the Dogra leader, who three centuries later had to lose battle, army and life on the same ground. Mirza Haidar succeeded in saving at least a small number of his troops and in returning to Ladakh; he then established his winter quarters in Sheh, the capital of the land. He stayed in the country two years longer. Probably during this period the Nubra rebellion took place which he narrates at length on p. 403.¹¹ Tashikun supported the rebels and answered with his head for it (1535); Mirza Haidar

¹¹ I do not deem it necessary to admit the big error that Francke (*LdGR.*, p. 104) attribute to Mirza Haidar.

does not say who succeeded him. His Tibetan adventure was nearing its end. Forsaken by one after another of his men, he was at last compelled to quit the country where he had spent fruitlessly three of his best years, and in 1536 with a handful of followers he departed for Badakhshan.

Within the limits of his possibility, he had studied the country rather well during his stay and he devotes to it pages which, although very poor in intrinsic value, are interesting in that they reflect the personal impressions derived by an intelligent, almost genial, warrior, but a narrow-minded and fanatical Muslim, from the contact with the Buddhistic civilization of Tibet.

Tashikun is bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal; there can be hardly any doubt about this. The form Tashikun also lends itself to an attempt for a solution of the vexed problem arising from one of the inscriptions of Daru (No. 102). There is mention in that inscription of one Lha-c'en Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal who does not appear in the list of the kings of Ladakh. Francke at first thought this to be the full name of king Lha-rgyal (c. 1230-1260);¹² then he abandoned this theory and proposed to identify Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal with Bhagan (c. 1470-1500);¹³ but the grounds of either hypothesis are very weak. I may add that the suggestion might be warranted of Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal of the inscription being identical with the lama of the same name (b. 1432 d. 1496)¹⁴,—all the more so because another great religious dignitary, the third Tashi-Lama bLo-bzan-don-grub (1505-1569), is named in the next inscription. But the title of Lha-c'en is so characteristic of the Ladakhi kings that its presence here prompts the exclusion of this last suggestion. I would, therefore, offer the following solution of this interesting problem. The inscription is somewhat earlier than that mentioning the third

12 *Archæology in Western Tibet*, p. 91; *History of Western Tibet*, p. 67.

13 *References to the Bhottas etc.*, p. 191; *LdGR.*, p. 102.

14 *Ren-mig* (*ASB.*, 1889), pp. 65 and 69.

Tashi-Lama. Hence, it must go back to the first few years of the 16th century, namely to the time of bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal. From a comparison of the three forms, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal of the *LdGR.*, Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal of the Daru inscription and Tashikun of Mirza Haidar, the full name of the king may be reconstructed as bKra-śis-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal, of which Mirza Haidar retained only the first three syllables (bKra-śis-kun, pron. Tashikun), whereas, for reasons we do not know, the Daru inscription retained the last four. The mention of the Tashi-Lama in the next inscription is accounted for by the fairly close relations existing between the Ladakhi kings and the lamas of Tashilhunpo.¹⁵ Such a shortening of a name of six syllables into a quadrisyllabic is not unprecedented; the name of the last king of Ladakh, Ts'e-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal is once to be found in the *LdGR.*, (p. 124) shortened to Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal.

After the first unsuccessful resistance, Ladakh never again attempted to free itself by force of arms from the invader; its king's execution for the guilt of connivance with the Nubra rebels showed that the newcomers were in earnest. The new king, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1535-1575) adopted, therefore, a policy supinely subservient to the foreign ruling power, even when it had become weak enough to warrant rebellion.

The Ladakhis' passive resistance, a formidable weapon in the hands of peoples of Mongol race, prevailed on Mirza Haidar's tenacity. He had to quit, and Ladakh recovered its independence without spilling a single drop of blood, though exhausted by a three and a half years' occupation by an army that, albeit not great in number, had constituted a very heavy burden on the meagre resources of the country.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's embassy to the fourth Tashi-Lama C'oś-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1569-1622), in the *LdGR.*, p. 108.

It can be understood that the rather humiliating events of Mirza Haidar's invasion would not be willingly recorded; yet, the total absence of even the slightest hint to them in the *LdGR* is very strange, while even the Zaskar chronicles¹⁶ have preserved a vivid record of Mirza Haïdar (Mig-za-dhar) and of his faithful companion Haji (Ha-ži).

¹⁶ *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 158-159.

CHAPTER IV

The sons of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal

As I have said, the Yab-c'en-rgyal-po Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal, deposed and blinded by his brother bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal, had three sons, who succeeded one after another on the throne of Ladakh. The first to succeed their uncle, executed by the northern invaders, was the eldest of the three brothers, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. He is said to have begun his career of conquest when he was still very young. Hence, we may allot him a reign of forty years (c. 1535-1575). He was the greatest of the Ladakhi kings before Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal. It was probably due to a large extent to him that Ladakh was able to recover with a certain easiness from the consequences of Mirza Haidar's occupation. Under him the kingdom regained its former power and also some substantial accretion from the victorious campaigns which he waged against Guge and Baltistan, and with which I will deal later on. But before achieving such brilliant results the king had to sustain a hard fight against repeated ravaging attacks from Mirza Haidar, who for a long time kept the country in the sorry plight of having its independence in jeopardy. This ceased only upon the timely death of the fiery and stubborn Mongol warrior.

Mirza Haidar seems to have felt throughout the remainder of his days a strong attraction to what had been the field of his most venturesome activities. After firmly establishing himself in Kashmir, where he ruled from 1540 to 1551, he twice led an army beyond the Zoji-la. In 1545 he attacked Tibet and conquered the Lūsūr district; I do not know what section of the country this would be.¹ In 1548, by a large scale operation, he conquered and annexed Little Tibet and Great Tibet and other regions as well.² He even appointed

¹ *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 355 (Briggs, IV, 499).

Tarikh-i-Firishta, pp. 355-356 (Briggs, IV, 50)

governors for his new possessions,—Mullah Kasim for Little Tibet (Balistan) and Mullah Hasan for Great Tibet (Ladakh) amongst them. We do not know to what extent these men actually ruled the countries placed under them, nor do we know whether the local rulers were deposed or allowed to continue in power under such governors' control. At any rate, this state of affairs did not last longer than three years, as after Mirza Haidar's death in 1551 Kashmir fell into such a confusion that its foreign possessions must have got loose, had they not already re-asserted their independence before.

But the Kashmir danger did not come to an end with Mirza Haidar's death. We know of at least two other invasions. The first, a mere reprisal for Tibetan raids into Kashmir, was led against Great Tibet (Ladakh) in 1553 by the noblemen Haidar Chak, son of Ghazi Khan, and Habib Khan.³

The second invasion was a more serious sort of enterprise. Firishta tells us that "in 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) Ghazi Shah king of Kashmir 1561-1563) left Kashmir and encamped at Lar. He sent his son Ahmed Khan together with Fattch Khan Chak, Nasir Kitabti and other leading amirs to conquer Great Tibet. When they arrived within five *kos* from Tibet, Fattch Chak entered Tibet without the permission of Ahmad Khan and raided the capital. As the Tibetans were reluctant to fight, they agreed to pay a heavy ransom, and he immediately returned from among them. On this occasion, it occurred to Ahmad Khan that Fattch Khan had gone to Tibet and returned unscathed: if he could do the same, the Kashmiris would praise him. He therefore decided to go alone to Great Tibet. Fattch Khan told him not to do so; if he was bent on it, he should go at the head of a large army. Ahmad Khan did not listen to him. He went (to

3 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 359 (Briggs, IV, 505).

Great Tibet) with 500 men, leaving Fattch Khan in the camp. When the Tibetans saw that Ahmad Khan had come so thinly attended, they surrounded him. Ahmad Khan found resistance hopeless and fled. He reached Fattch Khan and asked him to take charge of the avant-garde and lead the army that day. Fattch Khan did not hesitate for a moment and placed himself in the van. The Tibetans advanced against him, and finding him (practically) alone, opened the battle. Fattch Khan being full of courage fought alone and became a martyr. Ghazi Shah on receiving the report of this incident was terribly amazed at his son."⁴

The aim of the largely-planned expedition seems to have been the real conquest of the country. But it was turned to disaster through the foolishness and cowardice of prince Ahmad, and the untimely death of Fattch Khan, who showed himself as wise in the council as rash in the field. Kashmir was thus cured for a long time of any whim of winning easy laurels in the north. King Ghazi Shah Chak entertained for a moment the intention of invading Great Tibet in order to avenge his son's defeat, and actually went so far as to set his camp near the border. But leprosy was rapidly depriving him of any ability to act, and his tyrannical rule disaffected his people to such an extent that soon after he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his brother. Anarchy grew throughout the country, which twenty years later fell an easy prey to the Moghul conquest.

The Kashmir menace over, Ts'e-dban-rnam-rgyal began a strong policy of expansion. The *LdGR.* speaks of two successful expeditions against the kingdom of Guge on one hand and Baltistan on the other, in both of which countries Ladakh's suzerainty was established by this king. The chronicle further tells us that he had

4 *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, p. 362. I owe the translation of this passage to the kindness of Dr. B. P. Saksena of the Allahabad University, who also checked for me the other quotations from *Firishta*. Brigg's translation is very unreliable. The passage concerned is to be found, much abridged, in vol. IV, pp. 513-514.

even conceived a plan of war against the Mongols (Hor) to the north of Ladakh; probably he wished to retaliate for the damages suffered from Mirza Haidar, by means of a large scale raid in the direction of Kashgar and Yarkand. It is an evidence of the king's political wisdom that he timely desisted from so risky and useless an adventure, upon entreaties by the people of Nubra, for whom the commerce with Central Asia was of vital importance, and who from sad experience knew best the bravery and above all the ruthlessness of the Mongols. Thus giving up ventures that would take him far afield, he concentrated upon nearer territories, winning either by arms or by peaceful means the tributes above referred to. Some of them are exactly described in kind and quantity in the *LdGR.*, and, in view of the poverty of those lands (Guge was already in the throes of economic decline), we must recognize that they were a good deal more than merely symbolic.

As can be seen, the two severe shocks of 1532-1535 and 1548 had failed to destroy Ladakh's power, which, being at first swept off its ground and then seemingly overwhelmed beyond hope of redemption, eventually managed to revive the storm through a series of favourable circumstances. But, if Mirza Haidar had not been reduced to utter resourcelessness without hopes for reinforcements in 1536 and if he had not been killed in 1551, it is doubtful whether the Ladakhis would ever have been able to set themselves free by their own efforts. The invasion had met with scant armed resistance. The ruggedness of the ground constituted the greatest difficulty. Hence, it is plain that the Ladakhis, capable to have the advantage of peoples of equal race, strength and number, were utterly incapable of opposing effective resistance to superior foreign invaders. It was, besides the Buddhist Tibetan's military inferiority as against the Muslim Turco-Mongols,⁵ above all a

5 Whatever may be said, Buddhism has ever had a deleterious influence on the fighting qualities of the peoples whom it touched. When a nation of particularly

matter of proportions. While an army of a few hundreds strong could achieve easy conquests in the enormous but thinly populated territories of Tibet, the intrusion into that small world of the mountains of a foreign power, trained in the evaluation and employment of infinitely larger military, economic and political means, could but meet with absolutely negligible resistance,—a truism that was to be clearly verified by the Dogras in 1834.

The *LdGR.* mentions also a conquest of Kulu by Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. In fact, the *Vamśāvali* of Kulu⁶ speaks of fights with the Pithi-Thākurs for the conquest of lower Lahul. But these events took place under king Sidh Singh (c. 1500-1532) and cannot be connected with the alleged conquest by Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1535-1575). The Pithi-Thākurs were probably leaders of Tibetan clans immigrated from Spiti, and not Ladakhi commanders. The information of the *LdGR.*, at the most, must refer to some raid.

Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal died childless and the throne passed to another of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's sons. The second of them, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po, is not mentioned in the *LdGR.*, which declares 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, the third son, to have been the successor. But here matters are further complicated by the epigraphic evidence. An inscription of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal at Hundar (No. 40) contains the name of the Lha-sras rNam-rgyal-mgon-po. Lha-sras (Devaputra) was the normal Ladakhi title of the heir-apparent. This could mean nothing, as rNam-rgyal-mgon-po might have died before his elder brother. But in another inscrip-

good fighters became converted to Buddhism, either of the two things could happen: the nation's fighting spirit could react against it and re-fashion it so as to overcome its debilitating influence, as in Japan, or Buddhism could overwhelm the nation's temper and gradually sap its fitness for war, as in Mongolia and Tibet, where this process developed to such an extent that it is almost impossible to recognize Jinghiz Khan's Mongols and Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po's Tibetans to be of the same stock as the thoroughly unwarlike subjects of China in the 18th and 19th centuries.

6 Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, vol. II, pp. 447-450.

tion (No. 103) we find the following passage: "C'os-rgyal-c'en-po rNam-rgyal-mgon-po dan 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal....." This cannot refer to the joint rule of two kings, as the building of the sentence would be contrary to Tibetan syntax. Hence the royal title C'os-rgyal-c'en-po concerns only the first of the two, although it is somewhat strange that the second name is not preceded by the title of Lha-sras or rGyal-sras, which is seldom absent in similar instances from Ladakhi inscriptions.

It is thus certain that, even though for a very short time, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po was king of Ladakh, I cannot quite account for the *LdGR.*'s silence, but we might surmise that the harmony, that appears from the inscription, between the two brothers was short-lived and that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal soon usurped the throne getting rid of his brother, and attempted to efface the very memory of his victim. The chronicle having been written under bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's grandson, the 'dynastic interest requiring official ignorance of rNam-rgyal-mgon-po was still effective. At any rate, rNam-rgyal-mgon-po must be added to the list of Ladakh's kings. His reign must have been very short and I believe five years (about 1575-1580) is rather more than less of its actual duration.

A record of a period of agitation before 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's final accession to the throne is found even in the *LdGR.*, (p. 106): "Upon this (Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's death) all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads," probably as a result of the fratricidal quarrel. The situation was serious and the usurper revealed himself utterly unequal to his heavy task. He attempted to re-establish his prestige against the rebelling tributary rulers, intervening in a conflict between two Purig chiefs;⁷ the outcome 'was a complete disaster, the most terrible ever suffered by

7 We know one of them, Ts'e-rūi of Cig-tan, not only from the *LdGR.* but also from the Cigtan chronicle (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 173-174) and from

Ladakh before the Dogra wars. Even the chronicle, telling in this instance the whole truth without reticence (the Lamas seem to have rejoiced for this defeat that reduced the king to further busying himself with nothing else than religious rites), dwells upon it with true terror: "The time had now come when the period of darkness should intervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed." The foe that brought about so big a calamity were the Baltis.

Baltistan, which, as we have seen, had long been the bone of contention between China and Tibet in the 8th century, had probably remained under Tibetan suzerainty from about 770 until the fall of the Tibetan monarchy. From the 9th to the 16th century we are in complete darkness as to its history. The old dynasty, which was completely Hinduized,⁸ continued until the Dogra conquest in the branch of the princes of Skardo, who, however, no longer ruled the entire country, which had been broken up into a number of small independent states. At an undetermined time (possibly at the time of the invasion by king Iskandar of Kashmir at the beginning of the 15th century) the country had become converted to Islam⁹ and had thus entered in irreconcilable opposition to Buddhist Ladakh. In the earlier invasions the Ladakhis seem not to have encountered a strong resistance on the part of the Baltis; but this time there sat on the Skardo throne the greatest and most energetic figure in Baltistan's history: Ali Mir. This sovereign realized that his interest demanded that Ladakh be prevented from re-establishing its suzerainty over Purig, which was Baltistan's

two folk songs edited by Francke ('*Ten Historical Songs from Western Tibet*', in *Indian Antiquary*, 1909, pp. 64, 65 and 66).

8 The royal names began by Vijaya—. See Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Text* etc., I.

9 Up to then the country had certainly been Buddhist, perhaps even from the times of the Kuṣāṇas, and had produced a religious authority important enough to be mentioned in the '*Ren-mig*': sBal-ti dGra-bcom, b. 1129 d. 1215.

bulwark. He, therefore, carried on an armed opposition to the Ladakhi intervention in Purig, although adopting a Fabius Cunctator tactics necessitated perhaps by the inferiority of his forces. The war dragged on undecided until snow choked the valleys and passes (in this instance, particularly the Namika pass). The Ladakhi king, isolated and resourceless in an enemy territory, which, besides, had probably suffered from the ravages of war, was eventually compelled to surrender with his whole army. The Baltis of course seized upon the occasion to invade (probably in the next spring) defenceless Ladakh and thus without risk and at one stroke gave vent to their hatred for the past raids suffered at the hands of the Ladakhis, gratifying their religious fanaticism as well. The story of their ravages as related by the *LdGR.* recalls to the mind the accounts of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions in India. After the Baltis had quenched their thirst for vengeance, peace was made. Of its terms the *LdGR.* says but that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal was compelled to marry Ali Mir's daughter rGyal Khatun (a half Tibetan and half Persian title; we do not know her true name). From the situation following upon the disaster as well as from later developments, it is plain that Ladakh was compelled to accept the suzerainty of the princes of Skardo, which lasted for the remainder of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's reign and probably until the death of Ali Mir, whose successors as far as we know, were not worthy of him. The Balti suzerainty must have been effective: a Mulbhe inscription¹⁰ mentions, beside the king's Muslim wife, the minister Hu-sen-mir (Husain Mir), most likely a kind of Balti resident who represented the prince of Skardo at the Ladakhi court and watched the administration of the vassal country on his sovereign's behalf.

'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal never recovered from this ignominious defeat, for which he had only himself to blame. He renounced all

10. No. 45. See Franckes's *Rock Inscriptions at Mulbhe*, pp. 79-80.

further undertakings of war and devoted himself solely to the administration of his country, which this war had pushed back to its original frontiers (from the Purig border to Brañ-rtse, *LdGR.*, p. 107). It seems that, besides carrying on strenuous religious activities,¹¹ he paid a good deal of attention to the country's revenue system. The *LdGR.* tells us that he wanted to exempt all his subjects from taxation and that he thrice equalized rich and poor. This tale is obviously traced after that of Mu-ne-btsan-po's reform (see *ante*, pp. 73-74) and bears the marks of a legend. Probably what originated it, was some revolutionary reform of the tax distribution.

The king did not long survive his defeat. The *LdGR.* tells us that his life was short and that, in spite of his good intentions, he lacked the time for repairing the damages wrought by the war. He must have been rather old indeed, as he was the third of the three sons of Lha-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. I do not think I wander far from the truth by setting at ten years the duration of his reign. This length of time squares with the probable date of the reign of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, therefore, might have ruled about 1580-1590. The thirty years of reign as ascribed to him by Francke are, at any rate, altogether too much. This dating is supported by the contemporaneity of this king with Ali Mir of Skardo, whose dates range from 1591 to 1603. Upon his death, his son Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal inherited a kingdom greatly reduced in area by the loss of the short-lived conquests of his predecessors, a country laid waste by the Balti invasion and subject to the suzerainty of the Skardo rulers, in a condition, which was even worse than that in which Mirza Haidar's invasion had left it.

11 As contrasted with Grags-'bum-lde (c. 1410-1440), favourable to the dGe-lugs-pa's, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal placed in a position of great honour the red sect of the 'Brug-pa's, even inviting from Central Tibet to Ladakh the 'Brug-pa incarnate of Ralung. This sect's ascendancy grew rapidly and culminated in the founding of the great royal monastery of Hemis during Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign.

CHAPTER V

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal.

One of the peace terms imposed on 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal by Ali Mir was that his new Balti bride should be made the first queen and that the two sons born to him by his marriage with Ts'e-rin-rgyal-mo should be excluded from succession to the throne. The king complied. The two princes, Nag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal and bsTan-'dsin-rnam-rgyal, besides being disinherited, were sent to Central Tibet under pretence of a mission to place offerings before the Jo-bo Sākya, the holy image that had ever been adored as the protector of the ancient Tibetan monarchy. It was of course an honourable form of banishment. In fact, we hear nothing further of the two princes.

The new queen, rGyal Khatun, bore the king two sons, *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* and *Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal*, the former of whom succeeded his father, who, as we have seen, died a few years after the peace.

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal (probably born during the 1570-1580 decade) is at once the greatest and one of the best known of Ladakhi kings. For the account of his rule the principal source is naturally the *LdGR*. The inscriptions, so far quite rare, suddenly become more numerous. Also European sources, namely Portuguese and French travellers' accounts, begin to be available.

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, as we have seen, inherited from his father a kingdom reduced to a position subordinate to the princes of Skardo. The whole history of what is now Indian Tibet is dominated during the second half of the 16th century by the great figure of Ali Mir of Skardo. Unfortunately we know practically nothing of his life and the little we know is indirectly derived. He was an intensely active and mostly successful statesman and warrior. The Moghul historians recognize his political importance and his

military power. We learn from Badauni¹ that in 1591, probably as the consequence of some peace treaty, he gave a daughter of his in marriage to prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahangir,—an honour which was not so easily granted. These close bonds with the Moghul empire lasted quite a while. The Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier in a letter of 1598 states that the king of Little Tibet (Baltistan) was a great friend of the emperor Akbar.² But not many years later the situation changed, as we know that in 1603 Ali Mir invaded Kashmir, though meeting with a quick repulse.³ This is the last we hear of him. He must have died not long after, and his removal from the scene coincided with the beginning of the career of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal. Ali Mir's sons, in fact, were not worthy of him. The suzerainty over Ladakh was lost by his successor Ahmad Khan, as explicitly recorded by the Balti traditions.⁴ Upon Ahmad Khan's death his brothers Abdal and Adam fought for succession to the throne, the former coming out victorious. But this strife had greatly weakened the country, which became ever less able to withstand the Moghul inroads which culminated in their conquest of the country in 1636, with which I shall deal later on.

Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal was half Balti on his mother's side and seems to have long entertained friendly relations with his Skardo kin. This friendship was not broken until the last years of his reign. The king even married a Balti princess, probably a cousin: the famous queen bsKal-bzañ, whose name recurs in all inscriptions jointly with the king's and who, while still living, was held to be an incarnation of Tārā, a title that is never absent from the inscrip-

¹ *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, trsl. W. H. Lowe, II, 388. See also the account of the English merchant William Finch (1610) as quoted in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, I, 145-46.

² Hosten, 'Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual Letter on Mogor', *JASB.*, 1927, p. 61.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, transl. Blochmann (Calcutta 1873), p. 474.

⁴ Collected by Vigne in *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh etc.*; passage reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 184-186.

tions. The *LdGR.* (p. 108) mentions her as being a native of Ru-śod, a region identified by Francke as Rupshu; but an inscription at Tagmacig (No. 53) clearly states that she was the daughter of the prince of Skardo. Inscriptions are generally more reliable than chronicles, the text of which has the disadvantage of possible corruptions. The new young blood thus transfused into the old dynasty descending from Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po arrested its decadence, already very threateningly displayed in 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, and it enabled the Ladakhi state to endure for more than another two centuries.

'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal had died only a few years after the peace and the marriage. Hence, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal must have ascended the throne as a minor, probably about 1580 or shortly after. Since childhood he was remarkable for his physical strength and dexterity in the handling of weapons. He first saw war when still in his early youth, and carried on conquering expeditions one after another throughout his reign: he, together with his son, bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, was the most warlike of Ladakhi kings. His chief foe and the one who gave him the greatest troubles was the old, gallant Guge, during a century recovering and losing several times the independence of Ladakh.⁵ Already at a tender age, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal had led an expedition against the P'yi-'brogs of Guge,⁶ reaching as far as the Kailāsa. The second war, which was decisive, lasted, with long intervals, as long as sixteen years. We are fairly well informed of it by the letters of the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio de Andrade.⁷

5 As stated in the *LdGR.*, Guge first came under Ladakh's suzerainty under Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan's reign, probably in connection with the Kashmir raid which this king seems to have joined (*ante*, p. 116). But it is difficult to say whether this was a case of actual subjection or one of tribute extorted for once and not followed by regular payments.

6 "Back pastures." At the border towards Misser, between Gartok and the Kailāsa.

7 On the two journeys of Andrade see F. M. Esteves Pereira, *O descobrimento do Tibet pelo P. Antonio de Andrade* (Coimbra 1921). For Andrade's report on the

The latter completed his first journey to Tsaparang, Guge's capital, in 1624 and was favourably received by the king, whose name unfortunately he does not mention.⁸ He was there again in 1625, when he established a mission which lasted with fair success under royal protection for five years, but received a mortal blow by the Ladakhî conquest in 1630. The Christian community, faithful unto the last to the king who had been its benefactor, was nearly destroyed and the new government was hostile to the Christians and kept close watch over the missionaries. The mission had to be abandoned in 1635 and an attempt to re-establish it in 1640 was a total failure.

A letter written by Andrade in 1635 gives a sufficiently detailed information as to the fall of the kingdom of Guge.⁹ In 1612 the wife of the king of Guge had become insane owing to child-birth. Two years later the king asked and received in marriage a Ladakhî princess, a sister of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*.¹⁰ The princess started on her way to Tsaparang, but, when she had already reached its neighbourhood the king, for reasons that have not come down to us, refused to receive her and sent her back to Ladakh. *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* at once declared war on Guge (1614). The great length of this war caused Guge to fall into a state of utter disorder. A particularly serious shock was that of 1624, when it narrowly escaped destruction owing to the revolt of three vassal princes sup-

Guge wars and for the journey of Francisco de Azevedo see Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (Haag 1924).

8 Francke's theory (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 36) that his name was *K'ri-bkra-sis-graps-pa-lde*,—a name appearing on a votive tablet found at Hurling,—has not sufficient foundation to be admitted. Andrade calls him by the title of Chodakpo, which Francke has reconstructed in *Jo-drag-po*. Tucci (*Secrets of Tibet*, p. 181) brought it back to *C'os-bdag-po* synonymous with the more common title *C'os-rgyal* (*Dharmarāja*). But the true form of this title is doubtless *Jo-bdag-po*, or *Jo-bo-bdag-po*, as it is given in the *LdGR*. (p. 40, l.29).

9 Wessels, pp. 75-80.

10 Perhaps princess *gCos-ma-nor-'dsin* of inscriptions No. 51 and 54.

ported by the Rājā of Garhwal.¹¹ The people's discontent over the miseries of the war was increased by the support which the king accorded to the apostles of the new religion in order to check the influence of the great monasteries; and a general revolt occurred in 1630. The king, besieged in the Tsaparang royal fort by the rebels aided by a Ladakhi army, was forced to surrender and was removed to Ladakh as a prisoner.¹² On the same occasion or a little later the semi-independent viceroy of Ruthog, Guge's vassal, was deposed and his territory was annexed to Ladakh.¹³ Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal entrusted the government of the new province to his second son, Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal, who till then had been a lama at Hemis.¹⁴ The policy of this monk-viceroy was hostile to the small Christian community, which was eventually suppressed. No great importance should be attached to this first attempt at Gospel preaching in Tibet: it owed its first passing success to a chain of favourable circumstances, among which the royal favour was outstanding, and it had been, at any rate, but an inconsequential episode in the history of Western Tibet. Its historical interest lies only in the information that we derive of the country's conditions and events from the Portuguese Jesuits' accounts.

Meanwhile great changes were going on beyond the western frontier of Ladakh. The small Muhammedan state of Skardo, Ladakh's traditional foe, suffered an eclipse, being substituted (for the time being) by the most powerful Muhammedan kingdom of India, the Moghul empire. It was an event of the utmost gravity for Ladakh. Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's state was now cut off from any expansion toward the western regions of the Himalayas. In its mili-

¹¹ Wessels, p. 67. Esteves Pereira, pp. 68-69.

¹² To the siege of Tsaparang refers also the *LdGR.*, which tells us that Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal took rTsa-brañ and Los-loñ. The latter is not, as understood by Francke, a person's name, but a copyist's corruption of the name of the great royal monastery of Toling (mT'oṣ-gliñ). Tucci, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 181.

¹³ Wessels, p. 77.

¹⁴ *LdGR.*, p. 113.

tary and religious struggle against the Muhammedans, it had to fight with the paramount power of India, and not, as till then, with a state decidedly inferior in size and wealth to Ladakh.

Friendship between Baltistan and the Moghuls had already found an end in the last years of Akbar's and Ali Mir's reign, and the Balti raids in Kashmir became wearisome to the Moghuls. The emperor Jahangir (1605-1627) made an unsuccessful attempt at conquering the troublesome neighbour. The facts are thus related in Abdul-Hamid Lahori's *Badshah-nāmeḥ*:¹⁵ "The late emperor Jahangir long entertained the 'design of conquering Tibet, and in the course of his reign Hashim Khan, son of Kasim Khan Mir Bahr, governor of Kashmir, under the orders of the emperor invaded the country with a large force of horse and foot and local zamindars. But, although he entered the country and did his best, he met no success and was obliged to retreat with great loss and with much difficulty." Shah Jahan (1627-1658) then took up the designs of his father. He profited by the 'discords in the royal family of Skardo; as already related, Ali Mir's sons Abdal and Adam Khan had fought for the throne, and Abdal had gained the upper hand. Adam Khan became a refugee at the court of Zafar Khan, the Moghul governor of Kashmir, and from there applied for help to the emperor. This was granted. In 1637, under the order of Shah Jahan, Zafar Khan invaded Baltistan and after a month's march reached the vicinity of Skardo. Abdal had sent his family to the fortress of Kahchana (?), entrusted to the care of his nephew and minister Mohammed Murad, the son of Ali Mir's eldest son Ahmed Khan.¹⁶ The imperial commander sent against Kahchana the pretender Adam Khan, who, partly by force and partly by treason, succeeded in conquering the fortress (August 28, 1637).

¹⁵ Translated in Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, VII, 62.

¹⁶ For the pedigree of the Skardo chiefs see the Balti traditions collected by Vigne, in Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 185.

Abdal, in despair over the loss of his family, surrendered and was carried as a prisoner to Kashmir.¹⁷ For some unknown reason (perhaps as a reward for his treason), it was Mohammed Murad, and not Adam Khan, who was installed as a ruler of the country. But this arrangement lasted a very short time, for in the next year we find Adam Khan ruling over Baltistan, as a faithful subject of the emperor.¹⁸

Bernier speaks of these events in following terms: "Some few years since, there existed great dissensions in the royal family of Little Tibet, a country bordering on Kashmir. One of the pretenders having applied secretly to the governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by Shah Jahan to afford all the succour he might need. The governor accordingly invaded Little Tibet, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in undisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk and wool."¹⁹ The Moghul empire thus became Ladakh's next door neighbour, and a clash was inevitable sooner or later.

In 1639 Adam Khan of Skardo "wrote to Ali Mardan Khan, the new governor of Kashmir, informing him that Sangi Bamkhal, the holder of Great Tibet, had occupied Pūrig in Little Tibet with a large army of horse and foot. Husain Beg started from Kashmir on the 14 Safar 1049 A.H. (June 16, 1639). After some time, Adam Khan with a contingent of Tibetan foot soldiers joined him; on 25 Rab'i II (August 25) they met Bamkhal in the neighbourhood of Kharbu (Karpūpa). Bamkhal opened the battle, but was

17 Abdul-Hamid Lahori's *Badshah-nāma*, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 282-84. Elliot's translation (VII, 62-63) is too condensed. I am indebted for the translation of this and of the following passage to the kindness of Dr. B. P. Saksena of the Allahabad University.

18 He is recorded to have sent tribute to the court as late as 1640. Lahori, II, 207.

19 *Travels*, p. 421.

defeated; he fled and shut himself in the fort of Kharbu (Karpūr). Then he discovered that before he could reach a safe place, he would either be killed or captured. Therefore he very humbly sent a messenger to Husain Beg and opened negotiations. He promised that, if guarantees of safety and security were held out to him, on his return to his own country he would send suitable tribute to the imperial court. Then Husain Beg returned to Kashmir, where he arrived on 22 Jumāda ul-Akhir (September 20)."²⁰

The narrative of Lahori is of the utmost importance. For the first time we find a king of Ladakh mentioned by name in a Muslim chronicle. Sangi Bamkhal is obviously *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*; Bamkhal is a clerical error for Namjal, due simply to an inversion of diacritical marks. This sure date of 1639 is, along with Andrade's *données*, the main basis of the chronology of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*.

Bernier, writing in June 1665, refers to these events in somewhat different terms. According to him, the governor of Kashmir "seventeen or eighteen years ago" invaded Ladakh and succeeded in capturing an important fortress. On account of the quite advanced season, he retreated; "he placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Tibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring."²¹ This is only a hearsay account of events that had taken place twenty-six (not seventeen) years before. But it is not without importance, since it records particulars which were prudently omitted in the official history of Lahori.

The version of the *LdGR*. differs again from both the preceding accounts: During the time of this king, Adam Khan, the king

²⁰ Lahori, II, 159-160. Greatly abridged translation in Elliot, VII, 67.

²¹ Bernier's *Travels* (transl. Constable), p. 422.

of Balti, having brought in the army of Pad-ca Śa-'jan (Padshah Shahi Jahan), they fought many battles at mK'ar-bu, and, many Hor (Moghuls) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy."

I think, the three versions are not necessarily in contradiction: they rather supplement each other, since the official chronicles of Ladakh and of the Moghuls relate only what is favourable to their sovereigns.

The true course of the events seems to have been the following: Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal invaded and conquered Purig (probably in the spring of 1639). Adam Khan of Skarido called to his aid the Moghul forces of the governor of Kashmir. A battle took place at Kharbu in Purig, and the Ladakhis were routed. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal disentangled himself from the dangerous situation by more or less serious promises of a tribute. As the season was well advanced, the Moghuls left a garrison in the fort of Kharbu and withdrew to Kashmir. But the Ladakhis advanced again and attacked Kharbu. The garrison, which could not expect any succour from Kashmir since the snow had closed the Zoji pass, evacuated the fort. The invasion was not repeated the next spring, and things remained unsettled for many years to come. Kharbu, evacuated by the Moghuls, seems not to have been occupied by the Ladakhis, as we hear of its conquest many years afterwards, during the reign of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. As for Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's promises of tribute, they probably were not meant seriously and certainly were not kept, as explicitly stated by Bernier (p. 424). It is not unnatural that of all these events, Lahori has only retained the victory of Kharbu, and the *LdGR*, the final success of the Ladakhis after the withdrawal of the main army of the Moghuls.

The practical results were indecisive. The Ladakhi empire did not accept Moghul suzerainty; but it had to renounce its conquests in Purig for the time being, and to give up for ever any project of

conquering Skardo. This result was not a serious set-back and could not weigh down the brilliant successes which in the meanwhile *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* had scored in the east.

As soon as the conflict with the Moghuls was over, new complications arose on the eastern border. *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*'s conquest of Guge had brought him in contact with the kingdom of Tsang in Central Tibet. By that time, Tsang was governed by a personage fairly well-known to Tibetan history, *sDe-pa P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal*, usually styled *gTsañ-pa*.²² His capital was Shigatse, where he was visited in 1626-1627 by the Jesuit Fathers Cacella and Cabral.²³ This ruler's attention was till then fixed rather towards the north, whence a great danger was threatening him from the Mongol tribesmen of *Guñri Khan*.²⁴ These nomads, to avenge the devastations brought by the Tsang troops on the *dbUs* monasteries in 1610 and 1618, had already once (1621) invaded the country defeating the Tsang army at *rKyañ-t'añ-sgañ*. A few years later (1642) they were to take prisoner *gTsañ-pa* himself and to become masters of his state. To this menace from the north, a western one was added; after *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*'s conquest of Guge, a war between Tsang and Ladakh soon became inevitable because of the ill-determined borders. Soon after the Moghul war, the Ladakhi army started eastward, led by the king himself. The invasion was very unfortunately timed for *gTsañ-pa*, fully occupied as he was with the Mongol menace; and the Ladakhis, meeting no resistance, succeeded in crossing over one of the most difficult countries of the world and in reaching the border of Tsang proper, where they encamped on the banks of the *Chaktak-tsangpo*. Prolongation of the war did not

²² 'Jigs-med-nam-nik'a (Huth's translation), p. 52. See also Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, pp. 133-138.

²³ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, pp. 153-157.

²⁴ The dates hereafter are taken from the *Ren-mig* (*JASB.*, 1889), with the corrections suggested by Pelliot (*JAs.*, 1913).

suit either gTsañ-pa, threatened by the Mongols, or Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, too far advanced from his base of operations and isolated in a country which is the least favourable one may conceive for military movements. An equitable peace ensued, which confirmed Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal in the full possession of all the territories of the ancient kingdom of Guge, and set the border at the Maryum-la (to the east of Manasarowar lake).

The Tsang campaign, one of the most hazardous ever carried in the Himalayas, must of course have been extremely fatiguing, and it is thus not surprising that the hardships of this fearful march impaired the power of resistance of the aged king. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal died at Hanle during the journey back to Ladakh.

The date of the Tsang war and of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's death can be established with a fair degree of precision. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was still alive in 1639, when he fought against the Moghuls at Kharbu; on the other hand, his enemy gTsañ-pa ceased to reign in 1642. The campaign against Tsang and the death of the king must have therefore occurred either in 1640 or in 1641.

Thus Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal reigned from *c.* 1590 to *c.* 1640. The long duration of his reign should not be surprising; he was the son of the old age of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, being born of the Balti princess imposed on the Ladakhi king by Ali Mir; he must have succeeded to the throne very young.

In the course of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign the Europeans first came to Ladakh. The first European traveller to set foot in Ladakh was a simple Portuguese layman, Diogo d'Almeida, who, probably for commercial purposes, stayed there two whole years; we do not know the exact date, but it must have been some time before 1603. A man of little education, he left no written account of his travels, the only notice of which is an incidental reference of a few lines in a report on the activity of Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, by the Augustinian Father Antonio de Gouvea. The first to attract

the attention of scholars to this work was Prof. Jarl Charpentier in his paper *Some Remarks on vol. I of Southern Tibet*, in *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. I (Stockholm 1919), where a summary of the passage concerning D'Almeida can be found. The question was more deeply studied by Sven Hedin, first in his paper *European Knowledge of Tibet*, *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. I, and then in vol. VII of *Southern Tibet*. He showed that D'Almeida's account does not refer to Tibet, but is a very correct and reliable description of Ladakh. Unfortunately Hedin utilised only a French translation of a Spanish version of Portuguese original, which last, as he correctly states, is very rare indeed. I have been able to locate a copy of it in the Biblioteca Marucelliana at Florence, and have deemed it useful to reproduce in an appendix the text, with an English translation, of the passage concerning D'Almeida. It affords us no new light. The country impressed him as a very wealthy one. It is to be noticed that the capital at that time was Basgo, whereas thirty years later it was already Leh, which continues as the capital to this day. D'Almeida unfortunately misunderstood the king's name and grasped only its latter part, Tammigüia, doubtless to be corrected in Nammigüia, i.e. -rnam-rgyal. I think it cannot be questioned that it was Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal.

The second visit of a European took place about thirty years later. It was brought about by the vexations inflicted upon the Christian community of Tsaparang by the monk-viceroy Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal. The Jesuits, seeing what danger their entire work stood in, decided to appeal directly to the king, and in 1631 the Portuguese Father Francisco de Azevedo went from Tsaparang to Leh for this purpose. His account was published by Wessels in his valuable book *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*. Azevedo was well received and admitted to a hearing before the king, from whom he obtained many assurances and promises of protection. But we know that this had no practical consequences; the vexations

continued and the mission had eventually to be withdrawn. After a short stay at Leh, Azevedo returned to Delhi by the Baralacha pass, in the fall of the same year. His account is not historically important. He gives an interesting description of the physical appearance of king *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*: "He is a man of tall stature, of a brown colour, with something of the Javanese²⁵ in his features, and of stern appearance. He wore a rather dirty upper garment of some red material, a mantle of the same and a threadbare cap. His hair hung down to his shoulders, either ear was adorned with turquoise and a large coral, whilst he wore a string of skull bones round his neck to remind himself of death." (p. 108).

Señ-ge-rnam-ryal, a warrior and a conqueror, was also one of the kings who did most for Buddhism in Ladakh. His happiest action in this connection was his invitation to the great lama *Stag-ts'ān-ras-c'en* from Central Tibet: he very soon became the first dignitary of the kingdom. He greatly promoted religious fervour among the Buddhists of Ladakh and founded many monasteries, among which the most important was doubtless *Hemiś*, the private monastery of the royal house, the building of which lasted from 1602 to 1642. Great donations of landed estates granted by *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* to the lamas in general and to *Stag-ts'ān-ras-c'en* in particular, greatly enhanced the clergy's power in the country. The king amply availed himself of the great teacher's counsel also in political affairs. This is recorded in the inscription at *Tagmacig* (No. 53 of Francke's Collection) and in the *LdGR*, as well, the latter showing that some very important political measures, such as *Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal*'s appointment as the viceroy of *Guge*, were due to *Stag-ts'ān-ras-c'en*'s initiative. He probably also inspired the policy of hostility to Christianity. The veneration in which this

25 The Tibetans' resemblance to the Javanese seems to have impressed several of the Portuguese travellers. See for instance the already quoted letter of Father Jerome Xavier, and D'Almeida's account.

strange personage was held is clearly seen in the fantastic story of his virtues and miracles in D'Almeida's account, which doubtless refers to him, though not by name.

It is difficult to get a clear view of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's* personality from the inadequate sources available. This much is certain that he had two great loves: war and religion. His two equally great achievements, the founding of the Ladakhi empire and the giving of a new impetus to Buddhism in the country, stand as an evidence of his extraordinary energy and ability. He shrewdly used a magnificent tool, the *lamā Stag-ts'añ-ras-c'en*, without ever allowing the reins of government to slip from his own hands, and ever remained the inspiring mind behind the great work of political and religious organization.

The general lines along which the expansion of Ladakh's power developed are unmistakable marks of his clarity of vision and proper evaluation of the available means. They may be summarized in this fundamental idea: defensive action on the west, expansion to the east. His action on the western border was by no means one of purely passive defence; but he fully realized that, despite some occasional successes, Ladakh was no match for the great Moghul empire, and that, if there was any brilliant future for Ladakh at all, it was in the East, and not in the West. Accordingly, for over thirty years he personally led his armies eastward to fulfil what had been the age-old dream of the Ladakhi kings: the conquest of Guge. He succeeded in this task; and the fact that the empire he founded did not survive him long, is not to be attributed to him. He of course lacked power to overcome the baffling geographical conditions that forbid the lasting of a great state in the Western Himalayas.

CHAPTER VI

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal and the fall of the Ladakhi empire.

Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his eldest son bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. This prince had been already on the throne since some time before the death of his father, having been associated with him at the age of 13, as customary in Western Tibet. This association was on a basis of perfect equality (at least in theory), since a Hundar inscription (Francke's No. 57) and a Tagmacig inscription (No. 61) bear the name of the two C'os-rgyal-c'en-po. Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The latter as heir-apparent, before his coronation as associate king, had borne the customary title of Lha-sras, which recurs in an inscription of Basgo (No. 51) and in another from Skyurbuchan (No. 54).

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal was a worthy son of his great father. Although compelled in the end to accept Moghul suzerainty, which after all could never be more than shadowy in such a country, he not only maintained, but even increased the vast empire inherited from his father. On the whole and excepting for the two campaigns of conquest in his last years, his reign seems to have been a fairly peaceful one.

Although after the battle of Kharbu, Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal had promised tribute to the Moghuls, this tribute appears to have never been paid, and Ladakh remained for all purposes an independent state. But the new emperor Aurangzeb, the stern champion of Islam, was no longer willing to tolerate this state of things, and took steps to enforce his suzerainty over Ladakh. The circumstances of his action are related at length by the official historian of the

emperor.¹ Under an imperial order, Saif Khan, the governor of Kashmir, sent an embassy, to the king of Ladakh, who is given the title of Zamindar of Great Tibet and the name of Deldan Namjal, a very good transliteration of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The ambassador, Muhammad Shafi, brought an imperial firman, enjoining on the Ladakhi king the acceptance of Moghul suzerainty and of Islam. The envoy was met six miles outside the capital by the king and the principal grandees. They accepted with great reverence the imperial document and submitted to all the requests. Accordingly, the *khutba* was read in the name of Aurangzeb, the building of a mosque was begun² and the Ladakhi government undertook to spread the Islamic religion among the people. The ambassador was then sent back to Kashmir with great honours and with a tribute of 1,000 ashrafs, 2,000 rupees and many other precious gifts. The news of this settlement of the Ladakhi question reached the court in November 1664.

In the following year (1665), Aurangzeb went himself to Kashmir, and received there a Ladakhi embassy, which, in the name of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, repeated the pledge of fealty and tribute, and promised that a mosque should be built, and the *khutba* recited and coins struck in the name of the emperor; the French traveller Bernier saw the envoys and spoke with them.³ It seems that this acknowledgment of suzerainty was understood to be merely the fulfilment of the promises made, but not maintained, by Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal after the battle of Kharbu.

But things did not go so smoothly as the official historiographer of the Moghuls would have us believe; Bernier states that

1 *Alamgir-nāma*, pp. 921-923.

2 The mosque of Leh was inaugurated in 1077 A.H. (1666-1667 A.D.), according to a Persian inscription on its walls Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 118.

3 Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 422-424.

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal yielded only to a definite threat of an invasion. A later but well-informed author, Muhammad Azam,⁴ speaks even of a "conquest of Great Tibet." Probably the embassy of Aurangzeb was backed by a display of force on the Ladakhi border and by the diplomatic and military support of the chief of Skardo. Since 1637, the Balti chiefs of Skardo were the loyal subjects of the emperor, and kept watch for him against the unbelievers of Ladakh, with whom they had been on bad terms from immemorial times. In this period the prince of Basgo was Murad Khan, son of Rafi Khan and grandson of Muhammad Murad who had helped the Moghuls in 1637.⁵ He was richly rewarded for his good services on this occasion. Balti tradition even says that Ladakh, lost to the Baltis under the successors of Ali Mir, was recovered by Murad Khan.⁶ Perhaps he was entrusted with the representation of the imperial interests in Ladakh.

At first sight it seems that there is not the slightest hint of these transactions in the *LdGR*. But there is a short narrative that could perhaps be brought in relation with the events of 1664. It is an unusually long and exact account of two campaigns carried out with considerable success by the commander-in-chief, Śākya-rgya-mts'o, on the western frontier of Ladakh. The first expedition took place in the Water-Ox year. The Ladakhi army made a raid on Kharbu, where many prisoners were taken, and then conquered the principality of Cig-tan in Lower Ladakh. It next entered Lower Purig, where Sod Pa-sa-ri was conquered, and returned to Ladakh through Upper Purig, which was completely subdued; its ruler, the K'ri Sultan of dKar-rtse, was taken prisoner to Ladakh. Next year (Wood-Tiger) Śākya-rgya-mts'o marched against Baltistan; Khapulu and C'or-'bad in the lower Shayok valley were taken, and assigned

4 *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, fol. 138a.

5 Cunningham, *Ladak* etc. p. 35.

6 Vigne, reproduced in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 185.

to loyal Muslim chiefs. These successes of the Ladakhi forces were dangerous for the independent chiefs of Baltistan, and, as it was the tradition of his family, the prince of Skardo called in the Moghuls. "The chieftain of Skardo and all the Baltis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawab (of Kashmir). In anger thereat, an army of Hor numbering 200,000 arrived at Pa-sa-ri (in Lower Purig); but the minister 'Brug-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh and his forces fought a battle against the Hor army and killed many Hor soldiers. They captured ensigns and kettle-drums, winning a complete victory over the enemy."

The years Water-Ox and Wood-Tiger would correspond to 1673 and 1674, but we cannot absolutely rely upon the dates of the *LdGR*. If we should accept as exact the name of the animal, the years 1661 and 1662 could be referred to, and these events would be connected with those narrated by the Moghul sources under the heading of 1664. I have already pointed out that the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* seems to hint at a war of conquest of the Moghuls against Ladakh. But the *LdGR*. speaks of a great Ladakhi victory; it is therefore better to leave the problem unsolved and not to do violence to the facts by identifications which are more than doubtful. What real foundation the claim of the *LdGR*. on a big victory can have, I do not know. Precedents (e.g., the battle of Kharbu,) advise us to be very sceptical in this matter.

Anyhow, it follows from the list of the lands ruled by bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, found in the *LdGR*., that the conquests of Śākya-rgya-mts'o were maintained and that bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal bequeathed them to his successor.

Allowing to bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal the usual 30 years, he should have died about 1670. But it is safer to give him five years more, in case the dates 1673 and 1674 for Śākya-rgya-mts'o's war should be after all exact. The regnal years of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal can, therefore, be held to have been c. 1640-1675.

At the time of his death, the Ladakhi empire, although no longer independent of the Mōghuls as it had been under Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, had attained its largest extent. The territories over which the Ladakhi king held sway were the following:

- A. Ladakh proper, in its widest accepted sense, namely with its dependencies of Nubra, Dras etc;
- B. The territories that had constituted the kingdom of Guge, annexed in 1630 and governed by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's second son Indrabhoti-rnam-rgyal, viz:
 - (1) Guge proper;
 - (2) Purang with the regions between the Manasarowar and the Maryum-la;
 - (3) Ruthog;
 - (4) and (5) Spiti and Upper Kunawar, which were a part of Guge already in the times of Ye-sés-'od and must still have been in 1630;
- C. Upper Lahul, which was a part of Ladakh from Utpala's time; Lower Lahul belonged to Kulu from the beginning of the 16th century and was not included in Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's empire. The Jesuit Father Francisco de Azevedo, who visited Ladakh in 1631, explicitly states that Carja (Gar-ža, the Tibetan name of Lahul) was under Kulu;⁷
- D. Zanskar, which had been a small independent kingdom since Ņi-ma-mgon's death; Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, after having conquered it in a manner and at a time unknown to us, gave it as an appanage to bDe-mc'og-rnam-rgyal, his third son, who founded a new dynasty which lasted until the Dogra conquest in 1841;
- E. Purig, conquered in 1673 (?);

7 Wessels, p. 307.

- F. The lower Shayok valley (Balti chiefships of Khapulu and C'or-'bad) conquered in 1674 (?), and governed by trusted Muslim chieftains.

As can be seen it was a rather vast empire as to area, but very scantily populated and composed of considerably heterogeneous elements. This accounts for its short duration and easy downfall.

The Moghul sources^a on the whole support the above list. According to them, the Ladakhi empire extended itself for six months of travel in length and 1-2 months in breadth. It was bordered by Kashmir, Kumaon, Garhwal, Urzang (dbUs-gTsañ, Central Tibet), Moghulistan, Kashghar and Baltistan. Its army, fairly strong for a Himalayan country, comprised 12,000 men, horse and foot.

bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's son bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1675-1705) was an unworthy successor of his father and grandfather, and in the course of his reign the great empire founded by them was brought to a sudden collapse by a series of unfortunate circumstances, the king's ineptness being not the least of them.

Somewhat absurdly, the cause of the fall of the Ladakhi empire was a question of little importance and in which Ladakh was not directly interested. The 'Brug-pa incarnate who was the supreme religious and temporal authority in Bhutan had some controversy with the authorities at Lhasa. The Ladakhi king, self-styled protector of the 'Brug-pa sect to which he belonged, undertook steps at Lhasa for the protection of his Bhutanese *guru*. Things quickly complicated themselves until finally a declaration of war against Ladakh was made by the government of Lhasa. Tibet at that time was ruled under the suzerainty of the Dalai-Lama by the descendants of Guśri Khan, the Mongol chief who had conquered the country in 1636-1642. Accordingly, the army of invasion was

composed of two elements, Mongol tribesmen and Tibetan troops. The choice of the general was not easy, but eventually the government selected for the job a Mongol lama from Tashilhunpo, dGa-ldan Ts'e-dbañ, who surprisingly turned out to be really an able general.⁹ The Tibetan army started against Ladakh, but in several encounters it was beaten and driven back by the Ladakhi general, Śākya-rgya-mts'o.¹⁰ King bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, a very weak ruler as it appears, had sought refuge in Tingmosgang, his dynasty's old capital, and left it to his general to deal with the enemy. Very soon the Tibetan army took again the offensive, defeated the Ladakhi forces at Žva-dmar-luñ in Guge, pursued them into the heart of Ladakh proper and laid siege to the fortress of Basgo. Basgo stood heroically for three years, but eventually the king and Śākya-rgya-mts'o, resourceless and unable to save it from surrendering, appealed for aid to the governor of Kashmir. At this time Ibrahim Khan was in charge of Kashmir; he promptly sent an army under his son Fidai Khan to the rescue of his vassal. A battle took place on the Bya-rgyal plain near Basgo, and the Mongolo-Tibetans were routed. Their flight was not stopped until they reached Tashigang (in Guge territory, but near the present border), where they entrenched and reorganised themselves. Muhammad Azam's account of these events fully agree with that of the *LdGR*.: "In 1683 Great Tibet (Ladakh) was invaded by the Qalmaqs (Mongols); help was sent to the Raja at the intercession of Ibrahim Khan. These auxiliary troops were commanded by Fidai Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan. Fidai Khan put the Qalmaq to flight and brought much booty with him back to Kashmir. He reduced Tibet to subjection."¹¹ The official chronicle sadly confuses

9 His fame survived him for long. At Taklakot (Purang) there is a temple which is said to have been founded by him and to house his tomb. See Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milano 1937), p. 29.

10 See King Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal's account of the deeds of General Śākya-rgya-mts'o, in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 243-244.

11 *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, fol. 147a.

things, and changes Fidai Khan's expedition into a war of conquest of Ladakh.¹² Besides, it calls the king by the name of Daldal, i.e. bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, not aware of the fact that this ruler had died in the meanwhile and had been succeeded by his son. But this account is important as far as it supports the date 1683 given by Muhammad Azam for the battle of Basgo.

After the battle, there was no longer any object for the Lhasa government in persisting in a difficult war, which, owing to the great military superiority of the Mughal forces, held out no hope of success. Peace negotiations, therefore, were in order and they were entrusted to a person, whose choice must have been very acceptable and even gratifying to the Ladakhi king Mi-p'am-dbañ-po, a great incarnate of the 'Brug-pa sect.¹³ The 'Brug-pa monks were the spiritual advisers of the king since Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's time, or perhaps even earlier; Stag-ts'aiñ-ras-c'en was a 'Brug-pa, and the royal monastery of Hemiś belonged to them; for their sake the king had begun this disastrous war. The interests of Ladakh were represented by Śākya-rgya-mts'o, a good servant of his master in diplomacy as well as in war. The negotiations were held at Tingmosgang, and led to a final settlement of the relations between Tibet and Ladakh. The borders then set, stood unchanged even after the Dogra conquest; the territorial status settled at Tingmosgang has lasted to this day.

The basis of the treaty was the *uti possidetis* principle. Accordingly, Guge, Purang, Ruthog and the regions between the Kailāsa and the Maryum-la, occupied by the Tibetans, were awarded to the Lhasa government, after belonging to Ladakh for 53 years. Perpetual peace was pledged and a trade pact was also concluded. Lastly, Ladakh had to agree to the sending of a caravan to bring tribute to Lhasa every third year. All these stipulations had a

¹² *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 236.

¹³ His name in the documents on the deeds of Śākya-rgya-mts'o is Tams-c'ad-mk'yen-gzogs.

character of finality and were still in force during the 19th century. Ladakhi, although nominally victorious, had to agree to such a mutilation of its territory because of the unwillingness of the Moghuls to conduct a campaign in the impassable solitudes of Guge; and with its own resources only, it was impossible for Ladakh to recover the eastern possessions, occupied by the Tibetans.

Besides the Lhasa government, its allies had to be satisfied; thus, an agreement was concluded with Bashahr state (now one of the Simla Hill States). Francke has hinted to the existence of a treaty between Ladakh and Bashahr, of which he had collected several copies.¹¹ We are not told of the terms of the agreement, but it is clear from all we know of the previous and subsequent situations that in the peace of 1683 Ladakh was compelled to renounce Upper Kunawar, formerly a part of the kingdom of Guge.

No sooner peace was made with Tibet and its allies, than Fidai Khan and Ibrahim Khan put in their bill for aid rendered to bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal.¹⁵ The conditions were quite heavy, being partly a reinforcement of the old one of 1664, and partly new. The tribute to the governor of Kashmir was exactly settled; it had to be paid every third year.¹⁶ bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal had to accept (at least outwardly) Islam; he assumed the Muslim name of Aqabat Mahmud Khan, which seems to have been borne by all the later kings of Ladakh, king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal being known under this name to the Dogras during the war of 1834.¹⁷ He was also

14 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 7.

15 I cannot understand why Francke (*History of Western Tibet*, p. 112) places the peace with Tibet as having been concluded after the treaty with Kashmir. It is clear from the *LdGR.* that the negotiations with the representatives of Lhasa were carried out earlier than, or at most at the same time as, those with Fidai Khan.

16 By Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) the king still recognized the suzerainty of the governor of Kashmir, but the tribute was no longer paid.

17 Cf. Basti Ram's account of the Dogra war in Cunninghams' *Ladak*, pp. 335 and 345.

compelled to have a coin of Moghul type struck in Kashmir for Ladakh. This coin, called *jao* in Indian Tibet, is the only Ladakhi coin yet known; it is described by Cunningham on p. 255 and reproduced on p. 300 of his *Ladak*. It bears the name Mahmud Shah, the legend Zarb-i-Butan (coin of Tibet) and a date, not clear enough to be read. I have no knowledge of this coin having been described by other scholars. Only Mir Izzet-Ullah speaks of the *jūd* of Ladakh, which was worth 1/24 of a rupee and was struck by the king of Ladakh under the name of Mahmud Shah.¹⁸

Other terms imposed by the Moghuls were that the king should give one of his sons as a hostage, build (or repair?) a mosque at Leh, and grant to the Kashmiri merchants the monopoly of the raw wool trade,—the great Western Tibet staple and the raw material for the manufacture of the famous shawls, one of Kashmir's most important industries. It goes without saying that Ladakh waived any possible claim to Baltistan and Purig. These regions, in fact, at Desideri's time (1715)¹⁹ belonged to the Moghul empire, which ruled over them through the governor of Kashmir.

The Moghuls too had an ally who had to be rewarded at the expense of Ladakh: Bidhi Singh of Kulu (1672-1688) received then Upper Lahul, which became and still is a dependency of Kulu.²⁰

Zanskar as well had already become practically independent under the dynasty founded by the third son of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal.

After the peace of 1683, therefore, of all of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's conquests nothing else remained than the more or less effective suzerainty over Spiti. This region was ceded in 1846 to the British Government by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir.

¹⁸ *IRAS.*, 1843, p. 290.

¹⁹ *Account of Tibet*, edited by F. De Filippi (London 1937), p. 75.

²⁰ Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, 461.

In all these transactions a great part was played by the commander-in-chief Śākya-rgya-mts'o, the old general of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal. His deeds have been recorded by the grateful king Ōi-ma-rnam-rgyal, bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's successor, in a document which has been published by Francke.²¹ He seems to have been really an able man, but he was powerless against the course of events, and could not stop the crumbling of the Ladakhi empire.

From the peace of Tingmosgang onwards, Ladakh's history loses all interest of not merely local character and is not worth pursuing—the more so in that the *LdGR.*, the subject of the present works, stops (excepting the 19th century additions) with Señ-ger-nam-rgyal's death. Ladakh never recovered from the disaster of 1683, and there is a flavour of tragical irony in the *LdGR.*'s words closing bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal's life: "Again the kingdom flourished as before, and enjoyed the highest felicity of virtue and happiness."

A short summary of the following reigns will be enough for our purpose. bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by Ōi-ma-rnam-rgyal (c. 1705-1734), during whose reign the Jesuit Father Ippolito Desideri visited Ladakh in 1715. He was followed in 1734²² by bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1734-1750), whose successors were P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1750-1765), Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1765-1780), and Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (c. 1780-1790). The latter's brother, Ts'e-dpal-mi-'gyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal, or more briefly Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal, enjoyed an unusually long reign. He is known to have been on the throne as early as 1792,²³ and was deposed in 1834 by the Dogras, who put on the throne a puppet, the minister dNos

21 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 243-244.

22 The date of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's accession is given in a document stating the services of general Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, published by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 235).

23 This and several other dates are found in a document stating the services of the minister bSod-nams-bstan-'dsin, published by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 230-241).

grub-bstan-'dsin. After a few years the old king was restored, but finally deposed after the revolt of 1842. Ladakh then became, and still is, an integral part of the territories of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The importance of the Ladakhi kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, especially by Francke. Strictly speaking, one might say that its history affords only a scanty interest, but for the sixty or seventy years of *Scñ-ge-rnam-rgyal's* and *bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's* empire. Originally but a small principality owing allegiance to Guge, it displayed throughout the course of several centuries no tendency to expand. It had only three really great rulers, *Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal*, *Scñ-ge-rnam-rgyal* and *bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal*, particularly the second of the three. But the rise of its power was invariably interrupted by a foreign invasion. The imperialistic tendency looming up towards the end of the 15th century was smothered by Mirza Haidar's long protracted adventure. *Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's* work of reconstruction was destroyed by the Baltis only a few years after his death. Lastly, *Scñ-ge-rnam-rgyal's* life work was frustrated by the Mongolo-Tibetans and the Moghuls.

The reasons for the weakness of the Ladakhi state and for its inability to hold durably a vast external dominion have already been stated in part. The basis was too small; Ladakh, because of its scarcity of population which is an inevitable consequence of the very nature of the land, has always been unable to resist a huge army such as could be mustered by the Indian states or by the chiefs of Turkestan and Mongolia.²⁴ Any expansion, however vast and seemingly irresistible, must stop and fall before foreign intervention. Besides, even if foreign powers had kept out of the zone of its activity, Ladakh, a poor country, could not, in my opinion, long sustain the economic effort required by an imperialistic policy such as *Scñ-*

²⁴ Mir Izzet-Ullah (*JRAS.*, 1843, p. 291) had the same impression about Ladakh: "Four or five hundred mounted men might plunder the whole country."

ge-rnam-rgyal's. Furthermore, the very temper of the Tibetan people after its conversion to Buddhism was ill-suited to a policy of expansion. This holds true for the kings as well. Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, Ladakh's only king, who frankly pursued an ambitious policy of aggrandizement, was a half-Balti and his son bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal was a three-quarter Balti. Despite the invigorating effect of the fresh Balti blood transfused into the old Tibetan stock, the dynasty seems to have exhausted all its strength with the two great kings of the 17th century, after whom it produced but mean, and sometimes even despicable characters. Their ineptness and discord brought about the hastening of a process of decadence that eventually ended in the subjection of Ladakh to the Dogras.

The disaster of 1683 was inevitable also because Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's exploits did not have a favourable historical setting; in his time Kashmir had the backing of all the enormous resources of the Moghul empire, then at its height, and Tibet, after centuries of division, had just recovered its national unity at Guŕi Khan's hands, and could rely for support for his troops upon the sturdy Mongol nomads, strong in number as well as in fighting qualities. After Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal had made a clean sweep of all the smaller buffer states surrounding Ladakh, a conflict between Ladakh and either of the two great neighbouring powers, and thence between these powers themselves, was inevitable. It came, and Ladakh was crushed in the impact.

Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's short-lived empire vanished without leaving any trace in its wake. It was of no benefit to Ladakh, whose manpower and resources were exhausted in the vain effort of keeping in subjection enormous, thinly populated, and inaccessible territories. It was absolutely disastrous to many of the conquered lands. A striking example is Guge. The long protracted external and civil war (1614-1630) with all its ravages must have been a big factor in the acceleration of that appalling decadence, whereby Guge, a very

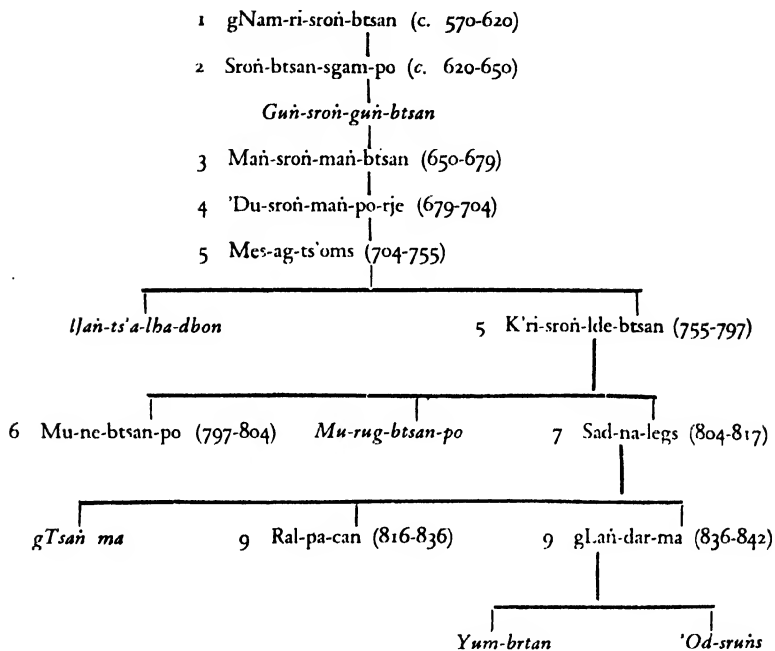
wealthy and comparatively thickly populated country in Ye-sés-'od's days, became what is practically a desert with a few thousands of wretchedly poor inhabitants.²⁵

From a cultural and religious point of view the Ladakhi kingdom, from its foundation down to its fall, is of no interest whatsoever. The foundation of the royal monastery of Hemis had only a local importance. And, herein, we come across an instance of the ironies of human affairs. The history of Ladakh, a country of very small importance in the development of Tibet's religion, literature and art, is comparatively well known to us, for the sole reason that it has been recorded and preserved in the *LdGR*. On the other hand the history of Guge, highly interesting as it is of a country originating the great religious, literary and artistic renaissance started by Rin-c'en-bzan-po and Atiśa, and developed under generous royal patronage through several centuries, the history of Guge is practically unknown to us, because of the irretrievable loss of its chronicles—a loss that cannot be made up by the scanty information we can gather here and there from the chronicles of Central Tibet.

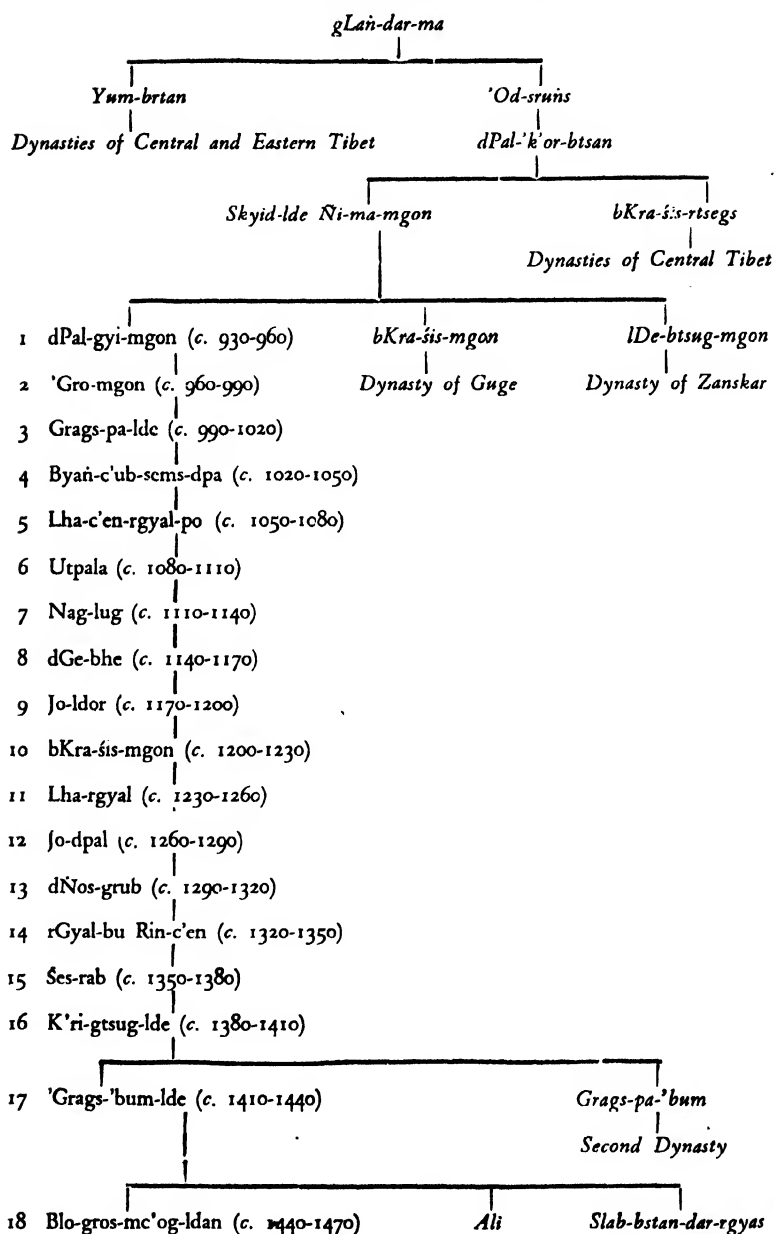
25 This decadence was already very advanced soon after the Ladakhi conquest, since the Jesuit Father Nuño da Coresma in a letter of the 30th August 1635 could write that "the population is very small, as appears from the fact that from the whole of the territory.....it is impossible to assemble 2000 warriors, though all are obliged to serve from their eighteenth to their eightieth year. The others are Lamas.....In this town (Tsaparang), the residence of the king, the mercantile emporium for the whole country, it is impossible to count up more than 500 inhabitants, of whom a hundred are slaves of the Raja.....They are very poor and uncivilized." Quoted by Wessels in his introduction to De Filippi's edition of *Desideri's account of Tibet*, p. 13.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

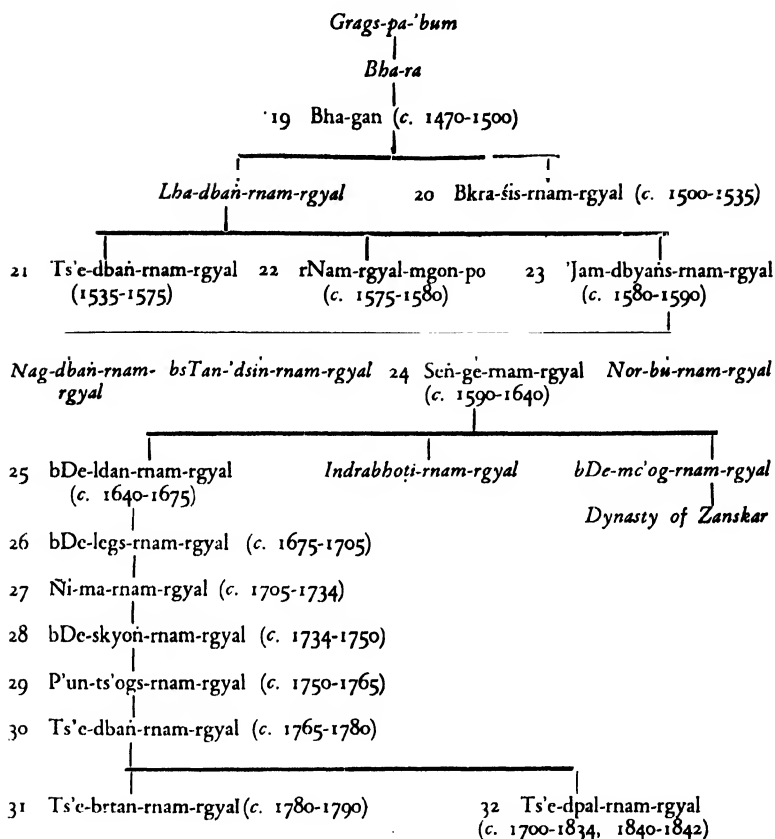
THE TIBETAN KINGS



THE FIRST LADAKHI DYNASTY



THE SECOND LADAKHI DYNASTY



Dogra conquest in 1834. Puppet king dNos-grub-bstan-'dsin 1834-1840. Final annexation to Jammu in 1842.

THE TABLE OF CHINESE CHARACTERS.

1.	鶴	提	勃	悉	野
2.	鶴	提	悉	補	野
3.	空	勃	野		
4.	類	悉	董	摩	
5.	陀	土	度		
6.	揭	利	失	若	
7.	勃	弄	若		
8.	距	素	若		
9.	論	贊	索	弄	贊
10.	論	贊	素		
11.	可	黎	可	足	
12.	有				
13.	棄	宗	弄	贊	
14.	棄	素	弄		
15.	棄	蘇	弄	贊	
16.	祿	東	贊		
17.	乞	黎	披	布	
18.	欽	陵			
19.	器	弩	悉	弄	
20.	棄	隸	隨	贊	
21.	棄	隸	贊		
22.	乞	黎	蘇	籠	獵 贊
23.	卓	悉	籠	獵	贊
24.	足	之	煎		
25.	乞	離	胡		



APPENDIX A

Text

*From the British Museum manuscript No. 6683 fol. 15b-18a.
To be inserted at page 23 line 6 of the LdGR.*

- fol. 15b mts'on sna ts'ogs śin lha dan 'dra ba rnam la t'ab cin rtsod
pas nas lha ma yin gyi rgyal po|| gsum pa dud 'groi rgyal
po ni glaṅ po c'e sa bsrus yin te| mgo c'u bśel 'dra 'ba
mc'e' ba drug pai glaṅ po c'e de la rdsin bu bdun bdun|
rdsin bu re re la stoṅ bu bdun bdun| stoṅ bu re re la
padma bdun bdun| de lta bui glaṅ po c'e de la lus dpag
ts'ad p'ye dan gsum| baṅ ni bskal pa 'jig pas rluṅ las
'gyogs pa| g-yul nor bzugs na lha
- fol. 16a ma yin rnam kyaṅ zlog par byed pa de dud 'groi rgyal
po|| bzi pa yi dags kyi rgyal po ni| las kyi c'u c'en yin
te| ri rab kyi smaṅ lcags mk'ar² sgo med kyi naṅ na|
'jigs pai mts'on c'a sna ts'ogs t'ogs nas bsam pa tsam gyis
gaṅ 'dod kyi³ gnas su p'yin cin| lcer bui lus la gsod gcod
kyi sgra sgrogs śin| k'ams gsum gyi zas su zos kyaṅ mi
'gras⁴ pa yi dags kyi rgyal po|| lha
- fol. 16b pa dmyal bai rgyal po ni| gśin rje c'os rgyal yin te| 'dsam
bu gliṅ nas sa 'og dpag ts'ad stoṅ p'rag ṅi śu gcal bai 'og
na| a ba glaṅ mgo can dan stag mgo can gñis kyi gtso
byas pai las byed sprul pai p'o ṅa maṅ po 'gyed cin| zaṅs
rgyal mo k'ro c'u k'ol ma lcags kyi bśal ma lii⁵ sdon po
ral grii so lta bu| c'u bo rabs med la sogs par sems can
sdug bśhal dpag tu med pa la 'jug pa de dmyal bai rgyal
po|| de nas bsod nam c'e ba mii

1 Ms: c'e

2 Ms: k'ar

3 Ms: kyi

4 Ms: 'bras

5 Ms: ri

- fol. 17a rgyal po la mk'as pa rnams kyi bśad lugs mi 'dra ba mañ
 du yod kyañ| ma rmos pai lo tog 'bras sa lu de| sña dro
 bza rgyu sña dro| p'yi dro bza⁶ rgyu p'yi dro len gyin
 yod tsa na| bol goñ nas byuñ bai mi dañ| gñod sbyin
 gdon dmar ba gñis kyiś žag bcu dañ| zla ba p'yed kyi
 'ts'o rgyags kyi p'yir bsdod bśes 't'ab mo byas pas med
 par gsod nas bskyed ma 'dod do|| de nas mi rnams kyiś
 da nñ sa lu ma rmos par mi skye bar 'dug pai| sañ žiñ sgo
 bar byed 'do žes| bar mts'ams gcad nas so sor
- fol. 17b dgos so|| de nas sa lu btab dgos zer nas sa lu btab pa| sa
 bon 'di nas mar la žiñ bdag tu 'dsin pa dañ| mu ts'igs
 brel bai mgo rtsom pai dañ po de yin no|| žiñ 'debs pai
 t'og ma de yin no|| de ltar btab kyañ la las btus nas
 zos| la las dños su p'ogs nas zos| la las rañ la yod kyañ
 gžan gyi de rkus nas zos pas| bdag po des mt'on nas
 k'yod rañ gi yod bžin| gžan gyi
- fol. 18a sa lu ma byin par len par mi rigs so|| žes smras pas ñas ma
 k'yer zer bžes zun zer bas| dei gžil brtsod pa dañ| rtap
 pa dañ| ma byin par len pa dañ| brdsun du smra ba dañ|
 srog gcod pa la sogs pa las mi dge ba rtsom pai t'og ma
 yin no|| de la sogs pai brtsod pa grañs mañ du byuñ ba
 dañ t'ams c'ad gros byas nas| etc.

Translation

To be inserted in the LdGR at page 68 line 9 from below.

.....holding various swords and fighting with all those who are like gods, [such is] the king of the Asuras. As the third, the elephant Sa-bsruñs is king of the animals. This elephant with a crystal-like head and six fangs, has on the head seven ponds; each pond has seven stacks; each stack has seven lotuses. Being of this shape, this elephant has a stature of two yojanas and a half. His banner is flapped by the wind at every completion of a cosmic age (Kalpa). When he enters in battle, he checks even the Asuras. Such is the king of the animals. As the

fourth, Las-kyi-c'u-c'en is the king of the lemurs. [He dwells] in a castle of iron without gates, at the slopes of the Sumeru. He holds various terrific swords. As soon as he expresses the wish, he arrives at every place he wants. His body is naked and he utters clamours of slaughter. Even if he devours the three worlds, he is never satiated. [Such is] the king of the lemurs. As the fifth, gŚiñ-rje C'os-rgyal (Yama Dharmarājā) is the king of hell. [He dwells] under Jambudvīpa 20,000 yojanas below. He is surrounded by several messengers created by his magic power, who perform his various deeds. Of those the principals are the ox-headed one and the tiger-headed one. Such is the king of hell who throws the men in endless tortures in the terrible Zan-rgyal-mo, [which is] a boiling water [on the bank of which] there is a śalmali tree of iron like the teeth of a sword, in the Nadivaitārani and in other rivers. Then, regarding the king of the men possessing great merits, although many different versions exist among the learned men [it is told that, while the men were accustomed to] take this śālī rice as a non-sowed harvest, at the morning as a morning meal and at the evening as an evening meal, a foot-born man (a Sudra) and the Yakṣa gDoñ-dmar-ba entered in agreement and concluded an alliance in order to [collect] the food sufficient for 10 days or a fortnight. [But then] they quarrelled and killed one another, and the rice no longer grew. Then the men said: "The non-sowed śālī rice grows no longer; tomorrow we shall carry out a division." They traced the dividing boundaries and from this first beginning were generated the private possession of the fields and [the custom of tracing] boundaries. This was the origin of agriculture. Having thus sowed [the rice] many ate it after having reaped it, many after having stolen it, many, although they possessed plenty of it, after having taken it away from others. When the owner [of the field] saw [the thief], he said: "It is not just to take, as it were yours own, the rice of another that has not been granted to you." [The thief] said: "But I do not take it," telling thus a lie. This was the beginning of the evil that consists in the quarrels, in the mark of ownership¹ in taking away what has not been given, in lying, in killing etc. On this and on other questions as well many quarrels arose; and after a council had been held by them all.....

1 ? the text is not quite clear

APPENDIX B

Text

From A. de Gouvea's "Journey of the archbishop Alexis de Menezes" fol. 3a.

The complete title of the work is:

Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primaz da India Oriental, religioso da Ordem de St. Agostinho Quando foy as Serras do Malauar, & lugares em que morão os Christãos de S. Thome, & os tirou de muytos erros & heregias em que estauão & reduzio a nossa Sancta Fe Catholica, & obediencia da Santa Igreja Romana, da qual passaua de mil annos que estauão apartados.

Recopilada de diuersos tratados de pessoas de autoridade, que a tudo forão presentes, por Frey Antonio de Gouuea Religioso da mesma Ordem de Santo Agostinho, lente de Theologia, & Prior do Conuento de Goa.

Coimbra, Na Officina de Diogo Gomez Loureyro Impressor da Uniuersidade, 1606.

.....ainda que conforme à noticia, & informação q̃ foy dada ao Arcebispo por hũ Portuguez chamado Diogo Dalmeida, homẽ de credito. Depois de partido affirmão Bento de Goes não deue ser a Christãdade de que se deu noticia na corte do Mogor à do Catayo como primeyro se cuidaua sem outro fũdamẽto mais, q̃ não se saber doutra Christãdade, situada pa aquellas partes alẽ do Reynos do Mogor, senão a do Catayo: mas outra muyto mais perto das terras do Mogor & cõ que ha mais comercio, que chamão Thibete. donde este Portuguez residio dous anos. & diz estar o reyno de Thibete alẽ do de Guixumir, que hà pouco sogeitou o Rey Mogor, âtre o qual & o de Thibete senão metẽ mais q̃ hũas serras altissimas, q̃ por rezão da muita neuẽ se não podẽ passar em certos tẽpos do anno, quando ella cac, senao quando cõ a força

do Sol se desfaz & derrete. Dõde vê a ser o caminho mais dificultoso que cõprido, por ser forçado aos q̃ caminhão, senão vão em moução, esperar por ella, não auêdo de là à entrada deste Reyno mais q̃ quinhêtas legoas de sertão. Cuijo Rey no chamão Tammiguiua, & em todo o Reyno se não cõsente infiel algũ senão mercador de passagẽ. & a fortaleza principal em que o Rey mora, q̃ he Sôr grãde & isêto, se chama Babgo. He o Reyno rico de ouro & pedraria, cõ a qual se ornão as nholheres & se tração custosamête. São os naturais na cor aluos, a modo de Iaos, & bẽ acõditionados. Tẽ em si muitas Igrejas ricamête ornadas cõ retabolos & imagẽs de Xpo nosso Sôr & de nossa Senhoras & dos sagrados Apostolos. Tẽ muitos sacerdotes, que guardão cõtinnẽcia, como os nossos, & nos trajos se parecẽ cõ elles, tirado trazerẽ toda cabeça rapada. Tẽ Bispo a q̃ chamão Lamhã, & o que tinhão de presente era tido entre elles por santo, & cõtauão d'elle muitos milagres, & entre outros q̃ fazêdo sua mais cotinua habitação cõ grãde penitencia nũ aspero deserto, q̃ cõ hũ rio largo se diuide da principal cidade, quãdo vinha celebrar os officios diuinos a ella nas solênidades principais, não tomava outra embarcação pa passagẽ do rio, senão o mato q̃ trazia, ou hũa pelle de cabra, sobre q̃ se assentaua chegãdo enxuto à cidade, O q̃ tudo testemunhou o dito Portuguez Diogo Dalmeida diante do Arcebispo, no anno de 1603, dandolhe juramẽto aos santos Euangelhos cõ intẽto de procurar o bẽ desta Christandade, sêdo assi, & mandar ministros a ella, da qual por ser secular & não ter mais intelligẽcia das cousas ecclesiasticas, nam sabia dar outra informação de seus ritos nẽ de erros algũs se os tinhão. Do que tudo se espera q̃ traga perfeita informação o dito Irmão Bêto de Goes, porque se entende que este sem falta he a Christandade, de que os Mouros mercadores dauam noticia na Corte do Mogor, & não a do Catayo que he muyto mais longe. & alem deste Reyno de Thibeste ha outro que també chamão Thibeste pequeno, q̃ possuem Mouros da Ceita do Xaa rey de Persia, que por vêtura sera aquella prouincia de Thibeste, de qua fala Marco Paulo em seu liuro nao fazêdo mençãoa de nella auer Christandade algũa. E voltando ao fio da nossa hystoria.....

[In 1598 Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit Father dwelling at the Moghul court, informed the viceroy and the archbishop of Goa that a Muhammadan merchant, just arrived from Catay to the court of Akbar, affirmed that Catay was only five months away from the Moghul states. Upon this information, Friar Bento de Goes¹ was sent to Catay (1602). He was hoped to be able to bring back to the Holy Church the Christian community of Catay and to correct the dogmatical errors, to which they were believed to be subjected]

according to the notice and information that was given to the archbishop by a Portuguese named Diogo d'Almeida, a trustworthy man. After his departure, Bento de Goes affirms that the Christian community about which informations were given at the Moghul court, is not that of Catay, as at first it was supposed to be, without any other evidence than the fact that no Christian community was known to exist in those regions beyond the Moghul states, except that of Catay; but it is another Christian community, much nearer to the Moghul country and with which there is much commercial intercourse, which is called Tibet, where this Portuguese dwelled for two years. He says that the kingdom of Tibet lies beyond that of Kashmir, which the Moghul king conquered a few years ago.² Between the latter and Tibet there is nothing besides some very high mountains, which at certain times of the year because of the copious snow cannot be crossed over,³ except when, through the action of the sun, it melts away. Owing to this, the journey is more difficult than long, since the travellers, unless they travel during the monsoon, are forced to wait for it, while from there to the entrance of this kingdom there is no more than 500 leagues of desert. Its king is called Tammiguia; in the entire kingdom he does not tolerate any infidel, except the passing merchants. The chief fortress, where the king resides, who is a great and independent ruler, is called Babgo. The kingdom is rich in gold and precious stones, with which women attire and array themselves expensively. The natives are white in colour as the Javanese and of good dispositions. They have many churches richly adorned with paintings and images of Christ Our Lord and of Our Lady and of the Holy Apostles. They have many priests, who observe the vow of chastity, as our priests do. The garb of our priests is similar to that of theirs, except that they have their heads completely shaved. They have a bishop whom they call Lama. The one whom they have now⁴ is believed by them to be a saint. They narrate many miracles in connection with him. Among other things they say that, as he had his customary dwelling with most severe penance in a barren desert, divided by a broad river from the capital, when he came to it (the capital) in order to celebrate the divine offices for more solemn occasions, he did not use any other boat for crossing the river, than the mantle he wore, or a goat skin, over which he sat, arriving thus to the city dryshod.

1 On Bento de Goes' Journey see Wessels, pp. 1-41.

2 In 1587.

3 This description evidently refers to the Zoji-la.

4 The great lama Stag-tsañ-ras-c'en.

All this was testified by the said Portuguese Diogo d'Almeida to the archbishop in the year 1603, taking an oath on the Sacred Gospel, for the sake of procuring the welfare of this Christian community, such being the situation, and of sending missionaries to it. Being a layman and having no great knowledge of ecclesiastical questions, he could not give other informations about their rites and the errors which they may have. It is to be hoped that on all this a complete information will be secured by the above mentioned Friar Bento de Goes, since it is understood that this is doubtless the same Christian community about which information was given by the Moor merchants at the Moghul court, and not that of Catay, which is much more far off. Beyond this kingdom of Tibet there is another, which is also called Little Tibet,⁵ that is held by Moors of the sect of the Shah king of Persia.⁶ Probably it is the same province of Tibet which is spoken of by Marco Polo in his book, although he does not make reference to any Christian community existing in it. Taking up the thread of our story etc.

5 The Muhammadan name of Baltistan.

6 I.e., Shiah Muslim. Perhaps there is also confusion between Shiah and Shah.

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Deb-t'er-sñon-po. In the course of the present book it is quoted by the abbreviation *DT*.

rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loñ. I owe much thank to Prof. Tucci for putting at my disposal two manuscripts of this work. The first (Ms. *A*) consists of two European copybooks, the first consisting of 92 leaves written on one side only, and the second consisting of 53 leaves written on both sides. It was copied in 1930, under Prof. Tucci's supervision, from a very ancient manuscript of the Hemiś monastery in Ladakh. The other (Ms. *B*) is a Tibetan manuscript, more recent and less correct than the Hemiś ms.; it consists of 245 leaves of five lines each side. In the course of the present book, this work is quoted with the abbreviation *GR*. The numeration always refers to ms. *A*.

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ADDENDA

P. 6 (last two lines) and 7 (first three lines).—

These lines were written in Rome in the spring of 1937. When I came to the University of Allahabad in January 1939, I gained access to several Moghul sources which were not available to me in Rome. Because of this, the last three chapters had to be completely re-written.

P. 44.—

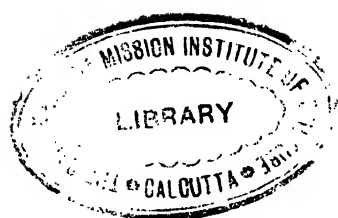
For the date of 1042 there is also independent evidence: Atiśa's synchronism with king Nayapāla, of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (c. 1040-1055). See, e.g., H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutta 1931), vol. I, pp. 327-328.

P. 45.—

Another passage of the *DT.* gives the date of its composition as follows: year Fire-Monkey, eleventh of the reign of the emperor Ch'eng Hua (1465-1488) and 108th of the Ming dynasty. The Chinese date is irregular, because it does not count both the initial and the final year, as it is the rule; it is thus one year less. This was perhaps done for retaining the sacred and auspicious number of 108 years since the foundation of the Ming dynasty.

P. 46.—

Since I wrote these lines, I came to the conviction that gZon-nu-dpal's source was really the *T'ang-shu*, or some compilation based on it. There seems to exist only one Chinese account of the Tibetan monarchy; and this is the one which, in slightly different redactions, has come down to us in the two *T'ang-shu* and in the *T'ung-t'ien*. Later works, so far as I am aware, only copy from the above named three. The difference of dates in the *DT.* is evidently due to some error or misunderstanding by gZon-nu-dpal. See also pp. 76-77.



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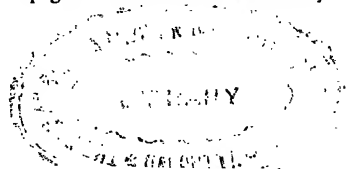
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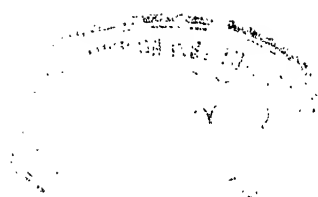
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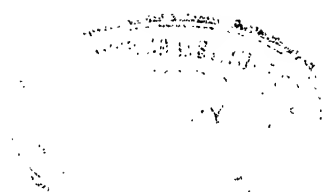
Page	Line	For	Read
1	22	that	who
2	21	1646	1683
3	4	1635	1640
3	10	(c. 1610-1640)	(c. 1640-1675)
3	12	(c. 1580-1635)	(c. 1590-1640)
3	21	it	them
7	8	1646	1683
11	3 from below	is	there is
12	14	inclination	prejudice
13	cancel the asterisk at l. 13 and the asterisk footnote		
17	4 from below:	cancel the second pair of brackets	
18	2 of the footnote	inscriptions, see	of the <i>LdGR</i> . For the inscriptions see
22	4 from below	and	of kings and the
23	5	gDagd	dDags
24	17	characteristic	characteristic
24	6 from below	C'os-'byuñ of <i>Bu-ston</i>	<i>C'os-byuñ</i> of Bu-sto 1
31	4 from below	Tibetan	Tibetans
32	6	Was	which was
33	11	gÑam	gNam
34	1	fol. 1b	fol. 2a
34	10	page 25	page 26
34	2 and 5 from below	-sñan-	-sñan-
35	10 from below	gÑam	gNam
35	8 from below	original	spelling
35	4 from below	Yu-nan	Yun-nan
36	4, 12, 17,	gÑam	gNam
36	10 from below	was	had just been
36	2 and 6 from below	gÑam	gNam
38	6	latter	latters
38	12	medieval	later
38	15	and an	and
38	17	gÑam	gNam
38	19	return	a return
41	last	surprising and	surprising
42	read the first line as following: 'that the results obtained were not very satisfactory.'		

Page	Line	For	Read
43	16	<i>ten/</i>	<i>te|</i>
46	4	-bran	-btsan
46	8 from below	Ye-'ses-'od	Ye-'ses-'od
48	3	622	620
48	4	652	650
50	20	carried on	carried out
50	3 from below	that	who
50	2 from below	holds	holds good
51	16	'Zaṅ-zuṅ	Zaṅ-zuṅ
53	20	powers, he shared with his son	powers he shared with his son,
53	footnote 2	fol. 1b	fol. 2b
55	9 from below	majordomo's	majordomos,
57	9	fol. 2a	fol. 3b
61	5	dynasty	regency
67	20	al-Ya' qūbi	al-Ya'qūbī
68	6	natural	natural
79	2	817	in 817
79	4	(Sad-na-legs	(Sad-na-legs)
79	8	third	third,
79	15	Ral-na-can	Ral-pa-can
82	8 of footnote	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
84	14	As in	As
84	21	poisoning	by poisoning
97	8	contain	containing
112	1	dNos-grub	dNos-grub
112	15	Francke contributed an article. Studying	Francke contributed by studying
112	16	view,	view;
124	2 of footnote	attribute	attributes
129	18	1561-1563)	(1561-1563)
134	11	suzarainty	suzerainty
134	19	cenury	century
153	9	Basgo	Skardo
158	12	king	king:
161	11	works	work
165	9	(816-836)	(817-836)

The letters *z* and *z'* have sometimes been employed instead of *z* in Tibetan words, chiefly in the first pages. Likewise *ñ* is occasionally to be found instead of *ñ*.









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